THE TRUE HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN.

BY

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO,

ONE OF ITS CONQUERORS.

From the only exact copy made of the Original Manuscript.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED IN MEXICO,

BY

GENARO GARCÍA.

with

The Five Letters of Relation from Cortes to the Emperor Charles V

Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes,

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TO

FRANCIS C. A. SARG,

LATE HIS IMPERIAL GERMAN MAJESTY'S CONSUL

AT GUATEMALA,

TO MARK THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF FRIENDSHIP

AND HIS UNTIRING HELP

IN THIS AND OTHER WORKS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

AND MEXICO.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE INTRODUCTION

BY

SEÑOR DON GENARO GARCÍA.[1]

THE *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, written by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, one of the Conquerors, was known and appreciated by historians and bibliographers before it was published. Antonio de Herrera[2] quotes it frequently, Friar Juan de Torquemada[3] also refers to it on several occasions, and

[1] The following extracts are translated direct from Señor Don Genaro García's Introduction. Any differences entertained with regard to the names of persons or places or the routes followed, will be explained in note attached to the translation of the text of Bernal Diaz's narrative.

[2] *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano.* Madrid, 1726-30, Decada 2ª passim. The first edition was published in 1601.

[3] *Los Veinte i un libros rituales y Monarchia Indiana.* Madrid, 1723, Tomo I passim. The first edition was published in 1615.

the Licentiate Antonio de Leon Pinelo[1] devotes some lines to it in his brief bibliography.

Although the original manuscript has always been kept in Guatemala, first by the Author, and afterwards by his descendants, and still later by the Municipality of the Capital, in whose archives it is preserved to-day, a copy of it was made in the sixteenth century and sent to Spain to King Philip II[2] and was there consulted by the Royal chroniclers. After its publication in Madrid by Friar Alonzo Remón of the Order of Mercy in the year 1632 the *True History* was universally accepted from that time onwards as the most complete and trustworthy of the chronicles of the Conquest of New Spain. A second edition followed almost immediately in the same city, some four years later a third, a fourth, and a fifth. It was translated into English by Maurice Keatinge in 1800 and John Ingram Lockhart in 1844; into German by Ph. J. von Rehfues in 1838 and Karl Ritter in 1848; into French by D. Jourdanet in 1876 and José María de Heredia in 1877,[3]

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[1] *Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental, Nautica y Geografica.* Madrid, 1629. Page 75.

[2] So it was stated by Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo de Medrano in 1579. In the *Historia de Guatemala ó Recordacion Florida,* by D. Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán. Madrid, 1882-83. Vol. i, page 398.—G. G.

[3] The French translations were—although an interval of one year lay between their publication—written simultaneously by the distinguished author of the *Influence de la pression de l'air sur la vie de l'homme,* and the excellent poet to whom France is indebted for the inimitable *Les Trophées.* This synchronism

and into Hungarian by Károly Brózik in 1878 and Moses Gaal in 1899.

Several of these translations obtained the honours of a second edition, as that of Keatinge in 1803, that of Rehfues in 1843, and that of Jourdanet in 1877.

* * * *

It must be pointed out that no secret has ever been made of Remón's extensive corruption of the original text. Don Antonio de Leon Pinelo, in his account of the *True History* in 1629, says, no doubt without malice, that Friar Alonzo Remón kept in readiness a "corrected" copy for publication. It was no sooner printed than the author of the *Isagoge Histórico Apologético*[1] found in it "many things added which were not found in the original." More explicitly and with a better judgment Don Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, the great-great-grandson of the author, and at that time the possessor of the manuscript, wrote at the end of the same century that the book, published by the reverend father Friar Alonzo Remón, differs considerably from the original, "for in some places there is more and in others less than what my great-grandfather the author wrote, for I find corruptions in chapters 164 and 171, and in the same way in other parts in the course of the history, in which not only is the credibility and fidelity of my

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strongly indicates the extraordinary importance attributed to the *Historia Verdadera.*—G. G.

[1] Published in Madrid, 1892.

Castillo clouded over, but many real heroes are defrauded of their just merit."

Fuentes y Guzmán states that this corruption (of the text) was not the least important of the motives that induced him to write his own work.[1] At the beginning of the following century Friar Francisco Vázquez proved that Friar Bartolomé de Olmedo was not in Guatemala at the time of its conquest, as is stated in the edition of Remón, and therefore he was not the first to spread the Christian faith through that province, unless, as he says, one should concede another miracle such as that of Saint Anthony of Padua, who managed to be in two different places at the same time.

Some years afterwards Don Andrés González Barcia, referring to the charge that Fuentes y Guzmán had launched against Remón, arbitrarily surmised that the differences that existed between the edition published by the latter and the original manuscript were matters of no importance, and simply inferred that it was "easy to believe that in copying the author should make some alterations, as ordinarily happens." This defence was not convincing, and on this account our great bibliographer in Mexico, Don Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, delicately objected that P. Vázquez had declared even the first edition to be falsified, while in Spain the indefatigable chronicler Don Juan Bautista Muñoz endeavoured to procure a copy of the original

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[1] *Historia de Guatemala ó Recordación Florida*, page 8.

manuscript with the object of ascertaining the alterations due to Padre Remón.

Finally, if there could be any doubt remaining about the bad faith of Remón, it was completely dispelled by the Guatemalan historians Padre Domingo Juarros, Don José Milla, the Bishop Don Francisco de Paula García Paláez, and Don Ramón A. Salazar, who from personal inspection fully corroborated what had been asserted by their predecessors the author of the *Isagoge*, Fuentes y Guzmán, and Vásquez.

As a matter of fact we can see at a glance in the following notes (par. iv. and Appendix No. 2)[1] that Fray Alonzo Remón in printing the *True History* suppressed whole pages of the manuscript, interpolated others, garbled the facts, changed the names of persons and places, increased or lessened the numbers, modified the style and modernised the orthography, moved thereto either by religious fervour and false patriotism, or by personal sympathy and vile literary taste. As all the later editions, and all the translations without exception were copied from the first edition published by

[1] This paragraph and appendix has not been translated. As we have now before us an accurate copy of the original text, the reader would not be much interested in a discussion of the corruptions of the text by Padre Remón. In most instances these corruptions of the text were introduced for the purpose of magnifying the importance of Padre Olmedo and the Friars of the Order of Mercy, of which Order Padre Remón was himself a member. In the edition of Don Genaro García these matters are fully investigated, and a complete bibliography is given.

Remón, it results that in reality we do not know the *True History.*

* * * *

On the 20th October, 1895, Don Emilio León, the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of Guatemala accredited to Mexico, presented in the name of his Government to ours, "as a proof of friendship and especial regard," a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript. It was then, with some reason, believed that, at last, we should see the *True History* published; but this could not be carried out, for accompanying the gift of the reproduction was a prohibition against its being copied and printed.

Five years later, when I wrote my book entitled "Caracter de la Conquista Española en America y en México," I was convinced that to perfect our Ancient history an exact edition of the *True History* was indispensable, and I desired to carry this work through.

Soon afterwards, in August, 1901, I wrote to the then President of Guatemala, Don Manuel Estrada Cabrera, telling him of my wish to print the precious manuscript.

This distinguished official had the kindness to reply on the first of the following month that on that very day he had decreed that "an exact and complete copy of the manuscript" should be made and sent to me for the purpose that I had stated. Señor Don Juan I. Argueta, Secretary of the Interior and Justice in that Republic, at once

began punctually to send me instalments of the copy as soon as they were made, which copy I corrected here, and perfected with all care and accuracy by comparing it with the photographic reproduction already referred to, which is preserved in our National Library.

* * * *

The author says that, after making a fair copy of his narrative, two licentiates of Guatemala begged him to lend it to them, and that he did so most willingly; but he warned them not to correct it in any way, neither by addition nor deletion, for all that he had written was true.

Assuredly with regard to truth the author would find no fault with us, for we have taken care to religiously respect the original text, without introducing the slightest variation, not even of the artless orthography or punctuation.

Any change would have been dangerous, and we might have fallen into the same error that we attribute to Remón; everybody knows that by a single comma one might reverse the meaning of a statement.

We reproduce in notes placed at the foot of the page all the erasures that can have any interest for inquiring readers, and in like manner we have transcribed all the various words blotted out, which, besides exhibiting important variations, give an idea of the method of composition employed by the author.

Occasionally, when a full understanding of the

text necessitates it, or for the purpose of finishing off a clearly implied word or phrase, or of correcting some manifest numerical error, we have ventured to insert some word or number between brackets, so that it can be known at once that it is not the author who is speaking, and the readers are left at liberty to admit or reject the slight interpolation; finally, we have allowed ourselves to indicate by dotted lines the gaps that are found in the original manuscript, which, happily, are very few in number, except on the first and last pages, which, in the course of time, have naturally suffered more than the others.

May our modest effort meet with the approbation of the intelligent and learned, for we long for it as much as we fear their censure.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO.

HIS LIFE.

* * * *

Bernal Díaz del Castillo was born in the very noble, famous and celebrated town[1] of Medina del Campo in the year 1492 at the very time when Christopher Columbus was joining the two worlds.

Bernal tells us that at the time that he made up his mind to come to New Spain, about the year 1517, he was a youth "of about twenty-four years," a statement which corroborates the date of his birth.

His parents were Don Francisco Díaz del Castillo and Doña María Diez Rejón.

* * * *

Bernal was not the only son, he tells us of his brother, probably older than himself, whom he wished to imitate.

* * * *

Bernal himself writes that he was a gentleman,[2] and that his grandparents, his father and his brother were always servants of the Crown and of their Catholic Majesties Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, which Carlos V. confirms by calling them "our retainers and servants."

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[1] "Muy noble é insigne y muy nombrada Villa." In old Spain towns and cities were formally granted such titles of honour.

[2] Hijodalgo.

If the family of Bernal had not enjoyed esteem and respect in Medina del Campo, the inhabitants would not have chosen Don Francisco as their *Regidor.*[1] On the other hand, his financial position must have been a very modest one, for the author most certainly came here to seek his fortune, and often complains of his poverty.

After all, the fact that in the *True History* he discloses a very scrupulous moral sense, a fair amount of learning, accurate philosophy, and a piety out of the common, permits us to infer that his family educated him with great care; it would be exceptional for a man illiterate and untaught during his youth to acquire such qualities in his old age; it is proven, on the other hand, that the author knew how to write when he reached New Spain. Nevertheless, we know nothing for certain about the childhood and youth of Bernal, our information begins in the year 1514.

The author was then twenty-two years old.

From some of his remarks one may judge that he was tall or of middle height, active, quick, well made and graceful; his comrades called him "the elegant" (el galan).

* * * *

Following the example of so many other Spanish youths, Bernal left his country in the year 1514 to emigrate to America in search of adventures and riches, resolved to be worthy of his ancestry. He

[1] Regidor = magistrate, prefect.

accompanied Pedro Arias de Avila, the Governor of Tierra Firme, as one of his soldiers.

When he reached Nombre de Dios he remained there three or four months, until an epidemic that broke out and certain disputes that arose between the Governor and his son-in-law, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, obliged him to flee to Cuba, to his relation, Diego Velásquez, who was Governor of the Island.

During three years Bernal "did nothing worthy of record," and on that account he determined to set out on the discovery of unknown lands with the Captain Francisco Hernández de Córdova and one hundred and ten companions.

They sailed in three ships from the port of Ajaruco on the 8th February, 1517, and after enduring a passage occupying twenty-one days and one fierce gale, they arrived at Cape Catoche, where the natives gave them a hostile reception.

After touching at Lázaro they stopped at Chanpotón, where the natives killed forty-eight Spaniards, captured two of them, and wounded the rest, including the captain, who received ten arrow wounds, and the author, who received "three, and one of them in the left side which pierced my ribs, and was very dangerous."

The survivors returned by way of Florida to Cuba, disillusioned and in ill-health, suffering from burning thirst and barely escaping shipwreck, for the ships were leaking badly. When recounting these calamities the author exclaims—

"Oh! what a troublesome thing it is to go and

discover new lands and the risks we took it is hardly possible to exaggerate."

Nevertheless Bernal was not discouraged by experience; his poverty, which, of necessity, increased daily, impelled him to seek his fortune even at the risk of losing his life, and his youth made him naturally impatient; he did not care to wait for the Indians which Diego Velásquez had promised to give him as soon as there were some unemployed, and he at once enlisted in a second expedition, composed of four ships and two hundred soldiers, under the command of Juan de Grijalva, which weighed anchor in the port of Matanzas on the 8th April, 1518.

The author says that he went "as ensign," but it is doubtful.

The expedition went by way of Cozumel and Chanpotón, whose intrepid inhabitants wounded Grijalva and broke two of his teeth, and killed seven soldiers, by the Boca de Términos, the Rio de Tabasco which they called the Rio de Grijalva, La Rambla, the Rios de Tonalá or de Santo Antón, de Coatzacoalcos, de Papaloapan or de Alvarado, and the Rio de Banderas, where they obtained by barter "more than sixteen thousand pesos in jewels and low grade gold." They sighted the Isla Blanca and the Isla Verde, and landed on the Isla de Sacrificios and the sand dunes of Ulúa; thence Alvarado, accompanied by certain soldiers, returned to Cuba in search of reinforcements, while Grijalva, with the rest of his followers, including the author,

pushed ahead by Tuxtla,[1] Tuxpan and the Rio de Canoas, where the Spaniards were attacked by the natives to Cape Rojo; then Grijalva, yielding to the entreaties of his soldiers, agreed to return to Cuba.

Velásquez, fascinated beyond measure by the gold which Grijalva had obtained by barter, organised a third expedition consisting of "eleven ships great and small," and appointed Hernan Cortés to command it. Bernal again enlisted, as at this time he found himself much in debt. Cortés set out from the Port of Trinidad on the 18th February, 1519. The author had started eight days earlier in the company of Pedro de Alvarado. All met together again at the Island of Cozumel, where a review was held, which showed a muster of five hundred and eight soldiers, "not including ship-masters, pilots and seamen, who numbered one hundred, and sixteen horses and mares." Keeping on their course they passed close by Chanpotón without venturing to land; they stopped at Tabasco, where they fought with the natives, who gave the author "an arrow wound in the thigh but it was not a severe wound," and finally they arrived at Ulúa.

They went inland and marched to Cempoala and Quiahuiztlan, and in the neighbourhood of the latter they founded the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and they determined to push on to México, whose

[1] This is an error. Tuxtla was passed before reaching the Isla de Sacrificios.

Prince, Motecuhzoma,[1] had been exciting their cupidity by rich presents of gold and other objects of value.

Before undertaking this march, the friends of Cortés (one of whom was Bernal) advised him to destroy the ships, lest any of the soldiers should mutiny and wish to return to Cuba, and so that he could make use of the ship-masters, pilots and seamen "who numbered nearly one hundred persons" as we have already stated. When this had been done, "without concealment and not as the chronicler Gómara describes it," they started for Mexico in the middle of August, probably on the sixteenth, and passed without incident through Jalapa Xicochimalco, Ixhuacan, Texutla, Xocotla and Xalacingo, but on reaching the frontiers of Tlaxcala they were stopped by the natives, who fought against them for several days. There the author received "two wounds, one on the head from a stone, and the other an arrow wound in the thigh," from which he was seriously ill in the Capital of Tlaxcala, after Cortés had made peace and an alliance with the inhabitants.

"On the 12th October" they continued their march by Cholula, where they committed a shocking massacre, Itzcalpan, Tlamanalco, and Itztapalatengo. Here Cacamatzin the Lord of Tetzcoco met them in royal state to welcome them in the name of Motecuhzoma, and they accompanied him along the

[1] Montezuma.

causeway of Itztapalapa, which crossed the lake in a straight line to Mexico, and from it could be seen on both sides innumerable "cities and towns," some in the water and others on dry land, all of them beautified by stately temples and palaces. This wonderful panorama, as picturesque as it was novel, made the deepest impression on Bernal and his companions, and he says, "we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell us of in the story of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues[1] and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not all a dream."

When they reached the junction of the causeways of Itztapalapa and Coyohuacan they met many Caciques and Chieftains of importance coming in advance of Motecuhzoma, who received the Spaniards a little further on, almost at the gates of Mexico, with sumptuous pomp and extreme ceremony. Many times the Mexican sovereign had contemplated attacking the Spaniards, but weighed down by superstition and rendered powerless by a timid and vacillating character, he now conducted them into the great Tenochtitlan, only to deliver it up to them at once. The autocrat felt himself fatally conquered before beginning the struggle.

Thence step by step within a few days he suffered seven Spaniards, among whom was Bernal, to make

[1] Cue = temple. This is not a Nahua or Maya word but one picked up by the Spaniards in the Antilles.

him a prisoner in his own palace; he allowed his jailors to burn [to death] Quauhpopoca and other native chieftains, whose crime consisted in having, by his own orders, given battle to Juan de Escalante and other Spanish soldiers; he handed over to Cortés Cacamatzin, Totoquihuatzin, Cuitláhuac and Cuauhtémoc, lords respectively of Tetzcoco, Tlacopan, Itztapalapan and Tlatelolco, who wished to set their sovereign at liberty, and finally, weeping like a tender unhappy woman, he swore fealty to the King of Spain.

With ease and in a short time Cortés was able to collect an immense treasure which amounted to "seven hundred thousand gold dollars," which he found it necessary to divide among his soldiers; nevertheless, he made the division with such trickery and cunning that there fell to the soldiers "a very small share, only one hundred dollars each, and it was so very little that many of the soldiers did not want to take it, and Cortés was left with it all." If the author did not complain of this as much as some of his companions, for example, as Cárdenas, who even "fell ill from brooding and grief," it was owing to his having already received from Motecuhzoma some presents of "gold and cloths," as well as of "a beautiful Indian girl . . . the daughter of a chieftain," whom he ventured to beg of the Sovereign through the good offices of the page Orteguilla, a gift which he certainly thought that he had gained by his respectful courtesy "for whenever I was on guard over him, or passed before

him, I doffed my helmet to him with the greatest respect."

The Spaniards began to enjoy the gold divided among them, abandoning themselves to a life of licentious pleasure, when in March 1520 Pánfilo de Narvaez arrived at Ulúa with sixteen ships,[1] fourteen hundred soldiers, ninety crossbowmen, seventy musketeers, and eighty horses.

Diego Velásquez had sent him to punish Cortés and his followers as traitors, because they had rebelled against him without reason. However, as Cortés was immensely rich, and there is no power greater than riches, he soon won over almost all the soldiers of Narvaez with ingots and jewels of gold, in such a way that when the fight took place at Cempoala, Narvaez was the only man who fought in earnest, until he was wounded and lost an eye. The author figures among his captors: "the first to lay hands on him was Pedro Sanchez Farfan, a good soldier, and I handed him (Narvaez) over to Sandoval."

After his victory Cortés returned with all speed to Mexico, where the inhabitants had risen in arms with the purpose of avenging the inhuman massacre carried out by Pedro de Alvarado in the precincts of the great Teocalli, which Alonzo de Avila pronounced to be disgraceful, saying that it would

[1] The author says that there were nineteen, but the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, who accompanied Narvaez, writes that there were sixteen. (Hernan Cortés, *Cartas y Relaciones*, Paris, 1866. Page 42.)—G. G.

for ever remain "an ill memory in New Spain." Cortés now brought with him over thirteen hundred soldiers, eighty crossbowmen and as many musketeers, and ninety mounted men, without counting his numerous native allies.

Although they all reached the great Tenochtitlan "on the day of San Juan de Junio (St. John's Day) in the year 1520" they could not make a stand against the Mexicans, who, under the command of Cuitláhuac and Cuauhtémoc, killed the greater number of the invaders and forced the rest, wounded and ruined, for they were unable to save the riches they had collected, to flee to Tlaxcala. The Tlaxcalans received them, lodged them and attended to them with affection. When they were somewhat recovered, the Spaniards began Vandal-like forays through Tepeyácac, Cachula, Guacachula, Tecamachalco, the town of the Guayabos, Ozúcar, Xalacingo, Zacatami, and other places in the neighbourhood, enslaving and branding with a hot iron all the youths and women they met with; "they did not trouble about the old men:" the inhuman mark was placed "on the face," and not even the most beautiful young woman escaped it.

The author did not assist in all these forays because "he was very ill from fever, and was spitting blood."

Cortés then founded a second city, which he named Segura de la Frontera.

After the Spaniards had been reinforced by various expeditions that had come from Cuba, they

resolved to return to Mexico to recover their lost treasure, and they forthwith took the road to Tetzcoco.

They took with them many thousands of native allies.

When the headquarters had been established at Tetzcoco, Cortés opened hostilities by an assault on Itztapalapa, where he and his followers nearly lost their lives by drowning, for the Mexicans "burst open the canals of fresh and salt water and tore down a causeway:" the author was "very badly wounded by a lance thrust which they gave me in the throat near the windpipe, and I was in danger of dying from it, and retain the scar from it to this day."

Cortés did not think of a direct attack on Mexico, he understood that it could lead to no satisfactory result; he proposed merely to invest the city and reduce it by starvation; so as to accomplish this he had entrusted to the Tlaxcalans the construction of thirteen launches, which he anxiously awaited.

Meanwhile, he attacked the neighbouring towns with fire and sword. The author did not join in these earlier combats as he was still ill from his dangerous wound, but as soon as it healed, he again took up arms, and accompanied Cortés, who went to assist the natives of Chalco, and distinguished himself among the most intrepid soldiers.

On his side, Cuauhtémoc, who was now Lord

of Mexico, took measures for the defence of his country with unequalled courage; he had obtained from his subjects a promise "that they would never make peace, but would either all die fighting or take our lives."

The strife was remarkably prolonged and bloody, and no quarter was given.

The siege began on the 21st May, 1521, and lasted eighty-five days. Not for one moment did the Mexicans show signs of discouragement, notwithstanding the scarcity of fresh water and provisions, the superiority of the arms of the Spaniards, and the immense number of their native allies;[1] each day as it came was for them as the first day of the strife, so great was the determination and the strength with which they appeared on the field of battle, and, moreover, they never ceased fighting "from dawn to dusk."

When the greater number of them had already perished, the few who still remained stoically resisted thirst, hunger, weariness and pestilence in the defence of their country, and even then refused, with indomitable fortitude, the proposals of peace which Cortés repeatedly made to them. In this manner only did they die.

The army which was to attack the Mexicans by

[1] The author makes immoderate efforts to lessen the number of the allies, but Cortés informs us that there were "numberless people," "an infinite number," "which could not be counted," that those that accompanied him alone numbered "more than one hundred and fifty thousand men."—G. G.

land was divided from the beginning into three sections. It fell to the lot of the author to serve in that of Tlacopan, commanded by Pedro de Alvarado. Many times Bernal was in danger of losing his life, first of all when the siege had just been commenced; a few days later when the Mexicans succeeded in seizing him, "many Indians had already laid hold of me, but I managed to get my arm free, and our Lord Jesus Christ gave me strength so that by some good sword thrusts that I gave them, I saved myself, but I was badly wounded in one arm;" on another occasion they succeeded in taking him prisoner, but "it pleased God that I should escape from their power;" and, finally, at the end of June on the day that Cortés suffered his terrible defeat, the author received "an arrow wound and a sword thrust."

The siege ended on the 13th August, 1521, with the capture of the north-east corner of the city, where the few surviving Mexicans still offered a heroic resistance.

As soon as Cortés was master of the Great Tenochtitlan, he got together, for the second time, a great quantity of gold, although it was not as much as he had acquired before. On the division being made, again for the second time the Spaniards were profoundly discontented, for they found that after all their terrible hardships and their constant danger of death, "there fell to the share of a horseman eighty dollars, and to that of the cross-bowmen, musketeers and shield bearers sixty or

fifty, I do not well remember which." The most annoying thing for the Spanish adventurers was "that some owed fifty or sixty dollars for cross-bows, and others fifty dollars for a sword, and similarly everything that we bought was equally dear, then too a surgeon named Master Juan, who dressed some severe wounds, charged an exorbitant price for his cures, as did also a sort of quack doctor named Murçia, who was an apothecary and barber and also undertook cures, and there were thirty other traps and trickeries for which we were in debt."

The author continued to contract debts in consequence, in spite of his sturdy fighting and his many and serious wounds.

Although his expectations had not been fulfilled, Bernal did not abandon the hope of mending his fortunes, which had brought him to Mexico, and he accompanied his friend Gonzalo de Sandoval to the conquest of Tuxtépec, a place which, according "to the tribute rolls of Montezuma," which the author had studied, abounded in gold. When he arrived there, Sandoval advised him to stay there, and offered him in allotment "the rich towns of Matlatan, Orizaba and Ozotequipa; but Bernal refused, "for it seemed to me that unless I went with Sandoval and as his friend, that I should not be doing what was becoming to my rank."

He passed on to Coatzacoalcos, where the town of Espíritu Santo was established, and here Bernal

settled, for on the 20th September, 1522, Cortés gave him in allotment the towns of "Tlapa and Potonchan," which belonged to the province of Cimatan. Neither one nor the other proved satisfactory to him, because the land was poor, or more probably because he found no gold there, the metal which represented the only acceptable form of riches to the author and his companions, who had migrated on that very account from the Valley of Mexico, because it produced "merely an abundance of maize and aloes."

The settlers at the town of Espíritu Santo chose him as their Magistrate, a clear proof of the esteem and consideration in which he was held.

After all, the new life that Bernal led did not free him from frequent turmoil; he was continually obliged to sally forth and pacify the towns in the province, and this was not without risk, for on one occasion he was "struck by an arrow wound in the throat, and the great loss of blood, for at the time it was not possible either to bandage [the wound] or staunch the flow, greatly endangered my life."

During Lent in the year 1523 he set out with Captain Luis Marín to fight the natives of Chiapas, "the greatest warriors that I had seen in the whole of New Spain, although that includes Tlaxcalans, Mexicans, Zapotecs and Minxes."

The author now travelled on horseback—doubtless his towns were not in such poor land as he had imagined.

He had to suffer many hardships during this

expedition; the people of Chiapas fought like "rabid lions," and in Chamula they gave him "a good blow with a lance which pierced my armour, and had it not been made of thick cotton and well quilted, they would have killed me, for good as it was they thrust through it and out came a thick wad of cotton, and they gave me a slight wound." In spite of this he was one of the two first soldiers who stormed and took the fortress of the natives. As a reward for his heroic conduct Luis Marín gave him in allotment this town of Chamula, a place of great importance.

On the return to Espíritu Santo he fought [a duel] of swords with Godoy in a most noble cause, and both were wounded.

Bernal did not enjoy his ease for long, for in obedience to an order from Cortés, whom all the *Conquistadores* greatly feared, he found himself forced to follow Rodrigo Rangel to the conquest of the Zapotecs; it is fair to say that, although he did so unwillingly, for he already felt wearied, and Rangel did not inspire sympathy, he acquitted himself with great efficiency throughout the expedition, for which he gained honourable praise. It was then[1] when the natives "had hung seven arrows on him, which only failed to pierce on account of the thickness of the cotton armour, and nevertheless I emerged wounded in one leg;" he would, however,

[1] This happened in a subsequent expedition under Rangel in Tabasco.

not give way, but, in spite of all, he pursued the natives for a long distance until "they took refuge in some great quaking morasses which no man who entered them could get out of again except on all fours or with much assistance."

He returned to Espíritu Santo without having accomplished anything to his profit, and went on to Mexico, where he was present on the 18th or 19th June, 1524, at the magnificent reception given by Cortés to Fray Martín de Valencia and his twelve Franciscan companions, among them Fray Toribio de Benavente, whom the Indians named Motolinía, "which means in their language the poor Friar, for all that was given him for the sake of God he gave to the Indians, so that at times he went without food, and wore very ragged garments and walked barefoot, and he always preached to them, and the Indians loved him greatly for he was a saintly person."

The author returned to his town almost at once. He was there at the end of October in the same year when Cortés arrived on his way to the Hibueras,[1] whither he was going personally, resolved to punish Cristóbal de Olid, who had rebelled.

The conqueror was followed by a formidable army, and a numerous court of friars and clergy, doctors and surgeons, major domos, waiters, butlers, chamberlains, stewards, and keepers of his "great

[1] Honduras.

services of gold and silver," pages, orderlies, huntsmen, pipers, trumpeters and fifers, acrobats, conjurers, puppet players, equerries and muleteers, and "a great herd of pigs that they ate as they went along." Among the soldiers and attendants of Cortés there also marched, but not of their own will, Cuauhtémoc and other great native princes.

When Cortés arrived at Coatzacoalcos he ordered all the settlers to go with him to the Hibueras, and it was owing to this that the author had to accompany him: nobody would have then dared to disobey Cortés.

It was hard luck for Bernal, for as he says "At the time when we should have been resting from our great labours and endeavouring to secure some property and profit, he ordered us to go on a journey of over five hundred leagues, the greater part of it through hostile country, and all that we possessed we left behind and lost."

Bernal was not consoled by Cortés appointing him Captain on this occasion, nor by taking his own followers with him, who had been recruited from the towns of his *encomienda.*[1]

While the author marched upon Cimatán at the head of thirty Spaniards and three thousand natives, Cortés overran the towns of Tonalá and Ayagua-

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[1] Encomienda = The Indian townships and land, with the Indians necessary for its cultivation, assigned or allotted to a Spaniard.

lulco, crossed a neighbouring estuary after throwing across it "a bridge which was nearly half a quarter of a league long, an astonishing feat, in the way they did it," and he went along the great river Mazapa to the towns of Iquinuapa where he rejoined the author.

Together, they soon passed through the towns of Copilco, Nacaxuxuyca, Zaguatan, Tepetitan and Itztapa. Going on in search of Hueyacalá, or "the great Acalá, for there was another town called Acalá the lesser," they penetrated into the forest [monte] and lost their way, and found themselves then compelled to clear a track with their swords through the thick undergrowth; they suffered from hunger and four Spaniards and many of the natives died from it, for they fell down "as though in despair." In this extremity Bernal and Pero López saved the army, for they found the lost road which soon led them to Temastépec. The pipers, trumpeters and fifers no longer made music, for "they were used to luxury and did not understand hardship and they had sickened with the hunger; only one of them had the spirit to play, and all of us soldiers refused to listen to him, and said that it sounded like the howling of foxes and coyotes and that it would be better to have maize to eat than music."

In Ciguatepécad the author and Gonzalo Mexía went on ahead by the order of Cortés to win over peacefully the inhabitants of Acalá, a mission which Bernal, on his part, accomplished satisfactorily, for

he soon returned with a large quantity of provisions; but as the soldiers were starving they seized them all and fought one another for them. In vain did the Steward cry out to them that they should leave something for Cortés, the soldiers answered petulantly "you and Cortés have had fine pigs to eat." When Cortés heard what had happened he put up with it, and asked the author in the mildest manner whether he had not left a little of the food hidden on the road, and ended by asking him most humbly for a share of it. The author consented and generously invited him to partake of that which he had reserved for himself and the natives from the towns of his *encomiendas.*

The army entered the province of Acalá, and there at Izancánac Cortés ordered Cuauhtémoc and his cousin Tetepanquetzatl, the lord of Tlacopan, to be hanged, on suspicion of engaging in a conspiracy. The author tells us that he was very sorry for these great princes, and adds, "their death was very unjust and appeared an evil thing to all of us, who were on the march." This was at Shrovetide in 1525.

Cortés arrived at the land of the Mazatecas, and after passing through two towns, one situated on an island and another near a fresh-water lake, entered into Tayasal. A little further on Bernal began to feel very ill "from fever and from the power of the sun which had affected my head and all my body." In this condition, nevertheless, he was obliged to cross the toilsome range of the Pedernales, not so

very lofty, but whose stones "cut like knives." In front of Tayca a river "which one could clearly hear two leagues off" delayed the army for three days, and Cortés threw a bridge across it similar to the one constructed at Ayagualulco, bridges which survived for many years, for the admiration of travellers who were accustomed to say, "here are Cortés' bridges as though they were speaking of the Pillars of Hercules."

Again they felt the pangs of hunger, such as the author had never before experienced; he suffered anguish at this time "for I had nothing to eat or to give to my people and I was ill with fever." Cortés ordered him nevertheless to go out and seek for food for the army, and the author, rising superior to his serious infirmities, obeyed him. Guided by his experience and sagacity, he was not long in finding poultry, maize, beans and "other vegetables," with which he promptly supplied all the soldiers.

They went on to Tania, a town surrounded by rivers and streams, from which they were unable to get out, for once more they lost their way. Cortés despatched several Spaniards to find it again, but without result. It was necessary to confide the task to the author, in spite of his illness, for after God it was in him "that he had confidence that he would bring help," and when he brought it, for he succeeded in finding the road which they were to follow, Cortés evinced profound gratitude, and made him fair promises: "I pledge you," he

told him, "this, my beard, that I owe your honour a debt."

The conqueror arrived at last with his huge army at Ocoliztle, a town quite close to Naco, where he expected to fight with Cristóbal de Olid; it was not until then he learnt that he (Olid) had had his throat cut long before by Gil González de Avila and Francisco de las Casas. Nevertheless, before returning to Mexico, he wished to leave his rule established in that far off district, his boundless ambition making the vast territory of New Spain appear small to him. Thus he founded the town of La Natividad, "which is now called Puerto de Caballos," and obliged the natives who had been scared away to return and repopulate Naco.

While this was happening, news was received from Mexico that the Agent Gonzalo de Salazar, after spreading the report that Cortés and his soldiers had perished, seized their property and their Indians to divide them among his partizans; and he ordered the wives who had become widows to pray for the souls of their husbands and promptly proceed "to marry again, and he even sent to say so to Guaçacualco and other towns." It is certain that the wife of Alonzo Yáñez, an inhabitant of Mexico, respected the order, and hurriedly remarried.

Nevertheless, while all the soldiers were indignant and excited, as was only natural, and prepared themselves to return as fast as possible to New Spain to recover their wives, their Indians

and their property, and even cursed Cortés and Salazar, "and our hearts throbbed with anger," Cortés, formerly energetic, prompt and venturesome to rashness, now weak, irresolute and timid, confined himself to weeping disconsolately, shutting himself up for long hours in his room, and permitting no one to see him: overmuch power had weakened his character. When at last he came out of his room, the soldiers unanimously addressed him and entreated him to embark at once in the three ships that were there and go to New Spain, and he answered us very affectionately: "Oh my children and companions, I see on one side that evil man, the Agent, has become very powerful, and I fear that when he knows that we are in the port, he will do some other shameless and daring things to us beyond what he has already done, or he will kill or drown me, or make me and all of you prisoners." The abundant riches which Cortés now possessed made him love life too much.

Selfishly abandoning the bulk of his army, he set out on the sea with a few followers. The author had begged him very urgently to take him in his company; he had an abundant right to ask this and other much greater favours, but Cortés, ever deaf to gratitude, left him there to return by land.

So by land he went, once more suffering daily hardships, and having also to fight against the natives. He passed through Maniani and Cholulteca-Malalaca, the Chaparrastiques, Cuzcatlan or Cascacatan, whose inhabitants gave him an arrow

wound, Petapa, Guatemala, Olnitépec, Soconusco, Tehuantépec, Oaxaca and Mexico. He entered the capital in the beginning of 1527, after a most laborious march extending over more than "two years and three months," during which he had served throughout "very well and loyally" without receiving "pay or any favour whatever." He returned poor, in debt, and with ragged clothes. Andrés de Tápia received him in his house, and Gonzalo de Sandoval sent him garments with which to clothe himself, "and gold and cacao to spend."

At this time Marcos de Aguilar was governing New Spain, and Bernal begged him to give him Indians in Mexico as those of Coatzacoalcos "were of no profit." Aguilar merely made him fine promises, alleging that he had not yet received power to apportion Indians.

During the same year Aguilar was succeeded by Alonzo de Estrada, first of all in company with Sandoval and afterwards alone, whose rule was very unfortunate for the author; under it Baltazar Osorio and Diego de Mazariegos turned him out "by force" from his *encomiendas* of Micapy, Tlapa and Chamula, to the end that they might be incorporated in the new towns of Chiapas and Tabasco.

The author, finding it impossible "to carry on lawsuits with two towns," went to Estrada to obtain justice, and got from him, dated 3rd April, 1528, the *encomienda* "of the towns of Gualpitán and

Micapa, which are in the Cachulco range, and used to be subject to Cimatán, and of Popoloatán in the province of Citla." Nevertheless, the author was not satisfied owing to the fact that these towns were of little importance, and did not nearly compensate him for the loss of Tlapa, which contained "more than a thousand houses," and that of Chamula, which numbered "more than four hundred, and the farms more than two hundred."

At the end of this same year, 1528, Estrada was succeeded by the First *Audiencia*,[1] which wished to proceed at once to the perpetual assignment[2] of the Indians, and with this object ordered the cities and towns settled by Spaniards to appoint attorneys to come to the Capital. The arrangement could not have been more opportune nor more agreeable for Bernal, who could now believe with good reason that his labours and his poverty were soon going to cease. He set out in all haste for Espíritu Santo, and was successful in arranging that the settlers should entrust him with their authority, and he returned at once to Mexico. However, the much talked of division came to nothing, and the judges, far from favouring Bernal, imprisoned him twice on despicable pretexts, together with other old *Conquistadores*. He was obliged at last to return to Coatzacoalcos, persuaded that he would obtain no protection from the First Audiencia, and that he must resign himself to live there "in the midst of

[1] Audiencia = a Council of Government.

[2] The "Repartimiento."

want," but maintaining "his high honour, and seeing to it that he lived uprightly and without indulging in any vice," and justly enjoying "a very good reputation."

When the First Audiencia retired in the month of January 1531, the honest members of the Second Audiencia assumed control, and, as they appreciated the merits of the author, they nominated him *Visitador General* of Coatzacoalcos and Tabasco, and they entrusted to him the delimitation of both those settlements, a duty which he carried out with prudence in company with the stipendiary Benito López. Encouraged by these distinctions, and trusting in the rectitude of the Second Audiencia, Bernal approached it [with a request] that he should be given some Indian towns in compensation for those "that had been taken from him by force," but the Judges told him that "unless the order came from his Majesty in Spain they were not able to give them."

In the year 1535 the first Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, arrived in Mexico, and Bernal approached him also with the same demand, and again met with a similar refusal.

However, if adversity and deception never ceased to lay in wait for and wound the author, he, on the other hand, never gave way to their blows, and always knew how to preserve his energy undiminished. It must certainly have been towards 1535 when, in spite of having already reached the age of forty-three years, and feeling "very weary

and poor," he married Teresa Becerra, the eldest legitimate daughter of Captain Bartolomé Becerra, a *Conquistador* of Guatemala, and the first regular Mayor of that city. By this marriage Bernal had several sons and daughters, the eldest being Francisco, who was born a year after the wedding.

Bernal had already born to him other children by a native woman, who was perhaps that beautiful girl he had begged from Montezuma through the good offices of the page Orteguilla. Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza knew a "Diego Díaz de Castillo, a half-caste" and a natural son of Bernal, and Philip II mentions in a Royal Decree some brothers of this Diego.

The author proved to be an excellent father of a family, the greatest, in fact the chief, anxiety throughout his life, was not having the means with which to secure the future of his wife and children; he constantly mentions this subject in all his letters, as well as in the *True History*.

As Bernal's difficulties necessarily increased with his growing family, and he knew by sad experience that he could hope for nothing from those governing New Spain, he resolved to go to Court to beg for justice from the Lords of the Royal Council. Cortés and the Viceroy gave him letters of recommendation to them with which, and the authenticated record of his merits and services, he arrived in Spain about 1540. Once there, he presented his petition in [proper] form. The Lords of the Royal Council ordered it to be handed over to the Fiscal,

the Licentiate Don Juan de Villalobos, who declared openly and frankly, for some reason of which we know nothing, that he would not allow him anything, because "he had not been a *Conquistador* such as he asserted."

The Fiscal doubly offended the author, because at the same time that he ignored his services given during so many years with painful toil and in frequent danger of death, he treated him publicly as an impostor, him who judged and proclaimed the truth to be "a thing blessed and holy."

This disillusion was without any doubt the most painful of all the author's sufferings. Fortunately the Lords of the Royal Council took no notice of the Fiscal's pleading in settling the matter, and issued a writ on the 15th April, 1541, advising that a Royal Decree should be given to the author addressed to the Viceroy of New Spain, to the end that "he should examine the quality and number of the towns which had been given to the said Bernal Díaz and which he held possessed and which were taken away from him to form the townships of Chiapas and Tabasco, and should give him in recompense for them other towns of the same kind and as good in the same province so that he might gain profit therefrom during his Majesty's pleasure."

The Decree was issued two months later, together with another to the same effect, which was addressed to Pedro de Alvarado, the Governor of Guatemala, which the author asked for with a view of obtaining the new towns in either of the two provinces,

wherever they could most promptly be granted. Provided with these two Decrees he returned immediately to the New World. He obtained nothing in New Spain, but, when he went on to Guatemala, the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado, who was Governor on the death of Alvarado, assigned him the towns of Zacatépec, Joanagacapa and Misten, which were clearly of "little worth," and promised him that as soon as there were others of greater importance he would give them to him and put him in charge of them. As the promise was never realised, Bernal never escaped from his life of poverty.

Without any incidents worth recording—at least so far as is known to us—time went on until 1550, in which year Bernal was summoned to Spain to assist at the Congress of Valladolid, in the character of "the oldest *Conquistador* of New Spain." He went there, joined in the Congress and voted for the perpetual assignment of the Indians, in spite of having heard the humanitarian and persuasive arguments alleged against it by the eminent Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and his worthy companions Fray Rodrigo de Labrada and Fray Tomás de San Martín; his own poverty was a stronger argument.

Bernal utilised his short stay at Court to obtain a Royal Decree, dated the 1st December, 1550, ordering the Licentiate Alonzo López Zerrato, President of the Audiencia of Guatemala, to carry out the previous Decree recorded in 1541, and have it respected.

On the 1st September, 1551, the author exhibited his new Decree before the Licentiate López Zerrato, who unfortunately did not execute it, in spite of having that very day taken it in his hands, examined it and placed it above his head as was the custom, to show that he would obey it and carry it out.

We say that he did not carry it out, because a year later Bernal wrote to his Majesty that the said Licentiate cared only to give assignments "to his relations, servants and friends," without taking any notice of the *Conquistadores* who had won [the country] "by their sweat and blood;" on this account the author prays that his Majesty may be pleased to order him to be admitted "into his Royal house as one of his servants."

This petition shows that Bernal did not harbour any hope of improving his miserable lot. Here he nevertheless remained, for he did not succeed in being admitted into the number of his Majesty's servants.

Moreover, if it had not been possible for him to prosper during youth and middle life, it was still less so now that he was entering on old age, and we find, as was natural and even to be expected, that he writes to Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, on 20th February, 1558, that he was still "very straightened as he possessed so little property."[1]

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[1] As the author then adds that he was "heavily burdened by children and grandchildren," and that he had a young wife, it is not hazardous to think that he had recently contracted a second marriage, etc.—G. G.

It must have been a great consolation to him that he continued to be esteemed and respected in Guatemala. He had not ceased to be a Magistrate, and this same year he was elected "arbitrator and executor," and he had been named the previous year to carry the banner on the feast of Santa Cecilia, an honour which was again conferred on him in 1560, on the occasion of the feast of Saint James the Apostle.[1] The affection and consideration which all the persons who knew him had for Bernal Díaz was owing to his "charming conversation" and noble sentiments, but principally to the fact that in spite of his poverty, he always managed to live "with great dignity."

Thus then, poor enough, although much loved and esteemed, fearing no one, he dedicated himself to the writing of his *True History* when he was over seventy years of age, convinced that in the history of the world there was no more daring deed than the conquest, nor more heroic men in existence than the *Conquistadores*, resigned to not having received the reward which was justly due to him, free from pessimism, rancour and regrets, with a perfectly tranquil conscience, with an exceptional memory and an intelligence uncommon in its full vigour. His work was now and then interrupted by visits to the towns assigned to him, sometimes accompanied by friends. Neither travel nor change of climate broke down his health; he

[1] Garcia Peláez. *Memoria para la Historia del Antiguo Reyno de Guatemala.* Guatemala, 1851-52, vol. ii, page 227.—G. G.

himself tells us that even at that time he did not use a bed, from habit acquired during the conquest, nor was he able to sleep unless he walked "some time in the open air, and this without any covering on his head, neither cap nor kerchief, and, thanks to God, it did me no harm." With all this, he also tells us, not perhaps without exaggeration, that by that time he had "lost his sight and hearing." He had penned but little of the History when the Chronicles composed by Paulo Giovio, Francisco López de Gómara and Gonzalo de Illescas[1] came into his hands. As soon as he began to read them, "and observed from their good style the roughness and lack of polish of my language," he gave up writing his History. However, when the first impression had faded, he returned to their perusal, and was then able to decide that they spoke truth neither in the beginning, nor the middle, nor the end, and for this reason he definitely resolved to continue his own work. Probably this did not happen before 1566, for Bernal knew no Latin, and could not, therefore, understand the Chronicle of Giovio until Baeza published his translation in Spanish.

However that may be, it is clear that in the year 1568 he made the fair copy of the *True History.*

We know nothing more of his life. We can

[1] The work of Giovio was published in Latin in 1550-52, and translated into Spanish by Gaspar de Baeza in 1566; Gomara printed his Chronicle in 1552-53, and Illescas published his in 1564. All three soon went through several editions.—G. G.

only add that the author died in Guatemala about 1581, poor as he had lived, leaving his numerous family no riches except "his true and wonderful story," which was, nevertheless, the chief title to glory for his descendants, for in it was enshrined his fair name of honourable *Conquistador* and genial Historian.

The original manuscript of the *True History* forms a large folio volume, containing 297 leaves in an old leather binding. Although it is generally in a fairly good condition, there are some leaves partly destroyed, principally those at the beginning and at the end.

All the writing, which covers both sides of the leaves, is in the handwriting of the author; on some pages it is well done and normal, on others careless and irregular. The author could not have preserved the same composure throughout the long time occupied in writing his work.

The principal subject of this work is the Conquest "of New Spain and its provinces and the Cape of Honduras and all that lies within these lands." Those who tax Bernal with vanity and conceit suppose that when he began the *True History* his only object was to tell about himself, an entirely gratuitous supposition, for the author frequently chronicles a series of years, without including one of his personal deeds. His work begins within the year 1514 and ends with that of 1568. He divides it into 214 chapters, perhaps

intending to finish it with Chapter CCXII, at the end of which he placed his signature and *rubrica*,[1] but he changed his intention, and wrote two new chapters in the same year in which he had written Chapter CCXII, namely, the year 1568. He still intended to write another, or others, for he declares at the end of Chapter CCXIV: "It will be well in another chapter to speak of the Archbishops and Bishops that there have been." Surely Bernal did not finish his work, unless one assumes the loss of the final pages, which is not probable. The binder who bound up the manuscript understood little of the composition of ancient writings, and attached to the last folio the leaf which contained the signature of the author.

Bernal did not pretend to be a man of letters; he confesses his slight knowledge of literature, and on this account humbly begs the indulgence of his readers: "May your honours pardon me in that I cannot express it better." Nevertheless, his mode of speech is still current to-day, and is interesting and expressive, in spite of the immoderate use of copulative conjunctions, of its almost complete want of imagery, its words with variable spelling, either obsolete or incorrect, its semi-arbitrary punctuation, its erroneous concordances, its strange contractions and its unusual abbreviations.

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[1] *Rubrica*, the flourish which then and at the present time forms part of a signature among Spaniards.

PLACE - NAMES.

Acalá, a province situated about 18° Lat. N., 91° 30′ Long. W. Gueacala or Hueyacala, Great Acalá.

Altlatlaya (B. D.), (Atalaya) from Atalaya, a watch tower.

Axaruco or Ajaruco. On the north coast of Cuba.

Ayagualulco (B. D.), Ahualolco (O. y B.).

Cempoala, Çenpoal (B. D.).

Chanpoton (Potonchan). See note on pages 21-22.

Chichimecatecle (B. D.), Chichimecatecuhtli (O. y B.).

Cholula, Cholulan.

Coatzacoalcos, Guaçacalco or Guaçagualco (B. D.).

Cotaxtla, or Cuetlaxtla, Cotastan or Cotustan (B. D.)

Cuauhtémoc, Guatemuz (B. D.); Guatemucin (C.); Guatemoc, successor to Montezuma and Cuitlahuac as ruler of Mexico.

Culua, Culoa or Ulua. The land of the Mexicans.

Estomies (B. D.) or Otomis: this tribe is reputed to be the earliest settled in Central Mexico.

Huexotzingo, Huexoçingo, Guaxoçingo or Guaxalçingo (B. D.), a district and town allied to Tlaxcala; Guaxoloçingo (B. D.), a chieftain of Tlaxcala (?).

Huichilobos (B. D.), Huitzipochtli, the Mexican God of War.

Kukulcan or Cukulcan, the Maya Culture God, the same as the Mexican God Quetzalcoatl.

Malinchi or Malinche, the name given to Cortés by the Mexicans, see p. 273.

Montezuma (B. D.), Motecuhzoma (O. y B.), Motecutzoma.

Papaloapan, Papaloaba (B. D.).

Pitalpitoque (B. D.), Cuitlalpitoc (O. y B.). A Mexican chieftain called by the Spaniards Ovandillo.

Potonchan (Chanpotan). See note on pp. 21-22.

Quetzalcoatl, from the bird Quetzal (*Trogon resplendens*), and Coatl, a serpent. The Serpent-bird God, the Culture God of the Mexicans. The same as the Maya God Kukulcan.

Quiahuitztlan, Quiahuyztlan (B. D.).

Tehuaçingo, Teoaçingo, Tehuacaçingo or Tevaçingo (B. D.), Tehuatzinco.

Tendile (B. D). Teuhtlilli, Governor of Cuetaxtla.

Tenochtitlan, the City of Mexico; Tenuztitlan (B. D.), Temixtitan (C.).

Tezcatepuca (B. D.), Tezcatlipoca or Tetzcatlipoca, the Mexican God of Hell.

Tlaltelolco or Tlatelulco. The northern division of the City of Mexico.

Tzumpantzingo, Çunpanzingo (B. D), Çinpançingo (B. D.), Teocadçunpançingo (B. D.), possibly Teoll (God) or Teocalli (Temple). Tzumpantzingo, the part of the town or district where the temples stood.

Ulua, see Culua.

Xicotenga (B. D.), Xicoténcatl.

B. D. = Bernal Díaz.
O. y. B. = Orozco y Berra.
C. = Hernando Cortés.

GLOSSARY OF MEXICAN, SPANISH,

AND

OTHER FOREIGN WORDS.

Acales (Mex.), ships, from a = water and calli = a house.
Adelantado, governor-in-chief.
Alacranes, the name of a dangerous reef, from alacran, a scorpion.
Alala, an Indian exclamation.
Alcalde, chief magistrate or mayor.
Alférer, ensign or standard-bearer.
Alguacil, a constable.
Alguacil Mayor, chief constable.
Alguacil del Real, constable or storekeeper.
Amales, amal (Mex.), paper, letters.
Atalaya, a watch-tower.
Arriero, a muleteer, carrier.
Arroba, a Spanish weight of 25 lbs.
Atlatl (Mex.), a spear-thrower or throwing-stick (tiradera, Span.).
Audiencia, a court of judicature, the law officers appointed to hold a judicial inquiry.

Barranca, a ravine.

Cacao, Cacahuatl (Mex.), the fruit of Theobroma Cacao. Chocolate, made from the cacao fruit, takes its name from the Mexican word chocolatl.
Cacique, a Cuban word meaning chieftain.
Cacica, the female form of the title Cacique.
Calachoni, Calachone, Calachione, Calacheoni or Calachuni, the title of chieftain among the Mayas.
Camarero, chamberlain.
Cedula (real), Royal letters patent.
Ceiba, Bombax ceiba, the silk-cotton tree.
Cenote, Tznóte, deep natural wells or caverns in the limestone rock whence the natives of Yucatan obtain water.
Chalchihuite, Chalchivies or Chalchihuys (B. D.), Chalchihuitl (Mex.), Jadeite, highly valued by the Indians as a precious stone.
Compadre, godfather, friend.
Copal, a resinous substance burnt for incense, the gum of the *Rhus copallinum*.
Cue, a shrine, temple, a word picked up by the Spaniards in the Antilles.

Despoblado, uninhabited country.

Enaguas, petticoats, or the upper skirt of a woman's dress.

Encomienda. The Indians, at first slaves, were next subjected to the system of *repartimientos*, that is, divided among masters, who had a property in their labour, not in their persons; and, lastly, they were distributed in *encomiendas*, paying to the *encomendero*, or owner of the district, a tribute or produce-rent, in return for protection (Herman Merivale—Lectures on Colonisation).

Escopeteros, musketeers.

Fraile de la Merced, a friar of the Order of Mercy.

Henneqnen, or sisal hemp; enequen (B. D.), a species of aloe (Agave Ixtli); the fibre is now largely used for cordage.

Hidalgo a gentleman by birth.

Huajolotes (Mex.), turkeys.

Jiquipil (Maya), a body of warriors eight thousand strong.

Lienzo, a painting on linen or cotton cloth.

Lope luzio (Totonac), prince or great lord. Used by the Spaniards as a nick-name for the Totonac Indians.

Macana or Maquihuitl (Mex.), a wooden sword edged with sharp pieces of flint or obsidian.

Maestresala, the chief waiter in a nobleman's household.

Mamei, the fruit of the Mamie Zapote tree.

Mastel, a loin cloth.

Monte, in Spanish meaning a mountain, a hill is used in Spanish America in the way *bush* is used in Australia or *veldt* in South Africa.

Nahuatatos (Mex.), interpreters.

Pelota, a Basque and Spanish ball game.

Penacho, a tuft of feathers, a plume.

Petaca, a trunk or leather-covered hamper.

Petate, a plaited mat; Petlatl (Mex.).

Piragua, a large canoe.

Plaza, a square, market-place.

Pueblo, a town or village, used especially to designate a township or community of American Indians.

Regidor, magistrate, prefect.

Repartimiento. See Encomienda.

Residencia, the examination and formal account demanded of a person holding public office.

Rubrica, the flourish which forms part of the signature of a Spaniard.

Salitrales, salt marshes.

Tacal Naguas (Mex.), wizards, soothsayers.

Tamenes (Mex.), porters, carriers.

Tapias, mud walls, walls made of earth stamped into a mould.

Tatuan (B. D.), Tlatoan (Mex.), a chieftain.

Teleçiguata, a great lady.

Teocalli (Mex.), a temple, usually raised on a pyramidal foundation.

Tepuzques (B. D.), the Mexican word for cannon, from *Tepusque*, iron.

Tianguez or Tianguiz (Mex.), a market or market-place.

Tiradera, an Atlatl (Mex.) or spear-thrower, throwing-stick.

Tonatio (B. D.), Tonatiuh (Mex.), the sun, or child of the sun; the name given by the Mexicans to Pedro de Alvarado.

Tortilla, a little cake; the thin cake made from maize, the staple food of the Mexicans.

Tuna, the prickly pear, fruit of the Nopal Cactus (*Opuntia*).

Vecino, a neighbour, a citizen.

Veedor (obsolete), overseer, official in charge of stores.

Xexenes, a small kind of mosquito.

Yuca, Yuca de Casave, *Jatropha Manihot*, or *Manihot utilissima*. Cassava bread is made from the root of *Jatropha Manihot*.

Adelantado. An *adelantado* was an army commander with administrative rights over the lands he conquered. Introduced during the reigns of Fernando III and Alfonso X, the office of adelantado (*adelantamiento*) was continued in the Indies with little alteration. The *Adelantado de Indias* was usually the commander of a sea-borne expedition, and as such resembled the *Adelantado de Mar*, an office created by Alfonso X for Juan García Villamayor when the latter proposed to mount a crusade.

Alcalde (Arabic, *al-k̇āḋī* [the] judge). The *alcalde* exercised judicial powers and served on the *concejo*, or civic council, and there were normally one or two attached to each town. The most powerful was called the *alcalde mayor*, and those under him were given specific duties. The alcaldes appointed by Cortés appear to have exercised little or no power during the conquest, except when Cortés found it convenient. Originally, appointments of alcaldes were made only by the king, but by Cortés's time certain classes of alcalde might be elected by the concejo.

Alguacil (Arabic, *al-wazīr* [the] vizier). The *alguaciles* were employed by the municipal council of a town to ensure that its orders were obeyed and, in a more general capacity, to preserve the peace. They ranked as auxiliaries to the *corregidor* and accompanied him in public. The nearest English equivalent is a constable: the *alguacil mayor* approximated a chief constable.

Audiencia. The Audiencia was a court of justice with a defined territorial area of jurisdiction. The Audiencia first appeared as a reformation of the ecclesiastical and royal courts, and was a tribunal appointed to the chancellery. In the Indies the Audiencias had far greater authority than in Spain and shared in the government of the colony to which they had been appointed. The first of such *Audiencias Indianas* was established in Santo Domingo in 1511, and it was with this body that Cortés had to deal.

Bachiller. A holder of the lowest of the Spanish university degrees. Like all Spanish degrees, the *bachillerato* carried valuable privileges, not least that of the right to be tried in an ecclesiastical court for most offenses. On May 7, 1870, the bachillerato was downgraded to a school-leaving exam.

Brigantine (*bergantín* from Catalan *bergant*, "mercenary soldier"). A term loosely applied to any vessel equipped with both sails and oars and designed for use in shallow waters or in conditions where great maneuverability was required. There is no record of the appearance of Cortés's brigantines; native drawings made after the conquest depict them as square-rigged and three-masted. This they certainly were not, and such drawings were probably inspired by Spanish caravels (*q.v.*). An eighteenth-century illustration shows them, more accurately, as single-masted, lateen-rigged longboats (see plate 13).

Caravel (*carabela*, med. Latin, *carabus*, a boat made of wands covered with leather). First used by the Portuguese on their African voyages, the caravel was probably derived from Arab models and closely resembled the modern sambuk of Aden and the Red Sea ports. Caravels were either lateen-rigged or square (*carabela redonda*) and carried two or three masts. They seem to have been carvel-built and were relatively small, not exceeding sixty or seventy tons and some seventy or eighty feet overall. Like the terms *nao* (*q.v.*) and brigantine (*q.v.*), caravel refers to no particular rig. The ships of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were classified according to the design and purpose of their hulls and to their size.

Contador. In Spain the *contador mayor* was the chief of the *Contaduría de Hacienda*, the center of the kingdom's financial administration. The contador of the Indies, however, in the absence of a Contaduría de Hacienda, was little more than an accountant, one of whose tasks was to look after the royal fifth.

Factor. A royal official appointed in the Indies to collect the rents and tributes owing to the Crown.

Hidalgo. From *hijo de algo*, probably meaning the son of someone of noble birth. The *Siete Partidas* describes *hidalgos* as "men of good lineage . . . [who] must be chosen from among those of direct lineage from both father and grandfather to the fourth generation." Only the paternal line was important, for elsewhere the *Partidas* rule that "if the mother is a commoner [*villana*] and the father an hidalgo, the son is an hidalgo" (part. II, tit. XXI, ley 2, 3). Although in the Middle Ages the term was often applied to all members of the nobility, the more general application was to the lesser nobility and *infanzones;* that is to say, those who had proved themselves noble by the purity of their blood and their prowess in arms but who lacked financial resources.

League. The Spanish league (*legua*) was calculated as one twenty-fifth of a degree of latitude measured on the earth's surface, about 2.6 miles. But there were no means of measuring this accurately, and the actual distance was variable and depended on the terrain. A day's journey on horseback, called a *jornada,* was usually considered to be seven leagues.

Licenciado. The holder of the second of the Spanish academic degrees. Its original derivation was from *licentia docendi,* and this gave the bearer the right to teach and to compete for the highest degree, the doctorate. A *licenciado* is now roughly equivalent to the English B.A.

Nao (Greek, *naus,* ship). The term *nao* was used to describe ships of some hundred tons or more. The Escorial MS of the *Siete Partidas* (part. II, tit. 24, ley 7) describes the nao, along with the carrack, as a ship with one or two masts, though by the sixteenth century most of them must have been three-masted and square-rigged.

Oidor. The judge or magistrate of an Audiencia (*q.v.*) or chancellery (*chancillería*). In the Indies the *oidores* had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal affairs and also made up the *Real Acuerdo,* an advisory council to the governor, viceroy or governor general. The oidores also had to perform various other functions; they were appointed by the *Consejo de Indias* and received a quarterly salary of five thousand *ducados.*

Regidor. A member of a municipal council (*regimiento* or *cabildo*) whose functions resembled those of the English alderman. *Regidores* were generally elected annually, although in some cases nominations for life were made by the Crown in recognition of outstanding service.

Residencia. An inquiry into the activities of Crown officials. It was usually held at the end of a term of office, and the holder was not allowed to leave his post without having submitted to it first. It might, however, be called at any time if charges of sufficient gravity were made against the holder; and this happened in Cortés's case. The presiding officer was either a judge, the *juez de residencia,* or the successor to the same office granted special judicial powers. A number of questions were put to selected witnesses. If the defendant were found guilty of mismanagement or injustices, he was required to make compensation or even suffer more extreme penalties, usually confiscation of lands and property.

Veedor. An inspector or overseer. In Spain there were *veedores* with a number of separate responsibilities, but their more general function was to uphold ordinances and inspect public services and fortifications. In the Indies they became also guardians of royal interests.

ADELANTADO. Provincial governor; a Crown appointment of considerable power and prestige. Pedro de Alvarado was made Adelantado of Guatemala.

ALCALDE. Mayor of a town; there were usually two of them.

ALCALDE MAYOR. Governor of a province (alcaldía mayor); a Crown appointment. Cf. Corregidor.

ALGUACIL. A constable; alguacil mayor, chief constable.

ARROBA. Twenty-five pounds.

AUDIENCIA. The highest tribunal of New Spain; also referred to as a chancellery (cancillería). It was composed of a President and four oidores, or assoicate judges. In the absence of the Viceroy, the Audiencia assumed executive functions, the President being the *de facto* Viceroy, as in the case of Nuño de Guzmán (1529).

BACHILLER. Lowest of the academic degrees, comparable to our A. B. Like those of Licenciado and Doctor, it was heavily swathed in dignity and privileges, notably the right to be heard in an ecclesiastical court for most charges.

BRIGANTINE. A small, partially decked pinnace, propelled by oars and sails. The brigantines of Cortés had a small gun mounted forward and carried a crew of twenty-three.

CABILDO. Town council; also known as regimiento.

CAPTAIN-GENERAL. Military commandant, as opposed to civil governor and Justicia Mayor. Cortés was elected to all three offices by the cabildo of Vera Cruz in 1519.

CARGA. Load carried by an Indian bearer (*tameme*); two arrobas or fifty pounds.

Castellano. The peso de oro, peso de oro fino, or peso de minas, valued at 450 maravedís. *See* Peso.

Comendador. The commander of a military order, such as those of Santiago and Calatrava.

Comunero. The revolt of the free cities of Castile (comunidades) against Charles V in 1520-1522 gave rise to the use of "comunero" as a synonym for rebel or troublemaker.

Contador. Accountant; one of the four treasury officials assigned to New Spain to look after the Crown's fiscal interests. The other three were the Veedor (inspector), Factor (business agent), and Tesorero (treasurer).

Corregidor. Governor of a city or province (corregimiento). The corregidor was a royal official with functions not easily distinguished from those of an alcalde mayor.

Culhúa. The "Mexican Empire," or Triple Alliance of Texcoco, Tacuba, and Mexico-Tenochtitlán. Gómara uses "Mexican" and "Culhúan" indiscriminately, although "Mexican" should be restricted to the inhabitants of Mexico–Tenochtitlán.

Factor. *See* Contador.

Fanega. Dry measure of a hundredweight, about 1.6 bushels.

Hidalgo. A noble.

Justicia Mayor. Chief magistrate. *See* Captain-General.

Legua. A league. The standard Spanish league was $\frac{1}{25}$ of a degree of latitude measured on the earth's surface—at least in theory—which comes to about 2.6 miles, but in practice it tended to vary with the difficulty of the terrain. Ordinarily, a day's journey on horseback (*jornada*) was reckoned as seven leagues.

Licenciado. Licenciate, the second of the academic degrees. *See* Bachiller.

Mexico. As used in the text, Mexico is always the City of Mexico. The country itself, until Independence, was known as New Spain.

Nao. A fully decked vessel, larger than the caravel. Columbus's flagship, the *Santa María*, was a small nao of about one hundred tons.

Oidor. Associate justice of the Audiencia.

Peso. Spanish coinage of the time is too complicated to be gone into here. The common unit of value was the maravedí, 450 of which made up the castellano, or peso de oro, which in turn was divided into eight tomines or reales. The ducat (ducado) was worth eleven tomines. The silver peso of 278 maravedís did not become standard until much later. Gómara apparently uses the silver peso as the equivalent of half a castellano.

Regidor. Alderman. The Spanish town council (regimiento or cabildo) had a varying number of regidores, depending upon the importance of the place. Some were elected annually (on January 1), while others were ap-

pointed regidores perpetuos by the Crown as a reward for distinguished services. Bernal Díaz del Castillo was a regidor perpetuo of Guatemala.

RESIDENCIA. A trial to which royal officers were subjected, either at the expiration of their terms or, as in the case of Cortés, at the King's pleasure.

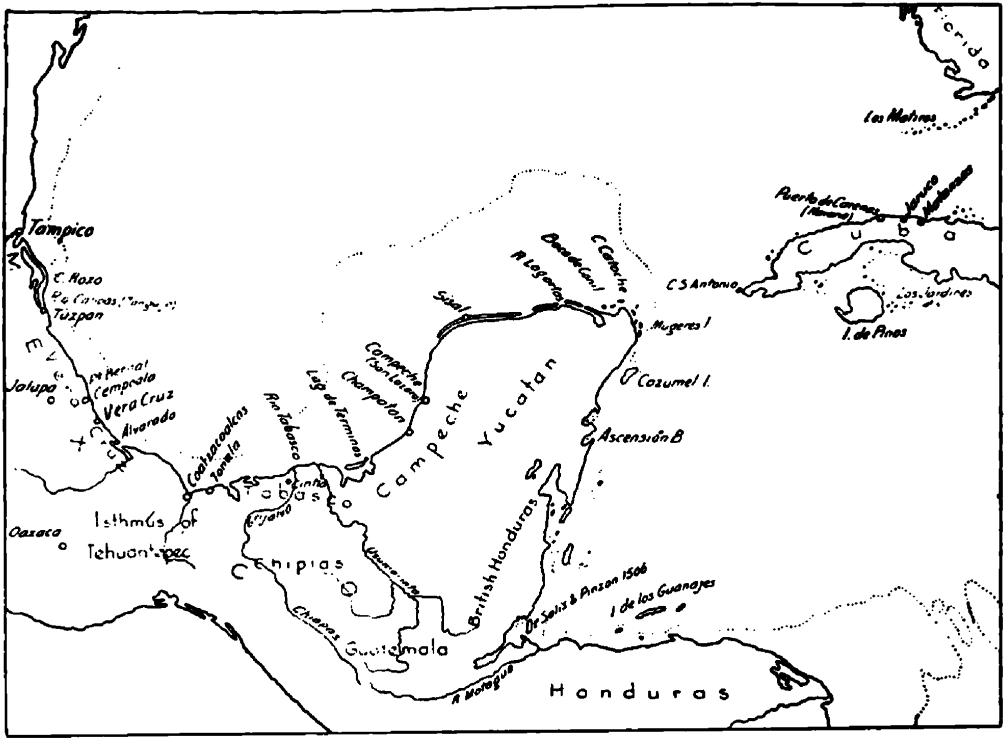
TAMEME (Aztec *tlameme*). A bearer. Owing to the absence of pack animals the *tamemes* were an important part of Aztec economy.

TIBURÓN. The great shark of the West Indies and the Pacific coast of North America, much feared for its ferocity.

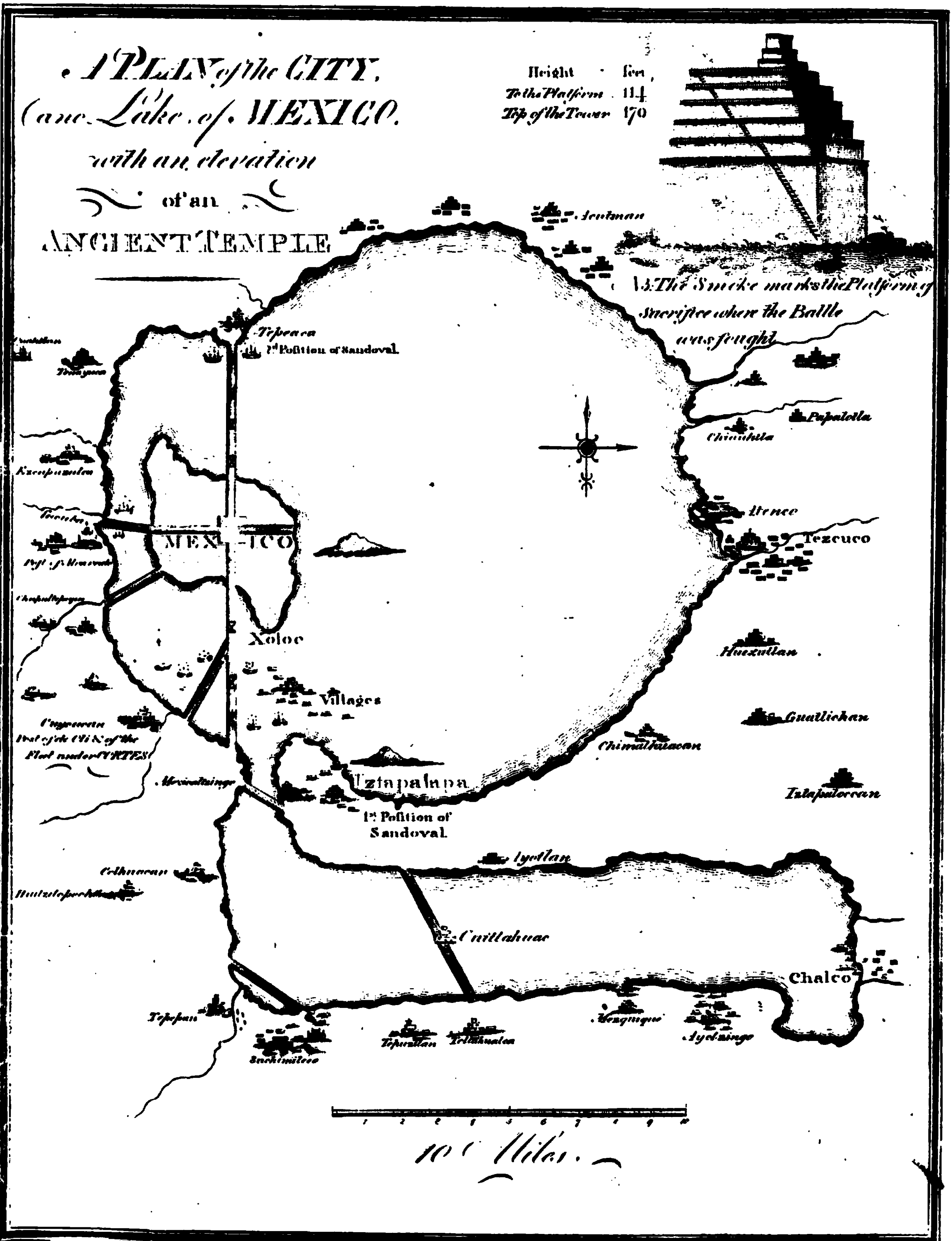
VEEDOR. Inspector. *See* Contador.

VILLA. A municipal corporation, one step below the city (ciudad) in importance. Most of the Spanish towns of New Spain were organized as villas and enjoyed the considerable privileges of their Castilian prototypes. Their prestige and authority, though not precisely defined, were nevertheless great and were recognized, even by the Crown, as a kind of birthright. Cortés made use of the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz to legitimize, more or less, his illegal invasion of New Spain.

VISITADOR. The royal visitor was an ancient institution going back to the time of Charlemagne. By it the Crown kept an eye on its servants. Of all the royal officers, the visitor was the most dreaded, for he represented the King's person and was sometimes vested with the awful authority to execute justice by his own hand. That Cortés was able to flummox Cristóbal de Tapia, the first royal visitor sent to New Spain (1521), is a monument to his genius for intrigue and to his effrontery.



MAP SHOWING THE SEA ROUTE FROM CUBA TO VERA CRUZ AND FLORIDA


A PLAN of the CITY, and Lake of MEXICO, with an elevation of an ANCIENT TEMPLE
Height feet
To the Platform 114
Top of the Tower 170
N.B. The Smoke marks the Platform of Sacrifice where the Battle was fought
1st Position of Sandoval
Papalotla
MEXICO
Itenco
Tezcuco
Xoloc
Villages
Huexutlan
Iztapalapa
1st Position of Sandoval
Cuitlahuac
Chalco
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
10 Miles

Translator's Note to the First Edition London, 1800

The author frequently mistakes dates; it has been therefore judged necessary to insert them in the heads of chapters according to the most correct accounts.

PREFACE.

I BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, regidor of this loyal city of Guatimala, and author of the following moſt true hiſtory, during the time I was writing the ſame, happened to ſee a work compoſed by Franciſco Lopez de Gomara, the elegance of which made me bluſh for the vulgarity of my own, and throw down my pen in deſpair. But when I had read it, I found that the whole was a miſrepreſentation, and alſo that in his extraordinary exaggerations of the numbers of the natives, and of thoſe who were killed in the different battles, his account was utterly unworthy of belief. We never much exceeded four hundred men, and if we had found ſuch numbers bound hand and foot, we could not have put them to death. But the fact was, we had enough to do to protect ourſelves, for I vow to God, and ſay Amen thereto, that we were every day repeating our prayers, and ſupplicating to be delivered from the perils that ſurrounded us. Alaric a moſt brave king, and Attila a proud warrior, never killed ſo many of their foes as we are ſaid by that hiſtorian to have done in New Spain. He alſo ſays we burned many cities and temples; and this he does to aſtoniſh his reader; not ſeeming to recollect that any of the true conquerors exiſted, to contradict him. He alſo enhances the merit of one officer at the expence of another; ſpeaking of ſome as captains who were not with us.

He

He ſays that Cortes gave orders, ſecretly, for the deſtruction of the ſhips; whereas it was done by the common conſent of all, to have the aſſiſtance of the mariners. He alſo depreciates Juan de Grijalva moſt unjuſtly; he being a very valiant captain. He omits the diſcovery of Yucatan by De Cordova, and is in an error again when he ſpeaks of the firſt expedition of Garray, as if Garray had come with it. In what concerns the defeat of Narvaez, his account is conformable to the relations given; but in that of the wars of Tlaſcala he is as erroneous as ever. As to the war in Mexico, where we loſt above eight hundred and ſeventy ſoldiers, this he treats as a matter of little importance; and he makes no mention of our loſſes in the ſubſequent ſiege, but ſpeaks of it as if it had been a feſtival, or a marriage! but why ſhould I waſte paper and ink in the detection of his numerous errors; I will therefore proceed with my relation, for according to what the wiſe ſay, the art and beauty of hiſtorical compoſition is, to write the truth; and proceeding upon this rule, with ſuch embelliſhment and ornament as I ſhall hereafter judge expedient, I will relate and bring into full light the conqueſt of New Spain, and the heroic ſervices of us the true conquerors, who with our ſmall numbers, under the adventurous and brave Captain Hernando Cortes, and with great danger and hardſhips, gained to his Majeſty this rich country; for which ſervice his Majeſty has frequently iſſued his orders that we ſhould be amply rewarded. Moreover, as a good pilot ſounds, and diſcovers ſhoals and ſands as he proceeds, by the lead and line, ſo will I, with my pen in my hand, expoſe miſrepreſentations, in my voyage through the hiſtory of Gomara, to the haven of truth; but if I were to point out every error, the chaff would outweigh the grain.

My relation will give to hiſtorians ſufficient whereby to celebrate our

our general, Cortes, and the brave conquerors by whoſe hands this holy and great undertaking ſucceeded; for this is no hiſtory of diſtant nations, nor vain reveries; I relate that of which I was an eye witneſs, and not idle reports and hearſay: for truth is ſacred. Gomara received and wrote ſuch accounts as were intended to enhance the fame and merit of Cortes; no mention being made by him of our valiant captains and ſoldiers; and the whole tenor of the work ſhews how much he was influenced by his attachment to that family by whom he and his are patroniſed. He has alſo miſled the Doctor Illeſcas, and Biſhop Paulus Jovius.

The following hiſtory I have brought to its concluſion, in the loyal city of Guatimala, the reſidence of the royal court of audience, on this twenty ſixth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thouſand five hundred ~~and ſeventy two.~~

PREFACE.

The History of the Conquest of New Spain is a subject in which great interest is felt at the present day, and the English public will hail these memoirs, which contain the only true and complete account of that important transaction.

The author of this original and charming production, to which he justly gives the title of 'The True History of the Conquest of New Spain,' was himself one of the Conquistadores; one who not only witnessed the transactions which he relates, but who also performed a glorious part in them; a soldier who, for impartiality and veracity, perhaps never had his equal. His account is acknowledged to be the only one on which we can place reliance, and it has been the magazine from which the most eloquent of the Spanish writers on the same subject, as well as those of other countries, have borrowed their best materials. Some historians have even transcribed whole pages, but have not had sufficient honesty to acknowledge it.

The author, while living, was never rewarded for the great services he had rendered his country, and it is remarkable that, after his death, his very memoirs were pillaged by court historians, to raise a literary monument to themselves.

Most of the other writers on the conquest, particularly the Spanish, have filled their works with exaggerations, to create astonishment and false interest; pages are filled with so termed philosophical remarks, which but ill supply the place of the intelligent reader's own reflections. Bernal Diaz differs widely from those writers, for he only states what he knows to be true. The British public, fond above all others of original productions,

will peruse with interest and delight a work which has so long been the secret fountain from which all other accounts of the conquest, with the exception of those which are least faithful, have taken life.

In respect of its originality, it may vie with any work of modern times, not excepting 'Don Quixote.' The author seems to have been born to show forth truth in all its beauty, and he raises it to a divinity in his mind. Can anything be more expressive of an honest conscience than what he says in his own preface: "You have only to read my history, and you see it is true."

The reader may form a general idea of this work from the following critique, which Dr. Robertson, the historian, passes upon it: "Bernal Diaz's account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with such pleasant naïveté, with such interesting details, with such amusing vanity, and yet so pardonable in an old soldier, who had been, as he boasts, in a hundred and nineteen battles, as renders his book one of the most singular that is to be found in any language."

One circumstance, and that very justly, he is most anxious to impress on your mind, namely, that all the merit of the conquest is not due to Cortes alone; for which reason he generally uses the expression "Cortes and all of us."

This is an allowable feeling in our old soldier, and it must be remembered that the greater part of the men who joined Cortes were of good families, who, as usual on such expeditions, equipped themselves at their own expense, and went out as adventurers of their own free choice.

With respect to our author's style of writing, it is chiefly characterized by plainness and simplicity, and yet there are numerous passages which are written with great force and eloquence, and which, as the Spanish editor says, "could not have been more forcibly expressed, nor with greater elegance." Some readers may at first feel inclined to censure our author for going into minute particulars in describing the fitting out of the expedition under Cortes; for instance, his describing the qualities and colours of the horses; but all this, it will be seen, was of the utmost importance to his history, and of the horses he was bound to take special notice, for they performed a conspicuous part in the conquest. The honest old soldier even devotes a

couple of his last chapters to the whole of his companions in arms, in which he mentions them all by name, describes their persons, their bravery, and the manner in which they died.

To conclude these few remarks on this work, I must observe, that it not only surpasses Cortes' despatches in completeness, but also in truth and naïveté. He represents the whole to you with a simplicity truly sublime; at times he astonishes with a power of expressing his sentiments peculiar to himself, and with a pathos that goes to the very heart.

Bernal Diaz was of a respectable family, and born in Medina del Campo, a small town in the province of Leon. He was what in Spain is termed an hidalgo—though by this little more was signified than a descent from Christian forefathers, without any mixture of Jewish or Moorish blood. With respect to the precise year of his birth he has left us in the dark, but, according to his own account, he first left Castile, for the New World, in the year 1514; and as, on his first arrival in Mexico, in the year 1519, he still calls himself a young man, we may safely conclude that he was born between 1495 and 1500. In the year 1568 he completed his work, at which time there were only six of the Conquistadores alive, and he must then have been about seventy years of age, but there is every reason for supposing that he reached the advanced age of eighty-six. Endowed with singular nobleness of mind, he had the happiness to enjoy an unblemished reputation.

The excellent Torquemada, in speaking of him in his voluminous work entitled 'Monarchia Indiana,' says, "I saw and knew this same Bernal Diaz in the city of Guatimala; he was then a very aged man, and one who bore the best of reputations." Quoting him in another passage, he has, "Thus says Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a soldier on whose authority and honesty we can place reliance." He was a man devoted to his religion, and it must be particularly borne in mind that the Catholic faith was never stronger than at that time; yet we find him the least superstitious of all the Spanish historians on the Conquest, and, in the 34th Chapter, he has shown a mind superior to the times in which he lived.

If we contemplate the period in which the conquest of New Spain took place, we can easily imagine that Cortes considered

it imperative on him to plant his religion among the Indians by the power of the sword, if he could not by kind remonstrances; and we are often reminded of Joshua in the Old Testament. The Spaniards themselves certainly entertained that idea; for in the edition of Cortes' despatches published at Mexico in 1770, his sword is termed, "Gladius Domini et Gideonis:" yet the Spaniards were not the cruel monsters they have generally been described during those times. As far as the conquest of New Spain is concerned, they were more humane than otherwise; and if at times they used severity, we find that it was caused by the horrible and revolting abominations which were practised by the natives. We can scarcely imagine kinder-hearted beings than the first priests and monks who went out to New Spain; they were men who spent their lives under every species of hardship to promote the happiness of the Indians. Who can picture to his mind a more amiable and noble disposition than that of father Olmedo? He was one of the finest characters, Dr. Robertson says, that ever went out as priest with an invading army!

We may have become exceedingly partial to a work which has now been constantly before our eyes for the last two years, yet we can scarcely imagine that any one could take up a volume, whether a novel or a history, which he would peruse with more delight than these memoirs.

With regard to the translation, which is from the old edition printed at Madrid in 1632, we have acted up to the author's desire, and have neither added nor taken anything away, and have attempted to follow the original as closely as possible. To the original there is not a single note, and particular care has been taken not to overburden the translation with them. In the spelling of the names of the Indian chiefs, the townships, and of the provinces, we have mostly followed Torquemada, who is considered more correct on this point, for he lived fifty years in New Spain, was perfect master of the Mexican language, and made the history of that country his peculiar study.

PREFACE

THE narrative contained in the Letters of Fernando Cortes is the first description ever written of the most highly developed civilisation on the continent of North America at the date of its discovery. Astronomical science has brought the existence of planets within common knowledge, and our imagination is already so familiar with the possibility of a Martian population, that a discovery positively demonstrating such a fact would be received as confirmatory rather than surprising. By the discoveries of Christopher Columbus, the civilisations of two worlds as absolutely strange to one another as different planets were brought into sudden contact productive of conflict and that conflict was naturally fiercest where the alien invaders were confronted by the best organised effort to contest their advance; hence the period of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, which is depicted by Cortes in these letters to Charles V. was prolific in deeds the most striking to the imagination of any that modern history records. No element of drama was absent, for the most heroic qualities, as well as the blackest passions of the human heart, were engaged on both sides in a life-and-death struggle, which culminated in an appalling race-tragedy, replete with epic horror. The piratical complexion of the Conqueror's initial movements forced him to wrest justification from success, and this was only made possible by the exercise of his indomitable courage, his relentless and unscrupulous diplomacy, and by that strange favour, which capricious Fortune sometimes destines as a reward for sheer audacity.

Fortunate for posterity was the anxious need of Cortes

to win royal approval for his lawless courses, for from it sprang the inspiration which prompted him to pen his descriptions of the Aztec civilisation at the zenith of its splendour and to report in detail to his sovereign the progress of his conquest.

Although historians have from the beginning recognised the superlative value of these letters and several editions of them are accessible to students familiar with the Spanish language, it has been left to my modest labours to provide an English translation of the complete series of *Relaciones*. The translation of sixteenth century Spanish into readable, modern English is not devoid of difficulty, though greater demands are made on the translator's patience and ingenuity than on his erudition.

Cortes wrote with soldier-like terseness, but his powers of observation were acute and accurate; hence his descriptions are both lucid and striking. His vocabulary was very limited, and as he was unfamiliar with the classical and scholastic styles of composition then in vogue amongst men of letters, his plain tale is ungarnished with the digressions into philosophy and theology and the lengthy citations from scripture and the classics, which abound in the more polished writings of his times. I suspect, moreover, that he had in mind to capture the fancy of the royal youth to whom he wrote, and, in days when novels were not, and court life must have weighed on a monarch of seventeen, still too young to be engrossed either in the delusive pleasures of private dissipation or in the absorbing intrigues of public ambition, many of his pages may have furnished the youthful sovereign with diverting reading in his leisure hours

I have aimed rather to preserve accuracy and the characteristics of Cortes's original style than to produce a more finished piece of English literature, by excessive rearrangement and the employment of a richer vocabulary than he commanded.

The subjects touched upon in the Letters are so little known to the general reader (though they constantly engage the attention of able specialists) that I have supplied notes to accompany the text, which are intended to explain and complete the narrative of Cortes. These notes deal with various and very large subjects, on some of which historical authorities are not in agreement, while on many others of the greatest interest and importance the last word has not yet been spoken. The statements I have made and the opinions I have expressed on these debatable questions are based upon the results of my researches in the works cited in the Bibliographical Note preceding the Letters: their scope is explanatory and complementary—not controversial.

The portrait of Cortes which appears as a frontispiece is after the alleged Titian, now in the possession of the Duque de Plasencia.

The portrait of Charles V. represents that monarch in his early youth, at the time when Cortes first began his correspondence; it is reproduced from a print in the British Museum.

The plan of the City of Mexico is taken from the *Historia Antigua* of Señor Manuel Orozco y Berra and the several maps are from the editions in which they originally appeared of the *Storia Antica del Messico* of Clavigero, 1780, Lorenzana's *Historia de Nueva Espana*, 1770, and of C. St. John Fancourt's *History of Yucatan from its Discovery to the Close of the Seventeenth Century.*

Since the days when those illustrious pioneers in this particular field of historical research, Washington Irving and William H. Prescott laboured with results that have won them enduring fame, the classification of the vast and scattered archives of Spain has gone steadily forward, with the result that the worker of to-day finds a mass of valuable material easily accessible that had formerly to be sought at great cost of time, labour, and expense in the

collections of state papers and correspondence which were not infrequently in a condition of disheartening and baffling confusion. The collections of inedited documents published by Rivadeneira under the title of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, that of Navarrete published in Madrid in 1842, the *Biblioteca Occidental* of Barcia, the voluminous French translations of Ternaux-Compans, and finally the indefatigable labours of Señor Garcia Icazbalceta and Don Pascual Gayangos have cleared the modern student's path of formidable difficulties.

Although I am the fortunate possessor of a number of these valuable collections, I have likewise had to make researches in libraries and collections, both public and private, in Mexico, Spain, Italy, and England, in the course of which I have met with courteous and helpful encouragement from many to whom my sense of obligation is profound; but primarily I owe the pleasure and interest which the preparation of this work has afforded me to the late Abbé Augustin Fischer, sometime chaplain to the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, under whose cultured guidance it was my privilege to begin my studies in Spanish-American history. The death of my delightful and accomplished mentor, after a life of great vicissitudes, deprives me of one of the chief satisfactions which the publication of this work would otherwise have afforded me, but it does not lessen my obligation to pay a tribute of grateful thanks to his memory.

FRANCIS A. MACNUTT.

PALAZZO PAMPHILJ,
ROME, October, 1907.

PREFATORY NOTE.

FIFTH Volume deals only with the Maps and Plans of the Valley and City of Mexico, beginning with a Pre-Columbian Plan of part of the City, and ending with a Map of the Valley compiled from the latest surveys.

The hope is entertained that it may be published in time for the Session of the Congress of Americanists, which will be held in the City of Mexico in September, 1910, and may help to direct attention to the many obscurities in the topography of the Ancient City, some of which can be cleared up by observers on the spot.

The Maps and Plans will also make clearer and add to the interest of the description by Bernal Días of the operations in the Valley and the siege of the City,

IN 1908 the Hakluyt Society published my translation of *The True Story of the Conquest of New Spain* by Bernal Diaz del Castillo with maps and notes in five volumes, and I wish to express my thanks to the Council of that Society for permitting me to use that translation for the present volume, which tells the story so far as it relates to the discovery and conquest of Mexico in Bernal Diaz's own words.

Five letters of Hernando Cortés are added to make clear the topography of the siege of the City.

The latter part of Bernal Diaz's history deals with the march to Honduras, which is another story.

A. P. M.

January, 1928.

Google

INTRODUCTION

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

FOUR eye-witnesses of the discovery and conquest of Mexico have left written records :—

Hernando Cortés, who wrote five letters known as the *Cartas de Relacion* to the Emperor Charles V.

The First of these letters, despatched from Vera Cruz, has never been found, but its place is supplied by a letter written to the Emperor at the same time by the Municipality of Vera Cruz, dated 10th July, 1519.

The Second letter, from Segura de la Frontera (Tepeaca), is dated 30th October, 1520.

The Third letter was written from Coyoacan, and dated 15th May, 1522.

The Fourth letter was written from the city of Temixtitan (Mexico), and dated 15th October, 1524.

The Fifth letter, written from Temixtitan

(Mexico), dated 3rd September, 1526, deals with the march to Honduras.

The Anonymous Conqueror whose identity has never been ascertained.

The original of this document is lost, and its contents are preserved to us in an Italian translation. It deals only with the customs, arms, food, religion, buildings, etc., of the inhabitants of the city of Mexico, and adds nothing to our knowledge of events during the Conquest.

Andrés de Tápia, whose short but interesting account of the expedition under Cortés ends with the defeat of Narvaez.

This document was only brought to light during the last century.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, whose stirring and picturesque narrative is given in the following pages.

To these may be added the *Itinerario de Grijalva*, an account written by the chaplain who accompanied Grijalva on his expedition when the coast of Mexico was first discovered; but this account ends with the return of the expedition to Cuba, and does not deal with the conquest of the country.

The original of this document has been lost, and it comes down to us in an Italian translation. If the title is correct, it must have been written by the priest Juan Diaz who accompanied the expedition. It seems to be written in a hostile spirit, and its statements should be received with caution.

Many writers followed during the next forty

years who had conversed with actors in the events, and some of whom had heard the story from the mouths of the conquered Indians, and much additional information was thus added to the record; but for a vivid impression of this daring plunge into the unknown, and the triumphant struggle of an isolated handful of Spaniards against a powerful and warlike race, we must rely on the accounts given by those two great soldiers and adventurers, leader and follower, Hernando Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

The scene of the principal part of Bernal Díaz's narrative lies within the southern half of the present republic of Mexico, Western Central America and the peninsula of Yucatan, a land wholly within the tropics, which, however, owing to its physical conformation, furnishes almost every variety of climate.

A great range of volcanic mountains runs almost continuously through Mexico and the greater part of Central America, near the Pacific Coast and parallel to it. A second range of mountains, not so continuous and distinct, runs almost parallel to the Atlantic coast. The whole of the interior of the country between these two ranges may be said to be mountainous but intersected by many high-lying plains from 4000 to 8000 feet above sea level, which form one of the most characteristic features of the country. These plains are sometimes seamed with narrow *barrancas*[1] hundreds of feet in depth,

[1] *Canyons*, ravines.

often with precipitous sides, caused by the washing away of the thick covering of light volcanic ash down to the bed rock. In common speech the land is divided into the *tierra caliente*, the *tierra templada*, and the *tierra fria*, the hot, temperate and cold lands. As the slope of the mountains is rather more gradual towards the Atlantic than towards the Pacific, the *tierra caliente* is more extensive in the former direction. Three volcanic peaks, Orizaba, Popocatépetl and Ixtacíhuatl, almost in the middle of Southern Mexico, rise above the line of perpetual snow and reach a height of about 17,000 feet, and several of the somewhat lower peaks are snow-capped during some months of the year. None of the rivers of Mexico west of the Isthmus of Tehuantépec are navigable in the sense of being highways of commercial importance. Passing to the east of the Isthmus of Tehuantépec the country of Chiapas and Guatemala does not differ materially in its general characteristics from that already described, with the exception that the rivers are relatively of greater importance, and the waters of the Usumacinta and Grijalva form innumerable lagoons and swamps before entering the Gulf of Mexico.

North and west of the Usumacinta and its tributaries, the land, with the exception of the Cockscomb range in British Honduras, is all low, and the peninsula of Yucatan appears to be little more than a coral reef slightly raised above sea level. There are no rivers, for the rain sinks easily

through the porous limestone rock, and the natives have often to seek their drinking water 100 feet or more below the surface in the great *cenotes* (*tznótes*) or limestone caverns.

The sea round the north and west coast of the peninsula is very shallow, the 100 fathom line being in some parts as much as ninety miles distant from the shore.

The wet season in Mexico and Central America may (subject to local variations) be said to extend from June to October, but it lasts somewhat longer on the Atlantic than on the Pacific slope. During these months the rainfall is often very heavy, the States of Tabasco and Vera Cruz probably receiving the larger amount.

During the winter months occasional strong cold gales sweep the Gulf of Mexico from the North, the dreaded *Norte* so often mentioned in Bernal Díaz's narrative. This wind causes some discomfort even on the high plateau of the *tierra templada*, which, notwithstanding this drawback, may safely be said to possess one of the most perfect climates in the world.

The first question always asked regarding the Conquest is, "Who were the Mexicans, and how did they get to Mexico?" and to these questions no certain answer can be given. All that can be said is that the whole American race, although it may have originated from more than one stock, reached America in a very early stage of human development, and that the Nahua tribes to which

Mexicans belong came from the north-west coast, which is generally assumed to have been the earliest home of the American race. Whether the people came from Asia at a time when the Northern continents were continuous is a question not easily settled, but if such were the case, the migration must have taken place before the cultivation of cereal crops or the smelting of iron ore was known to the Northern Asiatics, for no iron implements were found in America, and no cereal was found there that was known in the East, the only cereal cultivated in America being the Indian corn or maize, and this is clearly of indigenous origin.

It is, therefore, not necessary to consider further such a very distant connection, if such existed, between the extreme east and west.

There is, of course, the possibility of isolated drifts from Asia to America; several instances of Polynesians having drifted in their canoes almost incredible distances in the Pacific are on record, and derelict junks have been known to reach the coast of America; but the survivors of such drifts, although they may have introduced a new game or some slight modification of an existing art, are not likely to have affected very materially the development of American culture.

The waves of migration from north to south, due probably to pressure of population or search for supplies of food, must necessarily have been intermittent and irregular, and must have been

broken up by numerous cross currents due to natural obstacles. It seems natural to speak of a wave of migration, and to treat it as though it followed the laws governing a flow of water; but to make the simile more complete we must imagine not a flow of water, but of a fluid liable to marked chemical change due to its surroundings, which here may slowly crystallise into a stable form, and there may boil over with noticeable energy, redissolving adjacent crystals and mixing again with a neighbouring stream. There is no reason to suppose that this process had not been going on in America as long as it had in other parts of the world, but there we are often helped to understand the process by written or carved records, which go back for hundreds and even thousands of years, whereas in America written records are almost non-existent, and carved records are confined to a small area, and both are almost undecipherable.

In Mexico and Central America accepted tradition appears to begin with the arrival of the Toltecs, a branch of the Nahua race, and history with that of the later Nahua tribes, but as to who the people were whom the Toltecs found in possession of the country, tradition is silent.

The commonly accepted story is that the Toltecs, whose capital was at Tula, were a people of considerable civilisation, who, after imparting something of their culture to ruder Nahua hordes that followed them from the North, themselves migrated

to Guatemala and Yucatan, where they built the great temples and carved the monuments which have been so often described by modern travellers. I am not, however, myself able to accept this explanation of the facts known to us. The monuments and architectural remains of Guatemala and Yucatan are undoubtedly the work of the Mayas, who, although nearly related to the Nahuas, are admitted to be a distinct race, speaking a different language; and I am inclined to believe that the Maya race formerly inhabited a considerable portion of Central and Southern Mexico, and it is to it that we must give credit for Tula, Cholula and, possibly, Teotehuacan, all lying within Central Mexico, as well as for the highest culture ever attained by natives on the continent of North America.

Driven from their Mexican homes by the pressure of Nahua immigrants, they doubtless took refuge in the high lands of Chiapas and Guatemala, and along the banks of the Rivers Usumacinta and Motagua, and pressed on as far as the present frontier of Guatemala and Honduras; but it must be admitted that, so far, no account of this migration and settlement is known to us.

Once settled in Central America, the Mayas would have held a strong defensive position against Nahua invaders, for they were protected on the Gulf side by the intricate swamps and waterways which Cortés found so much difficulty in crossing on his march to Honduras, and on the land side

by the mountain ranges which rise abruptly to the east of the Isthmus of Tehuantépec. The passes through the great volcanic barrier which runs parallel to the Pacific Coast could have been easily defended, while a road was left open along the lowlands between the mountains and the sea, of which the Nahua hordes apparently availed themselves, for Nahua names and dialects are found as far east as Nicaragua.

Judging from the architectural remains and the sculptured stones, it may be safely assumed that it was in Central America that the Mayas reached the highest point of their culture, and that they there developed their peculiar script. No Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions have yet been found in Central Mexico, and it is only within the last few years that attention has been called to what appears to be a somewhat crude form of Maya script unearthed as far west as Monte Alban in the State of Oaxaca.

I am further inclined to believe, that after some centuries of peaceful development had elapsed, the Maya defence failed, and that the people were again driven from their homes by invaders from the North-west, and leaving Chiapas and Guatemala, took refuge in Yucatan, where they founded Chichén-Itzá, Uxmal and the numerous towns whose ruins may still be seen throughout the northern part of the peninsula. It is worthy of note that weapons of war are almost entirely absent from the Central American sculptures, and at Copan one of the most important sculptured figures is that of a woman,

whereas in Yucatan every man is depictured as a warrior with arms in his hands, and the only representation of a woman known to me is in a mural painting at Chichén-Itzá, where the women stand among the houses of a beleagured town, apparently bewailing their fate, while the battle rages outside.

At the time of the Spanish conquest the highlands of Guatemala were held by tribes of the Maya Quiché race, who were probably descendants of the Mayas and their Nahua conquerors, and were of an entirely lower standard of culture than the pure Mayas.

Yucatan was still Maya, but the influence of its powerful Nahua neighbours was strongly felt, and civil wars had caused the destruction and abandonment of most of the old towns.

There is yet one Maya area which has so far not been mentioned, the land of the Huastecs around the mouth of the Rio Panuco (the river dividing the modern States of Vera Cruz and Tamaulipas). It seems probable that the Huastecs, and possibly also their neighbours the Totonacs, were the remnant of the Maya race left behind when the main body was driven to the south-east. If they were a Maya colony from the south, as has sometimes been asserted, they would certainly have brought with them the Maya script, but no Maya hieroglyphs have, so far as I know, ever been found in the Huastec country. If, however, they were a remnant left behind when the Mayas migrated to the south-east, we should not expect to find the

Maya script in their country, for if my assumption is correct, at the time of the migration that script had not yet been developed. It should be noted that Tula, the reputed capital of the Toltecs, stands on the head waters of the Rio Panuco, and it may be that if such people existed, on occupying Tula they acquired something of the Maya culture, and thus gained their reputation of great builders and the teachers of the later Nahua immigrants.

The exact reason for the disappearance of the earlier races who inhabited Mexico, and of the abandonment of the Central American cities, may never be known, but religious differences cannot be left out of the question, and one way of regarding the change is as the triumph of the ruthless and sanguinary War God Huitzilopochtli over the mild and civilising cult of Quetzalcoatl or Kukulcan. Were I asked to give definitely all my reasons in support of the foregoing statements, which differ very considerably from those made by such a recent authority as Mr. Payne in his history of the American people, I must own that I should be at a loss how to do so. However, I think it will be admitted by all students of the subject that we are a very long way indeed from having collected and sifted all the evidence procurable, and until the architecture, sculpture and other remains of the very numerous ruined towns which may be found throughout the country are more carefully studied and classified, and until the inscriptions have been deciphered, we must put up with such working

hypotheses as may best enable us to group such information as has already been obtained.

In my own case, a somewhat intimate acquaintance with the sculptures and ruined buildings both in Central America and Mexico has left impressions on my mind as to their relation to one another which it is not always easy to express in definite terms. In another place[1] I have given my reasons for believing that the ruined towns of Central America, and probably the majority of those of Yucatan, had been abandoned by their inhabitants long before the Spanish conquest, and consequently the Spaniards are not responsible for the amount of damage that is sometimes attributed to them.

In the story of Bernal Díaz, we shall meet with the Mayas in the early pages describing the discovery of Yucatan and the passage of the three expeditions along the coast of the peninsula, and then again we shall come in touch with them after the conquest of Mexico on Cortés' journey across the base of the peninsula to Honduras.

No attempt was made to subdue the Mayas until 1527, six years after the fall of Mexico, and such redoubtable warriors did they prove themselves to be that, although Francisco de Montejo landed his forces and marched right across the northern part of the peninsula, he was eventually obliged to retreat, and by 1535 every Spaniard was driven out of the country. It was not until 1547

[1] *A Glimpse at Guatemala.* John Murray, London, 1899.

that the Spaniards brought the Mayas into subjection.

To turn now to the time of the Spanish conquest we find Mexico peopled by a number of different tribes more or less nearly alike in habits and customs, and not differing greatly from each other in race, but speaking different languages and dialects. Some of these peoples or tribes, such as the Zapotecs and Mixtecs of Oaxaca and the Tarascos of Michoacan, extended over a considerable extent of country; they were not however homogeneous nations acting under the direction of one chief or of a governing council. The township or *pueblo* appears to have been the unit of society, and the *pueblos* of the same race and speech acted together when compelled by necessity to do so, as it will be seen that the Tlaxcalans acted together owing to the continued hostility of the Mexicans. The main factor in the situation at the time when the Spaniards landed was the dominance of the *Pueblo* of Tenochtitlan or Mexico.

The Mexicans or Astecs were a people of Nahua race who, after many years of wandering on their way from the North, finally settled in the high plain, or valley, which still retains their name. For some years they appear to have been almost enslaved by other tribes of the Nahua race, who had already settled in the valley, and it was not until the fourteenth century that they established their home on the two small muddy islands of Tlatelulco and Tenochtitlan in the Great Lake.

By their own warlike prowess and diplomatic alliances with neighbouring towns they gradually increased in power until they gained the hegemony of the tribes and peoples of the valley, and then carried their warlike enterprises into distant parts of the country, even as far as Tabascc and Guatemala. In fact, they became the head of a military and predatory empire, dependent for their food, as well as their wealth, on tribute drawn from subject tribes and races. They were not a civilising power, and as long as the tribute was paid, they did not appear to concern themselves with the improvement of the local government of their dependencies. The education of the sons and daughters of the upper classes was carefully attended to under the direction of the priesthood, but, as was only natural in a society so constituted, soldierly qualities were those most valued in the men, and the highest reward went to those who showed the greatest personal bravery in battle.

As the field of tribute extended, and wealth accumulated, the office of the principal *Cacique*[1] of Mexico, who was also the natural leader of their armies, rose in importance and dignity; and we learn from the narrative that Montezuma, who was the ninth in succession of the great *Caciques* of Mexico, was treated by his people with more than royal ceremonial.

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[1] *Cacique* is the term usually employed by the Spaniards as equivalent to chief or king. It is not a Mexican but a Cuban word.

The arms and armour of all the Indian tribes appear to have been nearly alike, and they are often described by the conquerors, and are shown in the native picture writings that have come down to us. They are the

Macana or *Maquahuitl*, called by the Spaniards a sword, a flat blade of wood three to four feet long, and three inches broad, with a groove along either edge, into which sharp-edged pieces of flint or obsidian were inserted, and firmly fixed with some adhesive compound.

Bows and stone-tipped *arrows*.

Slings.

Long Spears with heads of stone or copper.

Javelins made of wood with points hardened in the fire (*varas tostadas*). These javelins, which were much dreaded by the Spaniards, were hurled from an *Atlatl* or throwing stick (*tiradera*).

It is worth noting that no bows or arrows are shown on any of the Maya sculptures, but in the stone carvings in Yucatan (on which weapons are always prominent) all the men are represented as armed with short spears or javelins and an *Atlatl*.

It may be that bows and arrows were unknown to the Mayas until they were introduced by the Nahua races.[1]

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[1] I cannot call to mind any Mexican or Central American sculpture showing bows and arrows. Such representations appear to be confined to the *lienzos* (painted cloths) and picture writings, but I am not now able to verify this statement.

The defensive armour consisted of padded and quilted cotton worn on the arms or body—a protection which the Spaniards themselves hastened to adopt—and shields, usually round shields made of wicker and covered with hide or other material, and often beautifully decorated. Sometimes they were oblong in shape, and large enough to cover the whole body; these latter could be folded up when not in use. Head-dresses or helmets, usually in the form of grotesque animals' heads, were used by the Chieftains, and feathers were freely used in decoration, both in the form of beautiful feather patterns worked into cotton fabrics or as *penachos*, lofty head-dresses of feathers supported on a light wood or reed framework.

A Mexican army in battle array must have been both a beautiful and imposing spectacle, a blaze of colour and barbaric splendour.

This is not the place to discuss fully the moral aspects of the Conquest, but in considering the conduct of the *Conquistadores* and their leader we must always keep in mind the traditions that influenced them and the laxity of the moral code of the time in which they lived. Some of the Spaniards had served in Italy under Gonsalvo de Córdova, *el gran Capitan*, and may have seen Cæsar Borgia himself—what can we expect from such associations? All of them were adventurers seeking for wealth; some, no doubt, were freebooting vagabonds who would have been a pest in any community. The wonder of it all is that

Cortés, with no authority from the Crown and only a few ardent partizans to support him, could have kept the control of such a company for so long. He dared to cheat these men out of part of their hard-earned spoil that he might have gold with which to bribe the leaders of the force which he must always have known would be sent in pursuit of him. When the city fell he allowed Guatémoc to be tortured to force him to disclose the supposed secret of where his treasure was hidden—could even his authority have prevented it? It would have been a splendid act of heroism had he made the attempt; but we must think of the disappointed men around him, with the terrible strain of the siege suddenly relaxed, and all their hopes of riches dissipated. Then there is the greatest blot of all on Cortés' career, the execution of Guatémoc during the march to Honduras; no one can help feeling that it was wrong, but there is nothing to show that the reason advanced by Cortés was not a good one. It was only too probable that the Mexicans, longing to return to their homes, were plotting against the Spaniards to effect it. Had such a plot been successful the Spaniards were inevitably lost. That Cortés was not in a state of mind propitious to the careful weighing of evidence may at once be admitted; a long, dangerous and toilsome march through a tropical forest is not conducive to unruffled temper. However, the execution of Guatémoc, if it was an error, may have been more distinctly an error than a crime.

From our point of view the Spaniards were cruel and ruthless enough; an army of unbaptized Indians was no more to them than a herd of swine, but their callous cruelty can be no more surprising to us than their childlike belief in the miraculous power of the images and crosses which they substituted for the native idols, or their firm belief in the teaching of their Church, which did not admit that an Indian had the rights of a human being until he was baptized.

Neither in the sixteenth nor the twentieth century would troops that have seen their companions-in-arms captured and led to execution to grace the festival of a heathen god, and afford material for a cannibal feast, be likely to treat their enemies with much consideration, but the fate of the vanquished Mexicans was humane to what it would have been had the victors been Tlaxcalans or other tribes of their own race and religion.

These concluding remarks are not made with the intention of whitewashing the character of the *Conquistadores*, their faults are sufficiently evident, but to impress on the reader the necessity of taking all the factors of the case into consideration when forming a judgment.

The bravery of the Indians was magnificent, and their courage and endurance during the last days of the siege of Mexico is unrivalled, but Bernal Díaz's narrative is written from the Spanish point of view, and it is on the conduct of the Spaniards alone that I feel the need of making any comment.

The character of Bernal Díaz himself shows clearly enough in his story; it is that of a lovable old soldier such as novelists have delighted to portray in Napoleon's "Old Guard," simple, enduring, splendidly courageous and unaffectedly vain.

Censure without stint has been heaped on Cortés and his followers for their treatment of the Indians, but no one has ever ventured to question the spirit and resource of that great leader nor the daring courage and endurance shown both by him and his followers.

I gladly take this opportunity of thanking Don Genaro García for permission to make the Translation from his Edition of the *True History* and for his unfailing courtesy and encouragement during the progress of the work, and of thanking Don José Romero of the Mexican Foreign Office for the loan of books of reference from his valuable collection and for other acts of kindness.

Introduction

STOUT, old Bernal Diaz del Castillo may have been a good soldier—he very ingenuously says that he was; he certainly was an excellent chronicler. Without his "Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España" we should know nothing of the more intimate aspects of one of the world's most dramatic episodes. We should have no sources of first-hand information on the day-to-day experiences of the men who waded through blood and agony to the greatest achievement of militant Spain. We should have no picture, self-painted, of the veritable Conquistador, cruel, faithful, superstitious, lustful, generous, avaricious. We should have to rest our conception of the destruction of the Aztec Empire upon the three surviving letters of the four which Cortes wrote to Charles V: reports of a general who had placed himself in a difficult position politically, a creature of intrigue who was become the target for various intrigues launched by other colonial officers, jealous of his success, and who was therefore, compelled to twist and turn, to exaggerate, prevaricate, distort and dissemble, in his efforts to retain command of the expedition and satisfy the vaulting demands of his personal ambition.

Cortes, like all conquerors, was a confirmed egotist. His reports were designed to emphasize his value to his sovereign, and he was careful not to put forward his lieutenants lest one of them be selected to supplant him. What he deemed unfavorable to his own interests he suppressed; points which he considered advantageous he elaborated. Then, a few years after his death, appeared the formal history of the Conquest written by Gomara, who had been his chaplain and retained that post in the household of his son, Don Martin. Valuable as this work undoubtedly is, based

on the statements and vanished papers of the first Marquis of the Valley, and probably checked by the oral traditions of other members of the family, it is marred by a sycophancy and untruthfulness which extort from Bernal Diaz the comment: "Where he has written eighty thousand, we should read one thousand."

Gomara's history evidently was the last straw to Bernal Diaz, who had nursed for years a very human resentment against the prevailing idea that the Conquest was the work of Cortes alone, the product of a superman's genius, although, apart from this, he retained for his old general an unblemished affection and admiration. So he sat himself down in the royal audencia of the city of Guatemala, in the year 1568—that is, some fifty years after the events of the Conquest—and addressed himself to the novel task of inscribing his recollections in accordance with this simple creed: "I say also that Cortes did everything that ought to be expected from a wise and valiant general, and that he owed his success, under God, to the stout and valiant captains, and to us brave soldiers, who broke the force of the enemy, and supported him by fighting in the manner we fought, and as I have related."

There spoke a Sixteenth Century democrat! In fact, it is impossible to read Bernal Diaz without perceiving that the expedition to Mexico was essentially democratic in its organization and methods of operation. Cortes, despite his commission from the Governor of Cuba, was really no more than the elected chief of his little army. He reported to a soldiers' council, was advised and criticized by his captains, treated his followers as brethren in adventure and was treated by them as one placed over them on suffrance. "Señors"—gentlemen—he called his men; and those of whom he was fondest or in whom he placed special trust were "Son Sandoval" and "Brother Bernal Diaz." Had he ever failed definitely, had a majority of his company lost confidence in him, he must have been deposed at once. He

was respected and obeyed merely because he was able to prove that he was the one amongst them most fitted to command.

This feeling of military democracy was the inspiration of Spain's golden age, the key to the amazing exploits the Spaniards performed in the New World. While it burned, hot and clear, in the hearts of the young hidalgos and rugged peasantry of Castile, who formed the backbone of the American enterprises, the Spanish power flourished. When it commenced to flicker and die, under the dead weight of aristocratical and clerical inertia, the term of Spain's empire was set, notwithstanding several centuries should pass before the bulky edifice collapsed, rotted from porch to architrave by the arrogance and bigotry bred of democratic success.

To understand it you must cross the Atlantic and survey the Spain that produced Bernal Diaz, Alvarado, Martin Lopez, the shipman, and the rest of the three thousand, who, first and last, fought under Cortes' banner. For eight hundred years this Spain had battled to curb the Moors. War, unending war, was the national life. Generation succeeded generation in the struggle, which was waged bitterly, ferociously, with a recurrent rhythm as inevitable as fate. All men were soldiers. And partly because of this, partly because ages of contact with the Moors had infected the Spaniards with a measure of the tribal spirit their enemies had brought from Arabia, there developed a strong instinct for cooperative effort. Where all were soldiers all were equal under the sovereign. One hiladgo was as good as another hidalgo. In the swift forays of Moorish warfare individual initiative was at a premium, and the best man was nominated to lead.

It was a wonderful school for fighting-men, who, of necessity, must raise up fighting-men to take their places. The fathers of the Conquistadors, themselves Conquistadors, had only just crushed the last Moorish princes in El Andalus when the Genoese navigator, Cristóbal Colón, discovered,

as he thought, an unknown part of Asia. For the first time in eight centuries Spain had no enemy in her midst—and her younger fighting-men, reared to the sword, possessing no other means of livelihood, found their occupation gone, their country exhausted and impoverished, unable to support itself by peaceful arts, thanks to the slaughter or expulsion of the Moorish farmers and artisans who had been the chief element in producing its wealth. Young Spain hailed this new land as a godsend. The dependent relatives of every noble family turned their faces restlessly toward the west; discontented farm lads and village wastrels hastened to enlist in the expeditions that fitted out for Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and the mysterious Main.

Better a venture beyond the sunset, most of them felt, than service under the Great Captain, Gonzalo de Córdoba, in Italy, the only opportunity for military experience the period afforded at home. For your true daredevil could estimate quite justly the chance of fame or booty awaiting him in Europe; but the untrodden shores the caravels had coasted contained a kingdom, a province, a mountain of gold, for every lean-pursed youngster who took ship from Palos or Cadiz. So it was no accident that listed amongst Cortes' followers a Puertocarrero, a Ponce de Leon, a de Soto, scions of families that had been famous in all the wars of El Andalus. But—and mark this well!—a Puertocarerro, cousin to the Count of Medellin, was not counted superior to a Bernal Diaz, saving he had demonstrated himself braver or shrewder. Birthproud to an absurd degree, these emigrants were arrant democrats. Good blood entailed an increased obligation rather than a right to any peculiar privilege. And the readiness of Cortes to ignore this obligation, to take care that he profited immensely while his soldiers went unrewarded, was what galled Bernal Diaz. He leaves you in no doubt that according to his views Cortes failed to act as became an hidalgo and a great soldier.

But our Conquistador is entirely fair in his strictures on

his leader. Praise balances blame. Indeed, the finest quality of this chronicle is the good temper with which controversial matters are discussed. Cortes the soldier, Cortes the politician, Cortes the man, each aspect of his general Bernal Diaz presents with scrupulous exactitude. He loves Cortes. He can both admire and condemn. Never once does he lose touch with the actuality of his subject, and in consequence he projects an extraordinarily plausible personality, full-rounded and appealing by reason of the very failings and frailties he assails, infinitely more persuading, more understandable, than the Cortes reflected in the three voluminous letters to Charles V. And for all the naïve superstition and medieval brutality constantly to the fore in his record, he manages to strike an odd note of modernity, with his spontaneous admiration for a brave enemy, his denunciation of the torturing and execution of Guatimoctzin, his rude conception of honor, his relentless endeavor to be equitable in his judgments.

Of the sources for the Conquest he is the soundest, and, I think, the most interesting. There is nothing polished or literary about him, but that constitutes his charm. You are meeting face to face a veritable Conquistador. His pages quiver with life, raw, angry, painful, appalling. Himself he strides forth of the type to meet you, a grizzled, ruddy-cheeked, rough-spoken ancient, curt in manner, opinionated, aggressive, narrowly religious, childishly vain, lion-hearted. You cannot help liking him and laughing at him and his swaggering boasts of the hundred and nineteen battles he had fought, his casual practice of dressing his wounds with strips of fat cut with his sword from a dead Indian's rump, his formal piety, his pungent estimates of human nature, his offhand references to the savage and lustful practices he took for granted, his persistent refusal to magnify exploits he regarded as too colossal to require exaggeration.

Even his limitations carry conviction. As Prescott says: "In reading his pages, we feel that whatever are the

errors into which he has fallen, from oblivion of ancient transactions or from unconscious vanity—of which he had full measure—or from credulity, there is nowhere a wilful perversion of truth. Had he attempted it, indeed, his very simplicity would have betrayed him."

He is more often right than wrong, however, cautious in using figures and judicious in narrating incidents. For instance, where Cortes, eager to convince Charles of the merit of his services, claims 75,000 allies from Tlascala at the final siege of Tenochtitlan, Bernal Diaz tots them up to three xiquipuls, 24,000 men. And in describing the Aztecs' losses during the siege, he avoids quoting definite numbers, contenting himself with the remark that "I have read of the destruction of Jerusalem, but I cannot conceive that the mortality exceeded this of Mexico; for all the people from the distant provinces which belonged to this empire had concentrated themselves here, where they mostly died"—a statement which Prescott and others deride, although, if once you concede anything approaching the population the chroniclers assert for Aztec Mexico, it is conceivable that upwards of a million people collected in a municipal area which was likened to Venice, Cordova or Seville. Cortes writes to Charles that 40,000 were slain or taken in a single day, and says elsewhere that 50,000 died of disease and hunger.

Again, Cortes dismisses the sorry catastrophe of the Noche Triste in a sentence, and slides over the disastrous fighting which preceded it. He was not to blame for the plight in which he found himself after his return to Tenochtitlan, and it is difficult to see how he could have avoided the misfortunes incident to the retreat. But he seems to have been unwilling to admit in writing the losses he sustained. Bernal Diaz, on the other hand, dealing with the same events, tells the plain truth, which is distinctly to the credit of Cortes, who, after losing eight hundred and fifty out of thirteen hundred and ten men, all his cannon, all his arquebusses, all

his gunpowder, most of his crossbows and most of his horses, was yet able to extricate himself from the Aztec hordes and with cold steel win his most notable battle at Otumba, while his men were still bleeding from the wounds they had received in slashing their escape across the broken causeways.

A marvelous story! And Bernal Diaz conveys it to you adequately because he is so artlessly sincere as to trench upon the preserves of art. Where will you find a more sympathetic sketch of a commander than he gives of Cortes? And in reading of the fight with Narvaez, in Cempoal, you sense and see, with startling authenticity, the steaming tropic darkness, the intermittent showers and moonshine and the cocuyo beetles that flickered over the ranks and made Cortes' enemies believe a stalwart array of musketeers were tramping up the street between the white-walled palaces and temples. When he tells of Donna Marina's meeting with the mother who had sold her into slavery he unconsciously limns a portrait of himself, no less vivid than the impression he conveys of the character of the extraordinary woman, who was for a time Cortes' mistress and wrought more for the conqueror than either of the colorless wives he found in Cuba and Old Spain. Consider, too, the conclusion of his description of the invaders' first arrival on the outskirts of the Aztec capital: "When I beheld the scenes that were around me, I thought within myself that this was the garden of the world! But all is destroyed, and that which was a lake is now a tract of fields of Indian corn, and so entirely altered that the natives themselves could hardly know it."

He was not insensible to the tragedy implicit in his comrades' achievements, this rough, gruff, old Conquistador.

Once in a while, in his frank, ingenuous way, he thrusts a torch into the blurred medley of Indian mishaps and rivalries that smoothed the Spaniards' path, as when he remarks innocently how, after Cortes was driven from Tenochtitlan, in the summer of 1520, and retired to Tlascala to recuperate,

the smallpox became so prevalent that "many of the great lords of the natives died of it," including the Aztec Emperor Coadlavaca, who had succeeded Montezuma, and Maxicatzin, one of the princes of the Tlascalans, the Spaniards' allies. He speaks of this outbreak of smallpox solely because it required Cortes to settle several disputes over the succession to lordships. Perhaps he was ignorant of the fact that the Indians had never been exposed to the disease previously, and that its ordinary virulence was increased a thousand fold amongst such unsalted barbarians. Certainly, he seems to have had no appreciation of the influence the scourge must have exerted in the Spaniards' favor. But with our presentday knowledge we may be justified in surmising that it very possibly furnished the last fillip necessary to reduce the offensive strength of the Aztecs to a point which rendered hopeless their fight for freedom. It is no reflection upon the generalship of Cortes or upon the sturdy valor of his troops to say that they succeeded as much through the divisions and calamities of their foes as through their own endeavors.

The Spaniards, as Bernal Diaz makes evident, were not so efficiently equipped as we moderns usually suppose. Very few possessed armor; three fourths of them were contented with a pike or sword and buckler. The captains had morions, and usually, a breastplate or half-armor. Here and there you might find a fellow with a leathern jack. Of the five hundred and eight soldiers who sailed with Cortes, sixteen fought on horseback, with sword and lance; thirteen owned arquebusses and thirty-two were crossbowmen, a number of these latter being Italians, a race at that time as noted for skill with the arbalest as the English yeomanry were with the longbow. A certain number, unspecified, were detailed to serve the artillery, an arm with which Cortes was unusually well-supplied; he had originally ten brass field-pieces, very small ones, of course, and four falconets, weapons not much larger than blunderbusses. So much for

"the iron conquerors" of poem and story! It was pikemen and sworders, shoulder to shoulder, using the point, who won the victory—with the very substantial aid of Indian allies, who hated the Aztecs worse than the white invaders.

One of the things I like about Bernal Diaz is that he conveys the psychology of the man in the ranks. In the letters of Cortes there is no note of individual and mass effort, no inkling of the fears and misgivings of the soldiers. They are formal narrations of victory, centering skilfully around the personality of the leader. Cortes writes of triumphs gained by Cortes and his army; Bernal Diaz describes how the army Cortes commanded won its battles and surmounted its obstacles, specifying with meticulous accuracy the performance of any soldier of outstanding fame. His memory for details is so extraordinary that some sceptics have doubted its value, even questioned his existence, for the reason that his name does not appear amongst the four hundred and forty-four signatures to the letter addressed to Charles V by the officers and soldiers of the army, petitioning the Emperor to continue Cortes in command. The answer to this is that the army's letter was drafted at the time, in the fall of 1520, when he was sick—in his own words ,"being ill of a fever, and throwing up blood at the mouth."

As to the question of his memory, it should be recalled that he was a very old man when he wrote his history. He says that he left his birthplace, Medina del Campo of Old Castile, in 1514, when he probably was not more than eighteen. This would make him seventy-two at the commencement of his chronicle, and seventy-six at its conclusion "on this twenty sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and seventy two." Throughout the years since the Conquest he must have devoted much consideration to the epochal events of his youth. The Conquistadors were all marked men, a class apart, about whom rapidly developed a legendary interest, to whom all classes

looked up with a reverence almost superstitious. Wherever they went they were urged to recount their reminiscences.

For half a century, Bernal Diaz had talked and thought of the stupendous period which witnessed the destruction of the Indian empire. Whenever he encountered a fellow Conquistador they would sit and patch their memories together, and all folk within reach, great and humble, would gather to listen to them. By 1568, when he started to write, there were but five men alive of those who had sailed from Cuba in the original expedition—"and we are very old, and bowed down with infirmities, and very poor, and with a heavy charge of sons to provide for, and of daughters to marry off, and grandchildren to maintain, and little rent to do it withal! and thus we pass our lives, in pain, in labor and in sorrow."

He regarded himself as the spokesman of his dead comrades. No one else had told their story. Except for Martin Lopez, a man named Granado and two he does not name, the other Conquistadors were gone, and the record of their deeds buried with them. So he set himself, with the patient determination of an old man immersed in his subject, to whom time was become no more than a shadow crouched at his shoulder, to write out all that had occurred as he had happened to see it or hear of it, distributing praise and blame with an even hand in the perspective of the years. The result is the most attractive historical document of its kind in any European language, as absorbing today as it was when, having passed the scrutiny of the Council of the Indies and the clerical authorities, it was first published in 1632, long, long after our Conquistador had been interred in some forgotten cemetery of Guatamala City.

Strange to think that his blood may course today in the veins of mouldering Central American families, even as the blood of Montezuma runs diluted in many grandees of Spain and in innumerable bronzed Indios of the Mexican uplands—albeit the last recognized descendant of the Aztec

Emperor, through his son Io Emalicahua, rechristened by the Spaniards Don Pedro, who wedded a Spanish lady and founded the great house of the Counts of Montezuma,—of whom one was Viceroy of Mexico from 1697-1701,—committed suicide in New Orleans about one hundred years ago, aged and poverty-stricken and a prey to grief because the Mexicans would not recognize him as Emperor in succession to the ill-fated Iturbide. An ill land for Emperors, Mexico. Conquistadors thrive better in its ageless atmosphere of blood and hate and racial strife, where Huitzilopochtli, God of War, sways men's hearts as potently as ever he did four centuries past.

ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH.

NOTE ON SPELLING, ETC.

GREAT difficulty has arisen over the spelling of the Indian names of persons and places. In the original text a native name has often several variants, and each one of these may differ from the more generally-accepted form.

In the Translation a purely arbitrary course has been adopted, but it is one which will probably prove more acceptable to the general reader. Such words as Montezuma (Motecuhzoma) and Huichilobos (Huitzilopochtli) are spelt as Bernal Díaz usually spells them; others, such as Guaçacalco, which occurs in the text in at least three different forms, has in the Translation always been given in the more generally-accepted form of Coatzacoalcos.

At the end of each volume a list of names is printed, arranged alphabetically, showing the variants in the original text, the usually-accepted forms, the spelling of place-names generally found in modern maps, and when possible the form now used by modern Maya and Nahuatl scholars.

Spanish names are always printed in the Translation in the generally-accepted forms: thus Xpvl de Oli of the text is printed as Cristóbal de Olid. The names of certain Spanish offices, such as Alguacil, Regidor, are retained in the Translation, as well as the "Fraile (or Padre) de la Merced" for the "Friar of the Order of Mercy," but all foreign words used in the Translation are printed in italics when they first occur, and are referred to in foot-notes, and a Glossary is given at the end of each volume.

Square brackets [ ] enclose words inserted by the translator.

Notes to the Mexican Edition of 1904, edited by Sr Don Genaro García, are marked "G. G."

The 214 Chapters have been divided into Books with sub-headings by the Translator for convenience of reference. No such division or sub-headings exist in the original Manuscript or in Sr García's Mexican Edition.

ITINERARY.

THE EXPEDITION UNDER FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOVA.

	Santiago de Cuba.
8th Feb., 1517 .	Axaruco (Jaruco).
	Gran Cairo, Yucatan (near Cape Catoche).
Sunday, day of San Lázaro.	Campeche (San Lázaro).
	Chanpotón (or Potonchan).
(Return Voyage) .	Estero de los Lagartos.
	Florida.
	Los Martires—The Shoals of the Martyrs.
	Puerto de Carenas (the modern Havana).

THE EXPEDITION UNDER JUAN DE GRIJALVA.

	Santiago de Cuba.	
8th April, 1518 .	Matanzas . . .	18 April, 1518.
	Puerto de Carenas (Havana)	22 April, 1518.
	Cape San Anton . .	1 May.
The day of Santa Cruz, 3rd May.	Cozumel (Santa Cruz) .	3-11 May.
	Bahia de la Ascencion .	13-16 May.
	Chanpotón . . .	25-28 May.
	Boca de Términos (Puerto Deseado or P. Real).	31 May to 5 June.
	Rio de Grijalva (Tabasco) .	7-11 June.
	Sighted Ayagualulco (La Rambla).	
	Sighted Rio de Tonalá (San Anton).	
	Sighted Rio de Coatzacoalcos.	
	Sighted Sierra de San Martin.	
	Rio de Papaloapan (Rio de Alvarado) and Tlacotlalpan.	
	Rio de Banderas (Rio Jamapa)	
	Sighted Isla Blanca and Isla Verde.	
	Isla de Sacrificios . .	17 June.

St. John's day, 24th June.	San Juan de Ulua . .	18-24 June.
	Sighted the Sierra de Tuxpan.	
	Rio de Canoas (R. Tanguijo) (Cape Rojo).	28 June.
Return Voyage .	Sighted Rio de Coatzacoalcos	9 July.
	Rio de Tonalá (San Anton) .	12-20 July.
	Puerto de Términos . .	17-22 August.
	Puerto Deseado . .	1 September.
	Small island near Chanpotón	3 September.
	Campeche . . .	5-8 September.
	Bajos de Sisal (?) . .	11-12 September.
	Rio de Lagartos . .	14-15 September.
	Conil near Cape Catoche .	21 September.
	Sighted Cuba . . .	29 September.
	Puerto de Carenas (Havana)	30 September.
	Jaruco	4 October.
	Santiago de Cuba . .	15 November.[1]

EXPEDITION UNDER HERNANDO CORTÉS.

	Santiago de Cuba . . .	18th Nov., 1518.
	Sailed from Trinidad . .	January, 1519.
10th Feb., 1519	Sailed from (San Cristóbal ?) de Havana on the South Coast near Batabano.	10th Feb., 1519.
	Sailed from Cape San Anton .	11th Feb., 1519.
	Sailed from Cozumel . .	5th March.
	Sailed from Punta de las Mujeres	6th March.
	Returned to Cozumel.	
4th March .	Sailed from Cozumel . .	13th March.
	Boca de Términos.	
12th March[2] .	Arrived at Rio de Grijalva or Tabasco.	22nd March.
25th March, Lady Day.	Battle of Cintla . . .	25th March.
Palm Sunday .	Sailed from Santa Maria de la Victoria.	18th April.
Holy Thursday	Arrived at San Juan de Ulua .	21st April, Holy Thursday.

In the above Itineraries the dates given by Bernal Díaz, which are few in number, are placed on the left.

[1] See Padre Agustin Rivera, *Anales Mexicanos*, vol. i, p. 47.
[2] This is clearly an error.

12th Oct., 1519.	The Spaniards march from Tlaxcala to a camp by a river.
13th " "	Enter Cholula.
	. . . . .
1st Nov., 1519.	Leave Cholula for the Ranchos de Yscalpan.
2nd " "	Yscalpan to Ithualco (near the summit of the Pass).
3rd " "	Ithualco to Amecameca.
6th " "	Amecameca to Ayotzingo.
7th " "	Ayotzingo to Iztapalapa.
8th " "	Iztapalapa to the City of Mexico.
	. . . . .
12th " "	The Spaniards visit Tlaltelolco.
14th(?) "	The Seizure of Montezuma.

Pánfilo de Narvaez probably landed in Mexico about the middle of April.

Cortés remained in the City of Mexico from the 8th November, 1519, until early in May, 1520, when he marched against Narvaez.

Early in May, 1520.	Cortés marched from the City of Mexico to Cholula by way of the Pass between the Volcanoes. At Cholula he joined forces with Juan Velásquez de Leon and Rodrigo Rangel, whom he had previously sent on expeditions towards the coast, and thence he despatched Juan González de Heredia to fetch long lances from Chinantla.

[1] Orozco y Berra has made a careful examination of the evidence relating to this period, and the dates given in this Itinerary are in accordance with his conclusions. On p. 254 Bernal Diaz says: "Our escape [from the city] was on the tenth of the Month of July, and this celebrated battle of Otumba on the fourteenth of the Month of July." In this he differs from Cortés and all the other authorities.

Early in May, 1520. Cholula to Tepeaca,
Where Cortés met Padre Olmedo returning from his Mission to Narvaez.

Tepeaca to Quecholac,
Where Cortés met Alonzo de Mata and his four witnesses.

Quecholac to Ahuilizapan (Orizaba),
Where Cortés was delayed by the rain for two days, and whence he despatched Pero Hernández and Rodrigo Alvarez Chico with a peremptory order to Narvaez.

Ahuilizapan to Cuautochco (Huatusco, in the State of Vera Cruz),
Where Cortés was met by two Clerics, Juan Ruiz de Guevara and Juan de Leon, and by Andrés de Duero, emissaries from Narvaez.

Cuautochco to Tampaniquita,
Where Cortés was joined by Sandoval and his company and whence he despatched a letter, signed by his followers, to Narvaez by the hands of Padre Olmedo and Bartolomé de Usagre.

Tampaniquita to Mitalaguita (Mictlancuauhtla).
Here Cortés was joined by Tovilla, who had come from Chinantla with long lances, and by

26th May, 1520. Bartolomé de Usagre, who returned from the camp of Narvaez in company with Andrés de Duero and two Cuban Indians.

27th May, „ Andrés de Duero set out on his return to Cempoala about midday. In the afternoon Cortés sent Juan Velásquez de Leon, adorned with his Fanfarona, to Cempoala, and in the evening himself marched with his troops in the direction of Cempoala, camping for the night on the bank of a stream.

28th May, „ Juan Velásquez de Leon reached Cempoala at dawn. Cortés marched at dawn and rested during the heat of the day on the banks of the Rio de Canoas (or de la Antigua), where he was met by Padre Olmedo and Juan Velásquez de Leon, who were returning from Cempoala. Cortés continues his march, and crossing the Rio Chachalacas in the night,

29th May, 1520.	Attacks Narvaez before dawn and defeats and captures him.
	Barrientos arrives with the warriors from Chinantla. Cortés despatched Spanish messengers (probably at once) to carry the news of his victory to the City of Mexico.
	. . . . .
1st June, „	Cortés gives orders for expeditions under Juan Velásquez de Leon to proceed to Panuco, and under Diego de Ordás to proceed to Coatzacoalcos; within a few days these expeditions were recalled.
	(The massacre of Mexicans in the City by Alvarado probably took place on the 16th May.)
	Arrival of native messengers with the news that Alvarado was besieged in his quarters in the City.
	. . . . .
About 10th June.	Spanish messengers return from the City of Mexico and confirm the bad news and state that the sloops built for the navigation of the Lake had been destroyed.
	. . . . .
	Cortés promptly leaves Cempoala and following the route of his former journey inland (see vol. i, pp. 215-217) on the
17th June, 1520.	Arrived at Tlaxcala.
	. . . . .
	Leaving Tlaxcala for Texcoco by way of Calpulalpan.
	Arrived at Texcoco.
23rd June, „	Left Texcoco and going round the North end of the Lakes camped within three leagues of the City. (This necessitated a march of about forty miles.)
24th June, „	Entered Mexico at mid-day.
25th, Monday „	Cortés liberates Cuitlahuac.
	Mexicans attack the Spaniards.
26th, Tuesday „	The Spaniards sally from their quarters.
	Hard fighting all day long. During the night the Spaniards begin to construct "burros" or moveable wooden towers.

27th, Wednesday. At work on the "burros" all day. The Mexicans keep up an incessant attack on the Spanish quarters. Montezuma is persuaded to address his countrymen from the roof and is wounded by a shower of stones; the first stone is said to have been cast by Guatemoc.

28th, Thursday. The Spaniards under the protection of the "burros" make a determined but unsuccessful attack on the Mexicans. Later in the day they succeed in an attack on the Great Teocalli, killing all its defenders. During the evening the Spaniards destroyed a large number of houses on the street leading towards Tacuba.

29th, Friday . The Spaniards make a sally in the direction of Tacuba, capturing four bridges and filling in the "cortaduras" or water openings with material from the houses destroyed. Guards were left at these bridges during the night to prevent their recapture.

Death of Montezuma (according to Bernal Diaz, according to Orozco y Berra, Montezuma died on 30th June).

30th, Saturday. The Spaniards were occupied during the morning in clearing the road and causeway towards Tacuba; then, after some fruitless negotiations, the Mexicans resumed their attack and captured the bridges which, however, were again recaptured by the Spaniards, who had determined to escape from the City during the night.

The Spaniards and their allies left their quarters just before midnight, carrying with them the portable wooden bridge on which to cross the several "cortaduras" or water openings. This portable bridge stuck fast at the "cortadura" known as Tecpantzingo (now the Puente de Mariscala). The greatest slaughter of the Spaniards and their allies took place at Tolteocalli near San Hipólito) where the bridge over the "cortadura" had been destroyed by the Mexicans. Cortés and the remnant of his followers reached Tacuba and then continued their flight, during

1st July, Sunday.	the morning to the hill of Totoltepec (now the site of the Church of Nuesta Señora de Los Remedios), where they took refuge in the enclosure of a Mexican Teocalli. *The night of 30th June-1st July is known as the Noche Triste.* At midnight continuing their retreat under the guidance of some Tlaxcalans,
2nd, Monday .	The Spaniards reached Teocalhuican, a town of the Otomies, where they were well received.
3rd, Tuesday .	Marched from Teocalhuican by way of Cuauhtitlan and Tepotzotlan to Citlaltepec.
4th, Wednesday.	At Citlaltepec the Spaniards rested for a day, finding abundant provisions.
5th, Thursday .	Marched from Citlaltepec to Xoloc.
6th, Friday .	Marched from Xoloc to Zacamolco, on the hill of Aztaquemecan ; here the Spaniards fed on a dead horse.
7th, Saturday .	Soon after leaving Zacamolco, on the plain of Tonanpoco not far from Otumba, the Spaniards encountered the Mexican forces and fought the great battle of Otumba. After defeating the Mexicans the Spaniards continued their march to the small village of Apam.
8th, Sunday .	Marched from Apam and crossing the Tlaxcalan frontier reached Hueyotlipan (Gualiopar, B.D.), where they rested for three days.
9th or 10th .	Arrival of the Tlaxcalan Caciques, who welcomed the Spaniards to their country.
12th . . .	The Spaniards marched to Tlaxcala, where they rested for twenty days.
Early in August.	The Spaniards left Tlaxcala for Tepeaca, and marching by short stages they reached Acatzingo (Acacingo), where they rested for five days. After fighting a battle they entered Tepeaca.
About 4th September.	Cortés founded the Town of Segura de la Frontera at Tepeaca.

No dates can be ascribed with certainty to the various expeditions sent out from Tepeaca, which continued to be the headquarters of the Spaniards until Cortés returned to Tlaxcala about the middle of December.

26th December. Cortés holds a review of his forces at Tlaxcala.

28th „ The Spaniards and their allies marched out of Tlaxcala on their way to Texcoco.

DIARY OF THE SIEGE.

April.

28\. Cortés holds a review. The launches are launched in the Canal.

M. 29. Messengers sent to Tlaxcala and other towns warning the Native Contingents to be ready to march in ten days.

May.

S. 19. Feast of Espiritu Santo.

M. 20. Cortés divides his forces and appoints Commanders.

T. 21.

W. 22. Alvarado and Olid leave Texcoco for Acolman.

Th. 23. Alvarado and Olid march to Citlaltepec.

F. 24. Alvarado and Olid march to Guatitlan.

Sat. 25. Alvarado and Olid march by Tenaynca and Azcapotzalco to Tacuba.

S. 26. *After hearing Mass* (B.D.), Alvarado and Olid cut off the water from Chapultepec and make a reconnoisance on Tacuba Causeway.

M. 27. Olid leaves Tacuba for Coyoacan, finds it deserted, goes to look at the Causeway to Mexico, which he finds broken.

T. 28.
W. 29.
Th. 30.[1] } Alvarado remains in camp at Tacuba.

F. 31. Sandoval leaves Texcoco for Iztapalapa, and attacks that town. Cortés sets out from Texcoco with the launches, attacks the Peñon (del Marques), fights a battle with the canoes in the lake, and lands on the Iztapalapa Causeway at Acachinanco, which he makes his headquarters.

Olid, from Coyoacan, fights his way along the Causeway and joins Cortés at Acachinanco; as Cortés says that Olid was helped by the launches "which sailed near the Causeway," it must have been the Iztapalapa Causeway along which he marched; he apparently returned to his headquarters at Coyoacan that night.

June.

Sat. 1. Cortés, reinforced by some of Olid's troops, reaches the first houses in the City.

Enlarges or makes a breach in the Iztapalapa Causeway, so that the launches can pass to the west side.

S. 2.

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[1] Feast of Corpus Christi.

June.

M. 3.
T. 4.
W. 5.
Th. 6.
F. 7.
Sat. 8. Alvarado reports Tepeacac Causeway open.
S. 9. Sandoval arrives at Tepeacac.
M. 10. Cortés captures Xoloc and reaches the Plaza.
T. 11. Cortés pushes his attack.
W. 12.
Th. 13. }
F. 14. } No fighting from Cortés's side.
Sat. 15. }
S. 16. General assault. Cortés reaches the Plaza. Burns Montezuma's Palaces.
M. 17. Cortés captures two bridges on the Tacuba street.
Alvarado writes from the Causeway.
Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Culuacan, Mexquic, and Cuitlahuac seek peace and build huts for Spaniards on Iztapalapa Causeway.
T. 18. }
W. 19. }
Th. 20. } Continual attacks on the City, with the assistance of a fleet of Canoes provided by the towns on the lake, in all 100,000 Indian allies. Cortés captured and filled up three bridges on the Tacuba street. Sandoval and Alvarado also advanced successfully, and the Spaniards appeared to have captured three-quarters of the City.
F. 21. }
Sat. 22. }
S. 23. Defeat of Alvarado at the large water-opening.
M. 24. Cortés visits Alvarado's camp.
T. 25. }
W. 26. }
Th. 27. } Alvarado on the defensive while recovering from his defeat. Cortés made continual attacks, and after consulting his officers made plans for a combined attack on Sunday (B.D.), 30th June.
F. 28. }
Sat. 29. }
S. 30. Defeat of Cortés. Many Spaniards captured alive. Alvarado fairly successful. Cortés made his attack from the Tacuba street along the three streets running north from Tacuba street towards Tlatelolco. The Spaniards probably crossed the large water-opening which originally divided Tenochtitlan from Tlatelolco, and it was on the Causeway connecting the two Cities that they met with their disaster.

July.

M. 1.
T. 2. Cuernavaca begs Cortés for help. Cortés despatches Andrés de Tápia with a force to their assistance.

July.

W. 3. Andrés de Tápia absent on expedition to Malinalco.
Th. 4. No advance was made on Alvarado's part during the next
F. 5. few days. A large water-opening was filled in.
Sat. 6. Cortés[1] kept up attack at intervals as far as the Plaza,
S. 7. and Chichimecatecle advanced from Alvarado's camp
M. 8. without the assistance of the Spaniards, but nothing of
T. 9. importance appears to have taken place until

W. 10. Return of Andrés de Tápia (?).

Th. 11.

F. 12. The Otomies beg Cortés for help. Cortés despatches Sandoval with a force to their assistance.

Sat. 13. Alvarado's camp attacked by full force of Mexicans at dawn. Cortés sends reinforcements.

S. 14.

M. 15. Native Allies begin to rejoin the Spaniards. Powder and arms arrived from a vessel which had put into Vera Cruz. Forty-fifth day of siege.

T. 16.

W. 17. Sandoval returns from his Expedition (?).

Th. 18. Mexicans propose peace on condition that the Spaniards leave the country.

F. 19. Cortés determines on the systematic destruction of buildings.

Sat. 20.

General attack on the City. Cortés slaughters great
S. 21. numbers by an ambush in the Plaza, and finally clears
M. 22. the Plaza of Tenochtitlan of the enemy. Clears and
T. 23. fills up Tacuba street (so that communication was
W. 24. effected with Alvarado's Camp although the forces did
Th. 25. not join hands), and Guatemoc's palace on Tacuba
street was destroyed.

Th. 25. SANTIAGO'S DAY, Cortés crossed and filled in the broad water space between Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco.

F. 26. Cortés reaches Sta Ana (Xacaculco), and finds the heads of Spaniards in a temple.

Sat. 27. Alvarado reaches the Market-place of Tlatelolco and sets fire to the great temple.

S. 28. Cortés and Alvarado meet in the Market-place of Tlatelolco.

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[1] A few days after the defeat many of the native allies deserted the Spaniards and returned to their homes, disheartened by the Spaniards' failure to capture the City and scared by a prophecy of the God Huichilobos that all the Spaniards would be killed within eight or ten days.

July.

M. 29. Catapult brought to Tlatelolco.
T. 30. No fighting.
W. 31. No fighting.

August.

Th. 1.
F. 2.
Sat. 3.
S. 4.
M. 5.
T. 6.

} Between Monday, 29th July, and the capture of Guatemoc on the 13th August, the dates of events cannot be stated with any certainty The Spaniards were tired out and the Mexicans utterly exhausted, and apparently for some days no fighting took place. During part of this time the Spaniards were at work on a Catapult which proved a complete failure. Throughout these last days Cortés made efforts to induce the Mexicans to give in without further fighting and slaughter.

W. 7. After unsuccessful negotiations P. de Alvarado was ordered to attack a quarter containing more than a thousand houses (probably to the N. of the Plaza of Tlatelolco), and drove out the Mexicans with fearful slaughter.

Th. 8. More unsuccessful negotiations.

F. 9. A Texcocan chieftain, who had been taken prisoner, was freed and sent back to Guatemoc with messages of peace, but Guatemoc ordered him to be killed at once and sacrificed to the Gods. The Mexicans then made their final attack on the Spaniards.

Sat. 10.
S. 11.
} Two days of fruitless negotiation.

M. 12. The Mexicans ask Cortés to meet Guatemoc in the Market-place. Guatemoc fails to appear, and after waiting for three or four hours Cortés ordered his troops and the allies to attack, with the result that the Mexican killed, wounded, and prisoners numbered more than 40,000.

T. 13. *San Hipolito's Day.* Finally, on this day Cortés, Alvarado and the Indian Allies made an attack on the extreme N.E. corner of the City, where the wretched half-starved remnant of the Mexicans still held out. Sandoval, with the launches, cut off the retreat of the Mexican canoes towards the lake, and amid scenes of awful carnage the last houses of the City were captured and Guatemoc who attempted to escape in a canoe, was taken prisoner.

Orozco y Berra (*Hist. Antigua*, vol. iv) has compiled an account of the voyage, with dates, from many sources, including "The Itinerario," Oviedo, Las Casas, Herrera, Gomara, etc. These dates will be found on the right-hand column.

Places not mentioned by Bernal Díaz as stopping-places of the expedition are printed in italics.

[PREFACE.]

I HAVE observed that the most celebrated chroniclers before they begin to write their histories, first set forth a prologue and preface with the argument expressed in lofty rhetoric in order to give lustre and repute to their statements, so that the studious readers who peruse them may partake of their melody and flavour. But I, being no Latin scholar, dare not venture on such a preamble or prologue, for in order properly to extol the adventures which we met with and the heroic deeds we accomplished during the Conquest of New Spain and its provinces in the company of that valiant and doughty Captain, Don Hernando Cortés (who later on, on account of his heroic deeds, was made Marqués del Valle[1]) there would be needed an eloquence and rhetoric far beyond my powers. That which I have myself seen and the fighting I have gone through, with the help of God I will describe, quite simply, as a fair eye witness without twisting events one way or another. I am now an old man, over eighty-four years of age, and I have lost my sight and hearing, and, as luck would have it, I have gained nothing of value to leave to my children and descendants, but this my true

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[1] Created Marqués del Valle de Guajaca (Oaxaca) by the Emperor Charles V. The *Cedula* is dated Barcelona, 6th July, 1529.

story, and they will presently find out what a wonderful story it is.

I will do no more now than give evidence of my nationality and birthplace, and note the year in which I set out from Castille and the names of the captains in whose company I went as a soldier, and state where I am now settled and have my home.

BOOK I.—THE DISCOVERY.

THE EXPEDITION UNDER FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOVA,

CHAPTER I.

The beginning of the story.

I BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, citizen and Regidor of the most loyal city of Santiago de Guatemala, one of the first discoverers and conquerors of New Spain and its provinces, and the Cape of Honduras and all that lies within that land, a Native of the very noble and distinguished town of Medina del Campo, and the son of its former *Regidor*, Francisco Díaz del Castillo, who was also called "The graceful," (may his soul rest in glory), speak about that which concerns myself and all the true conquerors my companions who served His Majesty by discovering, conquering, pacifying and settling most of the provinces of New Spain, and that it is one of the best countries yet discovered in the New World, we found out by our own efforts without His Majesty knowing anything about it.

I also speak here in reply to all that has been said and written by persons who themselves knowing nothing, have received no true account from others of what really took place, but who nevertheless now put forward any statements that happen to suit their fancy. As there is no account of our many and remarkable services such as their merits deserve * * * * * * * * these indifferent story-tellers are now unwilling that we should receive the recompense and * * * * * which His Majesty has ordered his Governors and Viceroys to afford us.

Apart from these reasons such deeds as those I am going on to describe, cannot be forgotten, and the truth about them will be proved afresh, but, as in the books which have been written on the subject the truth has so often been perverted, [I write this history] so that when tales are told of daring deeds our fame shall not suffer, and that on account of such brilliant adventures our names may be placed among the most famous, for we have run the risk of death and wounds, and have suffered a thousand other miseries, venturing our lives in discovering lands about which nothing whatever was known, battling by day and by night with a host of doughty warriors, at so great a distance from Castille that no aid or assistance could reach us, save the only true help, namely the loving kindness of our Lord God whom it has pleased that we should conquer New Spain and the far-famed city of Tenochtitlan,[1] Mexico, for so it is called, and many other cities and provinces which are too numerous for me to name. As soon as we had the country pacified and settled by Spaniards, we thought it to be our duty as good and loyal subjects of His Majesty, with much respect for our King and natural Lord, to hand the country over to him. With that

[1] Tenuztitlan in the original.

intent we sent our Ambassadors to Castille and thence to Flanders where his Majesty at that time held his Court. I shall also tell about all the good results that came of it, and about the large number of souls which have been saved, and are daily being saved, by conversion to the faith, all of which souls were formerly lost in Hell. In addition to this holy work, attention will be called to the great treasure which we sent as a present to his Majesty, and that which has been sent and is being sent daily and is in the form of the Royal Fifths,[1] as well as in the large amounts carried off by many persons of all classes. I shall tell in this story who was the first discoverer of the province of Yucatan, and how we went to the discovery of New Spain and who were the Captains and soldiers who conquered and settled it and many other things which happened during the conquest, which are worth knowing and should not be forgotten; all this I shall relate as briefly as possible, and above all with the assured truth of an eye witness.

[2]If I were to remember and recount one by one the heroic [deeds] which we, one and all of us valiant captains and brave [soldiers] accomplished, from the beginning to the end of the conquest, reciting each deed as it deserved, it would, indeed, be a great [undertaking,] and would need a very famous historian [to carry it out] with greater eloquence and style than my poor words [can compass.] As later on * * * * when I was present and saw and understood, and I will call to mind * * * * that repeats * * * * imposed as a duty—and delicate style and I * * * * I will write it with God's

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[1] The tax on all bullion and other treasure paid to the Crown.

[2] In the following passages many of the words of the Manuscript are rubbed and worn out. When the meaning is obvious the missing words are supplied in brackets in the translation. When the meaning is not clear the spaces are marked with asterisks.

help with honest truth * * * * of the wise elders who say that a good style * * * * is to tell the truth and * * * * [not] to exaggerate and flatter * * * * others, especially in a narrative like this * * * * would die of it, and because I am no latin scholar and do not understand the art * * * * I will not treat of it, for I say I understand [only] the battles and pacifications where I was myself present, for I was one of the first [to set out] from Cuba in the company of a Captain named Francisco [Hernández de Córdova] and we were accompanied on that voyage by one hundred and ten soldiers, we explored * * * * they stopped (?) at the first place at which one landed which is called Cape [Catoche and at] a town further on called Chanpoton more than half of us [were killed and] the Captain received ten arrow wounds and all the rest of us soldiers got two [arrow wounds and the Indians] a[ttack]ing us with such skill we were obliged, with the greatest difficulty to return to the Island [of Cuba whence] we had set out with the fleet, and the captain died almost as soon as we landed, and of the one hundred and ten soldiers who set out with us, fifty-seven were left behind, dead.

After this first warlike expedition, I set out a second time from this same Island of Cuba under another captain, named Juan de Grijalva, and we again had great warlike encounters with these same Indians of the *Pueblo* of Chanpoton, and in this second battle many of our soldiers were killed. From that Pueblo we went on along the coast, exploring, until we arrived at New Spain and then kept on our way until we reached the province of Panuco. Then a second time we had to turn back to the Island of Cuba, baffled and exhausted both from hunger and thirst, and from other reasons which I will set forth in the chapter which treats of this expedition.

To go back to my story; I set out for the third time with the daring and valiant captain Don Hernando Cortés, who later on was made Marqués del Valle and received other titles of honour. I repeat that no other captain or soldier went to New Spain three times in succession on one expedition after another as I did, so that I am the earliest discoverer and conqueror who has ever lived or is now living in New Spain. Although many soldiers went twice on voyages of discovery, the first time with Juan de Grijalva whom I have already mentioned, and the second time with the gallant captain Cortés, yet they never went three times in succession. If they went the first time with Francisco Hernández de Córdova, they did not go the second time with Grijalva, nor the third time with the valiant Cortés. God has been pleased to preserve me through many risks of death, both during this laborious discovery, and in the very bloody Mexican wars (and I give God many thanks for it), in order that I may tell and declare the events that happened in those wars, so that studious readers may give them attention and thought.

I was twenty-four years old when Diego Velásquez, the Governor of the Island of Cuba, who was my kinsman, promised to give me some Indians as soon as there were any available, but I did not care to be kept waiting until this should happen. I always had a zeal for soldiering, as it is becoming that a man should have, both in order to serve God and the king and to endeavour to gain renown, and as being such a life that honourable men should seek, and I gradually put from my mind the death of my companions who were killed in those times and the wounds that I myself received, and the fatigue and hardship I endured and which all must endure who set out to discover new lands, and, being as we were, but a small company, dare to enter into great towns swarming with hostile warriors. I myself was always at the front and never

descended to the many vices prevalent in the island of Cuba, as will be clearly seen in the course of this story.

In the year fifteen hundred and fourteen, I came from Castille and began my career as a soldier on Tierra-firme,[1] then went on to the discovery of Yucatan and New Spain, and as my forefathers, my father and my brother had always been servants of the crown and of the Catholic kings of glorious memory Don Fernando and Doña Ysabel, I wished to be something like them.

In the year 1514, as I have already said, there came out as Governor of Tierra-firme, a gentleman named Pedrárias Dávila.[2] I agreed to go with him to his Government and the country conquered by him. So as to shorten the story, I will not relate what happened on the voyage, more than to say sometimes with good weather and other times with bad weather, we arrived at Nombre de Dios, for so it was named.

Some three or four months after the settlement was formed, there came a pestilence from which many soldiers died, and in addition to this, all the rest of us fell ill and suffered from bad ulcers on the legs. Then disputes arose between the Governor and a nobleman named Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the captain, who had conquered that province, to whom Pedrárias Dávila had given his daughter (Doña somebody Arias de Peñalosa) in marriage. But it seems that after marriage, he grew suspicious of his son-in-law, believing that he would rise in rebellion and lead a body of soldiers towards the South Sea, so he gave orders that Balboa should have his throat cut and certain of the soldiers should be punished.

As we were witnesses of what I have related, and of other revolts among the captains, and as the news reached

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[1] Tierra-firme = the Spanish Main.

[2] Pedro Arias de Ávila.

us that the Island of Cuba had lately been conquered and settled, and that a gentleman named Diego Velásquez, a native of Cuellar, who has already been mentioned by me, had been made Governor of the Island, some of us gentlemen and persons of quality, who had come out with Pedrárias Dávila, made up our minds to ask him to give us permission to go to Cuba, and he willingly did so, as he had no need of all the soldiers he had brought with him from Castille, as there was no one left to conquer. Indeed the country under his rule is small and thinly peopled, and his son-in-law Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had already conquered it and ensured peace.

As soon as leave was granted we embarked in a good ship and with fair weather reached the Island of Cuba. On landing we went at once to pay our respects to the Governor, who was pleased at our coming, and promised to give us Indians as soon as there were any to spare.

When three years had gone by, counting both the time we were in Tierra-firme and that which we had passed in the Island of Cuba, and it became evident that we were merely wasting our time, one hundred and ten of us got together, most of us comrades who had come from Tierra-firme, and the other Spaniards of Cuba who had had no Indians assigned to them, and we made an agreement with a gentleman named Francisco Hernández de Córdova,[1] whose name I have already mentioned, a rich man who owned an Indian Pueblo in the Island, that he should be our leader, for he was well fitted for the post, and that we should try our fortune in seeking and exploring new lands where we might find employment.

With this object in view, we purchased three ships, two

[1] The three partners in this expedition were Francisco Hernández de Córdova, Lope Ochoa de Caicedo and Cristóval Morante. (See letter from the Municipality of Vera Cruz, dated 10th July, 1519. Usually known as Cortés' first letter.)

of them of good capacity, and the third, a bark, bought on credit from the Governor, Diego Velásquez, on the condition that all of us soldiers should go in the three vessels to some islands lying between Cuba and Honduras, which are now called the Islands of the Guanajes,[1] and make war on the natives and load the vessels with Indians, as slaves, with which to pay him for his bark. However, as we soldiers knew that what Diego Velásquez asked of us was not just, we answered that it was neither in accordance with the law of God nor of the king, that we should make free men slaves. When he saw that we had made up our minds, he said that our plan to go and discover new countries was better than his, and he helped us in providing food for our voyage. Certain inquisitive gentlemen have asked me why I have written down these words which Diego Velásquez uttered about selling us the ship, and they say they have an ugly look and should not have been inserted in this history. I reply that I write them here because it is desirable on account of the law suits which Diego Velásquez and the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, whose name is Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, brought against us.

To return to my story, we now found ourselves with three ships stored with Cassava[2] bread, which is made from a root, and we bought some pigs which cost three dollars apiece, for in those days there were neither sheep nor cattle in the Island of Cuba, for it was only beginning to be settled, and we added a supply of oil, and bought beads and other things of small value to be used for barter. We then sought out three pilots, of whom the chief, who took charge of the fleet, was called Anton de Alaminos a native of Palos, the second came from Triana

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[1] Roatan, Bonacca, etc. Islands near the coast of Honduras.

[2] Cassava bread. Made from the root of Manihoc utilissima.

and was named Camacho, and the third was Juan Alvarez "el Manquillo"[1] from Huelva. We also engaged the necessary number of sailors and procured the best supply that we could afford of ropes, cordage, cables, and anchors, and casks for water and other things needed for the voyage, and this all to our own cost and regret.

When all the soldiers were mustered, we set out for a port which in the Indian language is called Axaruco,[2] on the North coast, eight leagues from a town named San Cristóbal, which was then inhabited and which two years later was moved to the present site of Havana. In order that our voyage should proceed on right principles we wished to take with us a priest named Alonso González who was then living in the said town of San Cristóbal, and he agreed to come with us. We also chose for the office of *Veedor*,[3] (in his Majesty's name), a soldier named Bernaldino Yñiguez, a native of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, so that if God willed that we should come on rich lands, or people who possessed gold or silver or pearls or any other kind of treasure, there should be a responsible person to guard the Royal Fifth.

After all was arranged and we had heard Mass, we commended ourselves to God our Lord, and to Our Lady, the sainted Virgin Mary, His blessed Mother, and set out on our voyage in the way I will now relate.

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[1] El Manquillo = the little maimed or one-handed man.

[2] Jaruco is shown on modern maps about twelve miles to the east of the present city of Havana.
The name of Havana at this time appears to have applied to the district.
San Cristóbal was on the south coast of the Island, which is here about eight leagues across from sea to sea.

[3] Veedor (obsolete) = overseer, caterer, official in charge of the stores.

CHAPTER II.

How we discovered the Province of Yucatan.

On the eighth day of the month of February in the year fifteen hundred and seventeen, we left the Havana from the port of Axaruco, which is on the North coast, and in twelve days we doubled Cape San Antonio, which is also called in the Island of Cuba the land of the Guanahataveyes, who are Indians like savages. When we had passed this Cape we were in the open sea and trusting to luck we steered towards the setting sun, knowing nothing of the depth of water, nor of the currents, nor of the winds which usually prevail in that latitude, so we ran great risk of our lives, then a storm struck us which lasted two days and two nights, and raged with such strength that we were nearly lost. When the weather moderated, we kept on our course, and twenty-one days after leaving port, we sighted land, at which we rejoiced greatly and gave thanks to God. This land had never been discovered before and no report of it had reached us. From the ships we could see a large town standing back about two leagues from the coast, and as we had never seen such a large town in the Island of Cuba nor in Hispaniola, we named it the Great Cairo.

We arranged that the two vessels which drew the least water should go in as near as possible to the Coast, to examine the land and see if there was an anchorage near the shore. On the morning of the 4th March, we saw ten large canoes, called *piraguas*, full of Indians from the town, approaching us with oars and sails. The canoes were large ones made like hollow troughs cleverly cut out from huge single logs, and many of them would hold forty Indians.

To go back to my story; the Indians in the ten canoes

came close to our ships, and we made signs of peace to them, beckoning with our hands and waving our cloaks to induce them to come and speak to us, although at that time we had no interpreters who could speak the languages of Yucatan and Mexico. They approached quite fearlessly and more than thirty of them came on board the flagship, and we gave them each a present of a string of green beads, and they passed some time examining the ships. The chief man among them, who was a *Cacique*, made signs to us that they wished to embark in their canoes and return to their town, and that they would come back again another day with more canoes in which we could go ashore.

These Indians were clothed in cotton shirts made like jackets, and covered their persons with a narrow cloth which they call *masteles*, and they seemed to us a people superior to the Cubans, for the Cuban Indians go about naked, only the women wearing a cloth reaching to the thighs, which cloths they call *naguas*.[1]

To return to my story; the next morning the same *Cacique* returned to the ships and brought twelve large canoes, which I have already said are called *piraguas*, with Indian rowers, and with a cheerful face and every appearance of friendliness, made signs that we should go to his town, where they would feed us and supply all our needs, and that in those canoes of his we could land.

He kept on saying in his language, "*cones catoche*", "*cones catoche*", which means "come to my houses", and for that reason we called the land Cape Catoche, and it is still so named on the charts.

When our captain and the soldiers saw the friendly

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[1] Why the author should have written "que llaman naguas" is not clear. Enaguas or naguas is the Spanish, not the Cuban, word for the skirt, petticoat or upper skirt of a woman's dress.

overtures the chief was making to us, we agreed to lower the boats from our ships, and in the vessel of least draught, and in the twelve canoes, to go ashore all together, and because we saw that the shore was crowded with Indians from the town, we arranged to land all of us at the same moment. When the Cacique saw us all on shore, but showing no intention of going to his town, he again made signs to our captain that we should go with him to his houses, and he showed such evidence of peace and good-will, that our captain asked our advice whether we should go on or no, and most of the soldiers were of opinion that with the precaution of taking all our arms with us we should go on, and we took with us fifteen crossbows and ten muskets, so with the Cacique as our guide, we began our march along the road, accompanied by many Indians.

We moved on in this way until we approached some brush-covered hillocks, when the Cacique began to shout and call out to some squadrons of warriors who were lying in ambush ready to fall upon us and kill us. On hearing the Cacique's shouts, the warriors attacked us in great haste and fury, and began to shoot with such skill that the first flight of arrows wounded fifteen soldiers.

These warriors wore armour made of cotton reaching to the knees and carried lances and shields, bows and arrows, slings and many stones.

After the flight of arrows, the warriors, with their feathered crests waving, attacked us hand to hand, and hurling their lances with all their might they did us much damage. However, thank God, we soon put them to flight when they felt the sharp edge of our swords, and the effect of our guns and crossbows, and fifteen of them fell dead.

A short distance ahead of the place where they attacked us, was a small *plaza* with three houses built of masonry,

which served as *Cues*[1] and oratories.[2] These houses contained many pottery Idols, some with the faces of demons and others with women's faces, and there were others of evil figures of Indians who appeared to be committing sodomy one with another.

Within the houses were some small wooden chests, and in them were some other Idols, and some little discs made partly of gold but more than half of copper, and some necklaces and three diadems, and other small objects in the form of fish and others like the ducks of the country, all made of inferior gold.

When we had seen the gold and the houses of masonry, we felt well content at having discovered such a country, for at that time Peru was unknown, indeed, it was not discovered until twenty years later.

While we were fighting with the Indians, the priest Gonzálcz had accompanied us, and he took charge of the chests and the gold, and the Idols, and carried them to the ship. In these skirmishes we took two Indians prisoners, and later on, when they were baptized, one was named Julian and the other Melchior, both of them were cross-eyed. When the fight was over we returned to our ships, and went on exploring along the coast towards the setting sun, we set sail as soon as the wounded were cared for, and what else happened I will tell later on.

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[1] *Cue* is the name commonly applied to the Indian shrines or temples, usually small buildings raised on pyramidal foundations. It is not a Maya or Mexican word, but one picked up by the Spaniards in the Antilles.

[2] It should be noted that, although the Spaniards had now been in America for twenty-four years and had explored the Islands and the coast of the mainland from the mouth of the Orinoco to the Bay of Honduras, and part of the coast of Florida, this was the first time they had seen houses and temples built of stone ; and with the exception of the crew of a canoe which Columbus met during his fourth voyage near the Islands of the Guanajes off the coast of Honduras, this was the first meeting of the Spaniards with any of the more civilised races of America.

CHAPTER III.

How we coasted along towards the west, discovering capes and deep water, roadsteads and reefs.

BELIEVING this land to be an Island, as the Pilot, Anton de Alaminos, had assured us that it was, we travelled with the greatest caution, sailing only by day and anchoring by night. After voyaging in this manner for fifteen days, we descried from the ship, what appeared to be a large town near to a great bay or creek, and we thought that there might be a river or stream there, where we could provide ourselves with water of which we had great need, because the casks and other vessels which we had brought with us, were not watertight. It was because our fleet was manned by poor men who had not money enough to purchase good casks and cables, that the water ran short. We had to land near the town, and as it was Sunday, the day of San Lázaro, we gave the town that name, and so it is marked on the charts, but its proper Indian name is Campeche.

In order that we could all of us land at the same time, we agreed to approach the shore in the smallest of the vessels, and in the three boats, with all our arms ready, so as not to be caught as we had been at Cape Catoche.

In these roadsteads and bays, the water shallows very considerably at low tide, so that we had to leave our ships anchored more than a league from the shore.

We went ashore near the town where there was a pool of good water, used by the people of the place for drinking water, for as far as we had seen there were no rivers in this country. We landed the casks, intending to fill them with water, and return to our ships. When the casks were full, and we were ready to embark, a company of about fifty Indians, clad in good cotton mantles, came out in a peace-

ful manner from the town. From their appearance we believed them to be Caciques, and they asked us by signs what it was we were looking for, and we gave them to understand that we had come for water, and wished to return at once to our ships. They then made signs with their hands to find out whether we came from the direction of the sunrise, repeating the word "Castilan" "Castilan" and we did not understand what they meant by Castilan. They then asked us by signs to go with them to their town, and we took council together as to what we should do, and decided to go with them, keeping well on the alert and in good formation.

They led us to some large houses very well built of masonry, which were the Temples of their Idols, and on the walls were figured the bodies of many great serpents and snakes and other pictures of evil-looking Idols. These walls surrounded a sort of Altar covered with clotted blood. On the other side of the Idols were symbols like crosses, and all were coloured. At all this we stood wondering, as they were things never seen or heard of before.

It seemed as though certain Indians had just offered sacrifices to their Idols so as to ensure victory over us. However, many Indian women moved about us, laughing, and with every appearance of good will, but the Indians gathered in such numbers that we began to fear that there might be some trap set for us as at Catoche. While this was happening, many other Indians approached us, wearing very ragged mantles and carrying dry reeds, which they deposited upon the plain, and behind them came two squadrons of Indian archers in cotton armour, carrying lances and shields, slings and stones, and each captain drew up his squadron at a short distance from where we stood. At that moment, there sallied from another house, which was an oratory of their Idols, ten

Indians clad in long white cotton cloaks, reaching to their feet, and with their long hair reeking with blood, and so matted together, that it could never be parted or even combed out again, unless it were cut. These were the priests of the Idols, who in New Spain are commonly called *papas* and such I shall call them hereafter. These priests brought us incense of a sort of resin which they call *copal*, and with pottery braziers full of live coals, they began to fumigate us, and by signs they made us understand that we should quit their land before the firewood which they had piled up there should burn out, otherwise they would attack us and kill us. After ordering fire to be put to the reeds, the priests withdrew without further speech. Then the warriors who were drawn up in battle array began to whistle and sound their trumpets and drums. When we perceived their menacing appearance and saw great squadrons of Indians bearing down on us we remembered that we had not yet recovered from the wounds received at Cape Catoche, and had been obliged to throw overboard the bodies of two soldiers who had died, and fear fell on us, so we determined to retreat to the coast in good order, and began to march along the shore towards a large rock which rose out of the sea, while the boats and the small bark laden with the water casks coasted along close in shore. We had not dared to embark near the town where we had landed, on account of the great press of Indians, for we felt sure they would attack us as we tried to get in the boats. As soon as we had embarked and got the casks on board the ships, we sailed on for six days and nights in good weather, then we were struck by a *norther* which is a foul wind on that coast and it lasted four days and nights, and so strong was the storm that it nearly drove us ashore, so that we had to drop anchor, but we broke two cables, and one ship began to drag her anchor. Ah! the danger was terrible, for if

our last cable had given way we should have been driven ashore to destruction, but thank God we were able to ease the strain on the cable by lashing it with pieces of rope and hawsers, and at last the weather moderated. Then we kept on our course along the coast, going ashore whenever we were able to do so to get water, for, as I have already said, the casks we carried were not only leaky, but were gaping open, and we could not depend upon them, and we hoped that by keeping near the coast we should be able to find water, whenever we landed, either in pools or by digging for it.

As we were sailing along on our course, we came in sight of a town, and about a league on the near side of it, there was a bay which looked as though it had a river or stream running into it; so we determined to anchor. On this coast the tide runs out so far that there is danger of the ships being stranded, so for fear of this we dropped anchor at the distance of a league from the shore, and we landed in that bay from the vessel of least draught and from the boats, carrying all our casks along with us to fill them with water. We landed soon after mid-day, well armed with crossbows and guns. This landing place was about a league from the town, near to some pools of water, and maize plantations, and a few small houses built of masonry. The town is called Potonchan.[1]

[1] This town is called both Potonchan and Chanpoton by Bernal Díaz, and Chanpoton in the "Itinirario" and in the Letter from the Municipality of Vera Cruz to Chas. V. In modern maps it is called Champoton. There is a further difficulty about the name of this town, because the town at the mouth of the Rio de Grijalva (Sta. Maria de la Victoria) was also called Potonchon or Potonchan. In the "Relacion de la Villa de Santa Maria de la Victoria" (1579), printed in the Documentos Ineditos, Relaciones de Yucatan (Madrid, 1898) we find: "This province is called the province of Tabasco, because the Lord of this town was called Tabasco, and the name of the town is Potonchan, which in Spanish means the Chontal tongue, almost as though we should say the barbarous tongue, for Chontal in the Mexican language is the same as barbarous, and so this town is called Potonchan, as that is the language generally used in this province; and as

We filled our casks with water, but we could not carry them away on account of the great number of warriors who fell on us. I will stop now and tell later on about the attack they made on us.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the attack made on us as we stood among the farms and maize fields already mentioned.

As we were filling our casks with water there came along the coast towards us from the town of Potonchan[1] (as it is called) many squadrons of Indians clad in cotton armour reaching to the knees, and armed with bows and arrows, lances and shields, and swords like two handed broad swords, and slings and stones and carrying the feathered crests which they are accustomed to wear. Their faces were painted black and white, and ruddled and they came in silence straight towards us, as though they came in peace, and by signs they asked whether we came from where the sun rose, and we replied that we did come from the direction of the sunrise. We were at our wits end considering the matter and wondering what the words were which the Indians called out to us for they were the same as those used by the people of Lázaro, but we never made out what it was that they said.

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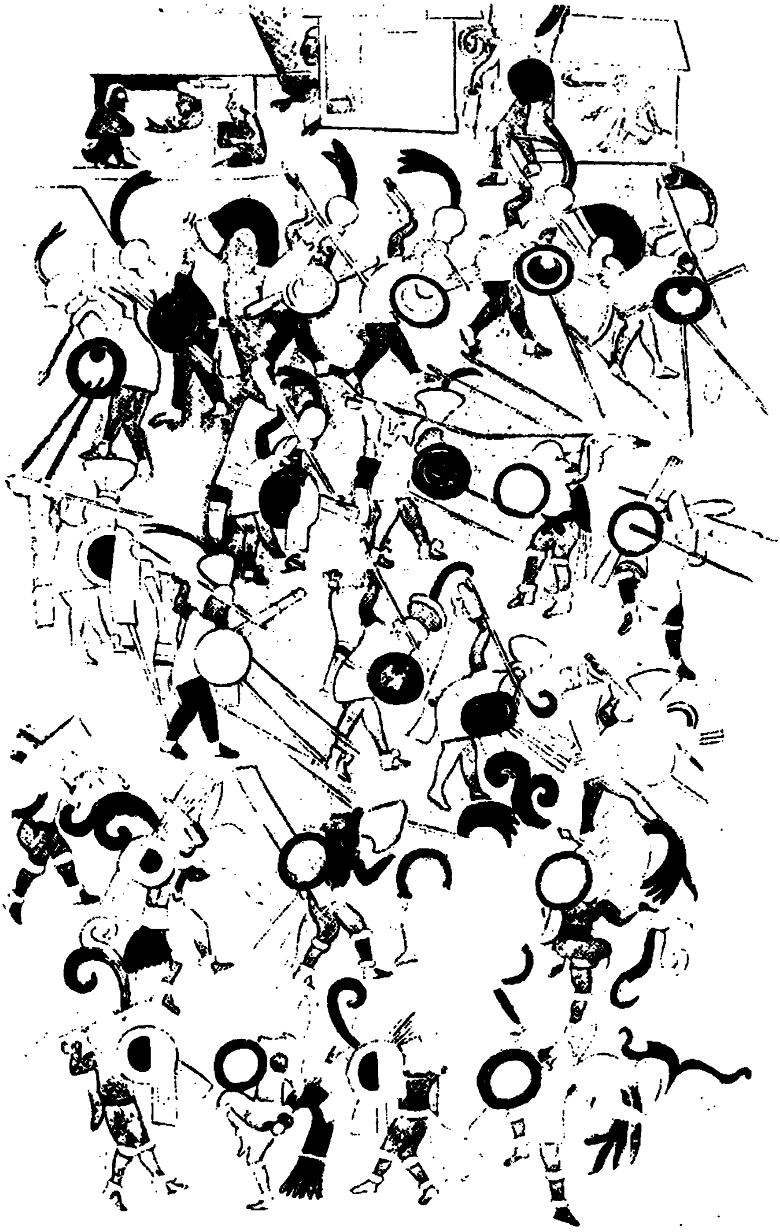
the Lord of this town was called Tabasco the province is called Tabasco."

Santa Maria de la Victoria appears to have lost both its original native and its Spanish name, and soon became known as the town of Tabasco, and is so marked on the map of Melchor de Santa Cruz (1579); not long afterwards the town itself disappeared.

Chanpoton has retained its name, and when Bernal Díaz mentions Chanpoton or Potonchan he invariably intends to indicate the site of the modern Champoton, between Campeche and the Laguna de Términos, the "Costa de Mala Pelea" of the expedition under Francisco Hernández de Córdova.

[1] Here written Pontuchan in the original text = Chanpoton.



Part of a Mural Painting of a
BATTLE FROM THE BALL COURT TEMPLE CHICHÉN ITZÁ, YUCATAN.
After a drawing by Miss Adela Breton.
Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1908.

Plate 2.

To face page 2.

All this happened about the time of the Ave Maria, and the Indians then went off to some villages in the neighbourhood, and we posted watchmen and sentinels for security, for we did not like such a large gathering of Indians.

While we were keeping watch during the night we heard a great squadron of Indian warriors approaching from the town and from the farms, and we knew well that their assembly boded us no good, and we took council together as to what should be done. Some of the soldiers were of opinion that we should embark without delay; however as always happens in such cases, some said one thing and some said another, but the Indians being in such numbers it seemed to most of my companions that if we made any attempt to embark they would be sure to attack us, and we should run great risk of losing our lives. Some others were of opinion that we should fall upon the Indians that very night, for, as the proverb says "who attacks conquers". On the other hand we could see that there were about two hundred Indians to every one of us. While we were still taking council the dawn broke, and we said one to the other "let us strengthen our hearts for the fight, and after commending ourselves to God let us do our best to save our lives."

As soon as it was daylight we could see, coming along the coast, many more Indian warriors with their banners raised, and with feathered crests and drums, and they joined those warriors who had assembled the night before. When their squadrons were formed up they surrounded us on all sides and poured in such showers of arrows and darts, and stones thrown from their slings that over eighty of us soldiers were wounded, and they attacked us hand to hand, some with lances and the others shooting arrows, and others with two-handed

knife edged swords,[1] and they brought us to a bad pass. We gave them a good return of thrusts and cuts and the guns and crossbows never ceased their work, some being loaded while the others were fired. At last feeling the effects of our sword play they drew back a little, but it was not far, and only enabled them to shoot their stones and darts at us with greater safety to themselves.

While the battle was raging the Indians called to one another in their language "*al Calachuni, Calachuni*" which means "let us attack the Captain and kill him," and ten times they wounded him with their arrows; and me they struck thrice, one arrow wounding me dangerously in the left side, piercing through the ribs. All the other soldiers were wounded by spear thrusts and two of them were carried off alive, one named Alonzo Boto, and the other an old Portuguese man.

Our captain then saw that our good fighting availed us nothing; other squadrons of warriors were approaching us fresh from the town, bringing food and drink with them and a large supply of arrows. All our soldiers were wounded with two or three arrow wounds, three of them had their throats pierced by lance thrusts, our captain was bleeding from many wounds and already fifty of the soldiers were lying dead.

Feeling that our strength was exhausted we determined with stout hearts to break through the battalions surrounding us and seek shelter in the boats which awaited us near the shore, and proved to be a great assistance to us; so we formed in close array and broke through the enemy.

Ah! then to hear the yells, hisses and cries, as the

[1] *Macana* or *Macuahuitl*, a wooden sword edged with sharp flint or obsidian.

enemy showered arrows on us and hurled lances with all their might, wounding us sorely.

Then another danger befell us; as we all sought shelter in the boats at the same time and there were so many of us they began to sink, so in the best way we could manage hanging on to the waterlogged boats and half swimming, we reached the vessel of lightest draught which came in all haste to our assistance.

Many of us were wounded while we embarked, especially those who were sitting in the stern of the boats, for the Indians shot at them as targets, and even waded into the sea with their lances and attacked us with all their strength. Thank God! by a great effort we escaped with our lives from the clutches of those people.

When we got on board the ships we found that over fifty of our soldiers were missing, among them two who had been carried off alive. Within a few days we had to cast into the sea five others who died of their wounds and of the great thirst which we suffered. The whole of the fighting occupied only one hour.

The place is called Potonchan,[1] but the pilots and sailors have marked it on the chart as the "Costa de Mala Pelea" (the coast of the disastrous battle). When we were safely out of that affray we gave hearty thanks to God.

As the wounds of the soldiers were being dressed, some of them complained of the pain they felt, for they began to be chilled and the salt water caused considerable swelling, and some of them began to curse the pilot Anton de Alaminos and his voyage and discovery of the Island, for he always maintained that it was an Island and not the main land.

Here I must leave off and I will tell what happened to us later on.

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[1] Chanpoton.

CHAPTER V.

How we agreed to return to the Island of Cuba and of the great hardships we endured before arriving at the Port of Havana.

As soon as we got on board ship again, in the way I have related, we gave thanks to God, and after we had attended to the wounded (and there was not a man among us who had not two, three or four wounds, and the Captain was wounded in ten places and only one soldier escaped without hurt) we decided to return to Cuba.

As almost all the sailors also were wounded we were shorthanded for tending the sails, so we abandoned the smallest vessel and set fire to her after removing the sails, cables and anchors, and we divided the sailors who were unwounded between the two larger vessels. However, our greatest trouble arose from the want of fresh water, for owing to the attack made on us at Chanpoton, and the haste with which we had to take to the boats, we could not carry away with us the casks and barrels which we had filled with water, and they were all left behind.

So great was our thirst that our mouths and tongues were cracked with the dryness, and there was nothing to give us relief. Oh! what hardships one endures, when discovering new lands, in the way we set out to do it; no one can appreciate the excessive hardships who has not passed through them as we did.

We kept our course close to the land in hope of finding some stream or bay where we could get fresh water, and at the end of three days we found a bay where there appeared to be a river or creek which we thought might hold fresh water. Fifteen of the sailors who had remained on board and were unwounded and three soldiers who were out of danger from their wounds went ashore, and

they took hoes with them, and some barrels to fill with water; but the water of the creek was salt, so they dug holes on the beach, but there also the water was as salt and bitter as that in the creek. However, bad as the water was, they filled the casks with it and brought it on board, but no one could drink such water and it did harm to the mouths and bodies of the few soldiers who attempted to drink it.

There were so many large alligators in that creek that it has always been known as the *estero de los Lagartos* and so it is marked on the charts.

While the boats went ashore for water there arose such a violent gale from the North East that the ships began to drag their anchors and drift towards the shore, for on that coast contrary winds prevail from the North or North East. When the sailors who had gone on shore saw what the weather was like they returned with the boats in hot haste and arrived in time to put out other anchors and cables, so that the ships rode in safety for two days and nights. Then we got up anchor and set sail continuing our voyage back to the island of Cuba.

The pilot Alaminos then took council with the other two pilots, and it was settled that from the place we then were we should cross over to Florida, for he judged from his charts and observations that it was about seventy leagues distant, and that having arrived in Florida they said that it would be an easier voyage and shorter course to reach Havana than the course by which we had come.

We did as the pilot advised, for it seems that he had accompanied Juan Ponce de Leon on his voyage of discovery to Florida fourteen or fifteen years earlier,[1] when in that same land Juan Ponce was defeated and

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[1] Juan Ponce de Leon discovered Florida on Easter Sunday (Pascua Florida), 27th March, 1513.

killed. After four days' sail we came in sight of the land of Florida, and what happened to us there I will tell next.

CHAPTER VI.

How twenty of us soldiers went ashore in the Bay of Florida, in company with the Pilot Alaminos, to look for water, and the attack that the natives of the land made on us, and what else happened before we returned to Havana.

WHEN we reached Florida it was arranged that twenty of the soldiers, those whose wounds were best healed, should go ashore. I went with them, and also the Pilot, Anton de Alaminos, and we carried with us such vessels as we still possessed, and hoes, and our crossbows and guns. As the Captain was very badly wounded, and much weakened by the great thirst he had endured, he prayed us on no account to fail in bringing back fresh water as he was parching and dying of thirst, for, as I have already said, the water we had on board was salt and not fit to drink.

We landed near a creek which opened towards the sea, and the Pilot Alaminos carefully examined the coast and said that he had been at this very spot when he came on a voyage of discovery with Juan Ponce de Leon and that the Indians of the country had attacked them and had killed many soldiers, and that it behoved us to keep a very sharp look out. We at once posted two soldiers as sentinels while we dug deep holes on a broad beach where we thought we should find fresh water, for at that hour the tide had ebbed. It pleased God that we should come on very good water, and so overjoyed were we that what with satiating our thirst, and washing out cloths with which to bind up wounds, we must have stayed there an hour. When, at last, very well satisfied, we wished to go

on board with the water, we saw one of the soldiers whom we had placed on guard coming towards us crying out, "to arms, to arms! many Indian warriors are coming on foot and others down the creek in canoes." The soldier who came shouting, and the Indians reached us nearly at the same time.

These Indians carried very long bows and good arrows and lances, and some weapons like swords, and they were clad in deerskins and were very big men. They came straight on and let fly their arrows and at once wounded six of us, and to me they dealt a slight arrow wound. However, we fell on them with such rapidity of cut and thrust of sword and so plied the crossbows and guns that they left us to ourselves and set off to the sea and the creek to help their companions who had come in the canoes and were fighting hand to hand with the sailors, whose boat was already captured and was being towed by the canoes up the creek, four of the sailors being wounded, and the Pilot Alaminos badly hurt in the throat. Then we fell upon them, with the water above our waists, and at the point of the sword, we made them abandon the boat. Twenty of the Indians lay dead on the shore or in the water, and three who were slightly wounded we took prisoners, but they died on board ship.

As soon as the skirmish was over we asked the soldier who had been placed on guard what had become of his companion Berrio (for so he was named). He replied that he had seen him go off with an axe in his hand to cut down a small palm tree, and that he went towards the creek, whence the Indian warriors had approached us, that he then heard cries in Spanish, and on that account he had hurried towards us to give us warning, and it was then that his companion must have been killed.

The soldier who had disappeared was the only man who had escaped unwounded from the fight at Potonchan[1] and it was his fate to come on here to die. We at once set to work to search for our soldier along the trail made by the Indians who had attacked us. We found a palm tree partly cut through, and near by the ground was much trampled by footsteps more than in other parts, and as there was no trace of blood we took it for certain that they had carried him off alive. We searched and shouted all round about for more than an hour, but finding no trace of him we got into the boats and carried the fresh water to the ship, at which the soldiers were as overjoyed as though we had given them their lives. One soldier jumped from the ship into the boat, so great was his thirst, and clasping a jar of water to his chest drank so much water that he swelled up and died within two days.

As soon as we had got the water on board and had hauled up the boats, we set sail for Havana, and during the next day and night the weather was fair and we were near some Islands called *Los Martires* among the shoals called the shoals of the Martyrs. Our deepest soundings gave four fathoms, and the flagship struck the ground when going between the Islands and made water fast, and with all of us soldiers working at the pumps we were not able to check it, and we were in fear of foundering.

We had some Levantine sailors on board with us, and we called to them, "Comrades, come and help to work the pump, for you can see that we are all badly wounded and weary from working day and night." And the Levantines answered, "Do it yourselves, for we do not get any pay as you do, but only hunger and thirst, toil and wounds." So then we made them help us with the work.

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[1] Chanpoton.

Ill and wounded as we were we managed to trim the sails and work the pump until our Lord carried us into the Port of Carenas,[1] where now stands the city of Havana, but it used to be called *Puerto de Carenas*, and when we got to land we gave thanks to God.

I must remember to say that when we got to Havana, a Portuguese diver who happened to be in that port soon got the water out of the flagship.

We wrote in great haste to the Governor of the Island, Diego Velásquez, telling him that we had discovered thickly-peopled countries, with masonry houses, and people who covered their persons and went about clothed in cotton garments, and who possessed gold and who cultivated maize fields, and other matters which I have forgotten.

From Havana our Captain Francisco Hernández went by land to the town of Santispíritus, for so it is called, of which he was a citizen, and where he had his Indians; but he was so badly wounded that he died within ten days.

Three soldiers died of their wounds in Havana, and all the rest of us dispersed and went some to one and some to other parts of the Island. The ships went on to Santiago where the Governor was living, and the two Indians whom we captured at Cape Catoche, whom we named Melchorejo and Julianillo were sent on shore, as were also the little chest with the diadems and the ducks and little fish and other articles of gold and the many idols. These showed such skilful workmanship that the fame of them travelled throughout the Islands including Santo Domingo and Jamaica and even reached Spain. It was said that better lands had never been discovered in the world; and when the pottery idols with so many different

[1] The Havana of to-day.

shapes were seen, it was said that they belonged to the Gentiles, and others said that they were the work of the Jews whom Titus and Vespasian had turned out of Jerusalem and sent to sea in certain ships which had carried them to this land which as Peru was as yet undiscovered (indeed it was not discovered for another twenty years) was held in high estimation.

There was another matter about which Diego Velásquez questioned these Indians, whether there were gold mines in their country, and to all his questions they answered by signs "Yes." They were shown gold dust, and they said that there was much of it in their land, and they did not speak the truth, for it is clear that neither at Cape Catoche nor in all Yucatan are there any mines either of gold or of silver. These Indians were also shown the mounds of earth in which the plants are set, from the roots of which Cassava bread is made. This plant is called *Yuca* in the Island of Cuba and the Indians said that it grew in their country, and they said *Tlati* for so they call the ground in which the roots are planted; and, because *Yuca* and *Tlati* would make *Yucatan* the Spaniards who had joined in the conversation between Diego Velásquez and the Indians, said, "Señor, these Indians say that their country is called *Yucutlan*"; so it kept that name, but in their own language they do not call it by that name.

I must leave this subject and say that all of us soldiers who went on that voyage of discovery spent the little we possessed on it and we returned to Cuba wounded and in debt. So each soldier went his own way, and soon afterwards our captain died, and we were a long time recovering from our wounds, and according to our count, fifty-seven soldiers died, and this was all the profit we gained by that expedition and discovery. But Diego Velásquez wrote to the Lords Councillors who were at that time managing the Royal Council of the Indies, to say that he had made

the discovery, and had expended on the expedition a great number of gold dollars, and so it was stated and published by Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for thus he was called) who was President of the Council of the Indies, and he wrote to that effect to His Majesty in Flanders, giving much credit in his letters to Diego Velásquez, and he made no mention of us who made the discovery. Now I must stop, and I will tell later about the hardships which befel me and three other soldiers.

CHAPTER VII.

About the hardships I endured on the way to a town called Trinidad.

I HAVE already said that some of us soldiers who had not yet recovered from our wounds remained in Havana, and when we had got better three of us soldiers wished to go to the town of Trinidad, and we arranged to go with a certain Pedro de Ávila, a resident in Havana who was going to make the voyage in a canoe along the southern coast.[1] The canoe was laden with cotton shirts which Pedro de Ávila intended to sell at the town of Trinidad.

I have already said that the canoes are made like hollow troughs, and in these countries they are used for paddling along the coasts.

The arrangement we made with Avila was that we should give him ten gold dollars to take us in his canoe. So we set out along the coast, sometimes rowing and sometimes sailing, and after eleven days travelling, when near a village of friendly Indians, called Canarreo, which

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[1] Bernal Díaz crossed overland to San Cristóval de Havana—the Havana of that time—situated on the south coast (on the river Onicaxinal, see *Orozco y Berra*, vol. iv., p. 71), and thence took canoe to Trinidad.

was the boundary of the township of Trinidad, there arose such a heavy gale in the night that the canoe could not make headway against the sea although we were all of us rowing, as well as Pedro de Ávila and some Indians from Havana, very good rowers whom we had hired to come with us; we were cast upon some rocks (*Seborucos*), which thereabouts are very large, and in so doing the canoe went to pieces and Ávila lost his property. We all got ashore disabled and naked to the skin, for so as to swim more freely in our efforts to keep the canoe from breaking up we had thought it best to take off all our clothes.

Having escaped from that mishap we found that there was no trail along the coast to the town of Trinidad, nothing but rough ground and *Seborucos* as they call them, stones that pierce the soles of one's feet; moreover the waves continually broke over us, and we had nothing whatever to eat. To shorten the list of hardships I will leave out all one might say about the bleeding from our feet and other parts of our bodies.

It pleased God that after great toil we came out on a sandy beach, and after travelling along it for two days we arrived at an Indian village named Yaguarama, which at that time belonged to Padre Fray Bartolomé de las Casas who was the parish priest, whom I afterwards knew as a doctor and a Dominican friar, and who afterwards became Bishop of Chiapas,—and at that village they gave us food.

Next day we went on to a village called Chipiana which belonged to Alonzo de Ávila, and a certain Sandoval, (not the Captain Sandoval of New Spain, but another, a native of Tudela de Duero) and from there we went to Trinidad.

A friend and countryman of mine named Antonio de Medina supplied me with some clothes, such as are worn in the Island. From Trinidad with my poverty and hardships I went to Santiago de Cuba where lived

the Governor, who received me with a good grace; he was already making haste to send off another fleet.

When I went to pay my respects to him, for we were kinsmen, he joked with me, and going from one subject to another, asked me if I was well enough to return to Yucatan, and I, laughing, asked him who had given the name Yucatan for in that country it was not so called, and he replied, "the Indians you brought back with you call it so," so I told him "you had better call it the land where half the soldiers who went there were killed and all those who escaped death were wounded." He answered, "I know that you suffered many hardships, that always happens to those who set out to discover new lands and gain honour, and His Majesty will reward you, and I will write to him about it, and now my son, go again in the fleet I am getting ready and I will tell the Captain Juan de Grijalva to treat you with honour." I will stop here and relate what happened later.

Here ends the discovery made by Francisco Hernández whom Bernal Díaz del Castillo accompanied;—Let us relate what Diego Velásquez was proposing to do.

THE EXPEDITION UNDER JUAN DE GRIJALVA.

CHAPTER VIII.

How Diego Velásquez, Governor of the Island of Cuba, ordered another fleet to be sent to the lands which we had discovered and a kinsman of his, a nobleman named Juan de Grijalva, went as Captain General, besides three other Captains, whose names I will give later on.

IN the year 1518 the Governor of Cuba hearing the good account of the land which we had discovered, which is called Yucatan, decided to send out another fleet, and made search for four vessels to compose it. Two of these vessels were two of the three which had accompanied Francisco Hernández, the other two were vessels which Diego Velásquez bought with his own money.

At the time the fleet was being fitted out, there were present in Santiago de Cuba, where Velásquez resided Juan de Grijalva, Alonzo de Ávila, Francisco de Montejo, and Pedro de Alvarado, who had come to see the Governor on business, for all of them held *encomiendas* of Indians in the Island. As they were men of distinction, it was agreed that Juan de Grijalva who was a kinsman of Diego Velásquez, should go as Captain General, that Alonzo de Ávila, Pedro de Alvarado, and Francisco de Montejo should each have command of a ship. Each of these Captains contributed the provisions and stores of Cassava bread and salt pork, and Diego Velásquez provided the four ships, crossbows and guns, some beads and other articles of small value for barter,

and a small supply of beans. Then Diego Velásquez ordered that I should go with these Captains as ensign.

As the report had spread that the lands were very rich and that there were masonry houses there, and the Indian Julianillo whom we had brought from Cape Catoche had said that there was gold, the soldiers and settlers who possessed no Indians in Cuba were greedily eager to go to the new land, so that 240 companions were soon got together.

Then every one of us, out of his own funds, added what he could of stores and arms and other suitable things; and I set out again on this voyage as ensign, as I have already stated.

As far as I can make out the instructions given by the Governor were that we should obtain by barter all the gold and silver that could be procured, and that if it appeared to be advisable to form a settlement, and if we could venture to do so, that a settlement should be made, but if not that then we should return to Cuba.

There came with us, as Veedor of the fleet, a man named Peñalosa, a native of Segovia, and we took with us a priest named Juan Diaz, a native of Seville, and the same two pilots who were with us on the former voyage, namely, Anton de Alaminos of Palos, Camacho of Triana, besides Juan Álvarez el Manquillo, from Huelva, and there was also another pilot who called himself Sopuesta, who came from Moguer.

Before I go any further, as I shall have to speak many times of these *hidalgos* who were our Captains, and it seems to me discourteous merely to give their names, let it be known that later on they all become persons of title; Pedro de Alvarado became Adelantado[1] and Governor of Guatemala and a Commander of the Order of Santiago,

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[1] Adelantado = Governor-in-chief.

Montejo, Adelantado of Yucatan and Governor of Honduras, but Alonzo de Ávila did not have the same luck as the others for he was captured by the French, as I will relate later on in the chapter which treats of the subject. I shall speak of these gentlemen simply by their own names, until such time as His Majesty conferred on them the dignities I have mentioned.

To return to my story; we set out in the four ships along the north coast to a port called Matanzas, near to the old Havana,[1] (for at that time Havana was not in its present position), and in that port most of the settlers of Havana had their farms whence the ships obtained all the supplies they needed of Cassava and pork, for, as I have already said, there were as yet neither sheep nor cattle in Cuba, for the Island was but lately conquered. Here we were joined by the Captains and soldiers who were going to make the voyage.

Before going on, although it does not concern the story, I wish to say why this port was called Matanzas. I call it to mind because I have been asked the question by a historian in Spain who records matters that have happened, and this is the reason why the name was given it. Before the Island of Cuba was conquered a ship with more than thirty Spanish men and two women on board was driven ashore on the coast near the river and port now called Matanzas. Many Indians from Havana and the neighbouring towns came out with the intention of killing the Spaniards, but as the Indians did not dare to attack them on land, they offered, with fair words and flattery, to ferry the Spaniards in canoes across the river, which is very large and rapid, and to take them to their houses and give them food.

When the middle of the river was reached, the Indians

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[1] Axaruco.

upset the canoes and killed all the Spaniards except three men and one woman who was beautiful and was carried off by one of the caciques concerned in the plot, and the three Spanish men were divided among the other caciques. This is the reason why the place is called Matanzas.[1]

I knew the woman, and after the conquest of Cuba she was taken from the Cacique in whose power she had been, and I saw her married to a settler named Pedro Sánchez Farfan in the town of Trinidad. I also knew the three Spaniards, one was named Gonzalo Mejía, an old man from Jerez, another was Juan Santistéban, a youth from Madrigal, and the other was called Cascorro[2] a seaman, a native of Moguer.

I have delayed too long in telling this old tale, and it will be said that in spinning old yarns I am forgetting my narrative, so let us get back to it:—

As soon as all of us soldiers had got together and the pilots had received their instructions and the lantern signals had been arranged, after hearing mass, we set out on the 8th April, 1518.

In ten days we doubled the point of Guaniguanico which is also called San Anton and after eight days sailing we sighted the Island of Cozumel,[3] which was then first discovered, for with the current that was running we made much more lee-way than when we came with Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and we went along the south side of the Island and sighted a town with a

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[1] *I.e.*, the place of killing.

[2] The Alonzo Remón Edition adds: "The cacique with whom he stayed married him to his daughter, and he had his ears and nose pierced like an Indian."

[3] This would imply that land was first sighted on the 26th April. The *Itinerario* says that the fleet left Cuba on the 1st May, and that land was sighted on the 3rd May, and as it was the day of Santa Cruz they gave the land that name.

few houses, near which was a good anchorage free from reefs.

We went on shore with the Captain and a large company of soldiers, and the natives of the town had taken to flight as soon as they saw the ships coming under sail, for they had never seen such a thing before.

We soldiers who landed found two old men, who could not walk far, hidden in the maize fields and we brought them to the Captain. With the help of the two Indians Julianillo and Melchorejo whom Francisco Hernández brought away, who thoroughly understood that language (for there is not more than four leagues of sea between their land and the Island of Cozumel, and the language is the same) the captain spoke kindly to these old men and gave them some beads and sent them off to summon the cacique of the town, and they went off and never came back again.

While we were waiting, a good-looking Indian woman appeared and began to speak in the language of the Island of Jamaica, and she told us that all the men and women of the town had fled to the woods for fear of us. As I and many of our soldiers knew the language she spoke very well, for it is the same as that spoken in Cuba, we were very much astonished, and asked the woman how she happened to be there; she replied that two years earlier she had started from Jamaica with ten Indians in a large canoe intending to go and fish near some small islands, and that the currents had carried them over to this land where they had been driven ashore, and that her husband and all the Jamaica Indians had been killed and sacrificed to the Idols. When the Captain heard this it seemed to him that this woman would serve very well as a messenger, so he sent her to summon the people and caciques of the town, and he gave her two days in which to go and return. We were afraid that the

Indians Melchorejo and Julianillo if once they got away from us would go off to their own country which was near by, and on that account we could not trust them as messengers.

To return to the Indian woman from Jamaica, the answer she brought was that notwithstanding her efforts she could not persuade a single Indian to approach us.

We called the town Santa Cruz because it was the day of Santa Cruz when we first entered it; we found there very good hives of honey and many sweet potatoes, and herds of the pigs of the country which have the navel[1] above the spine.

There are three townships on the Island, the one where we landed being the largest and the other two smaller, and each one stood at one end of the island, these I saw and visited when I returned the third time with Cortez.

The Island is about two leagues[2] in circumference.

I must go on to say that as the Captain Juan de Grijalva saw that it would be merely losing time to wait there any longer, he ordered us to go on board ship, and the Indian woman went with us, and we continued our voyage.[3]

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[1] A scent gland.

[2] This must be a misprint for "twenty leagues," for the island is at least fifty-five miles in circumference.

[3] From the accounts given in the *Itinerario de Grijalva* and in the letter written to Charles V by the Municipality of Vera Cruz (10th July, 1519) it seems clear that on leaving Cozumel, Grijalva sailed for about fifty miles southwards along the east coast of Yucatan until he reached the Bay of Ascension, which he named, and then turned north again and rounded Cape Catoche. In this passage the author of the *Itinerario* says, "Arrived at the coast we saw three large towns separated about two miles one from the other, and we saw in them many stone houses and very high towers, and many houses of thatch."

Possibly this town was what is now known as the Ruins of Tulum.

CHAPTER IX.

How we followed the same course that we had taken with Francisco Hernández de Córdova; how we landed at Chanpoton and how an attack was made on us, and what else happened.

As soon as we were all on board we kept on the old course, the same that was followed by Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and in eight days we reached the neighbourhood of the town of Chanpoton which was the place where the Indians of that province had defeated us, as I have already related in a former chapter. As the tide runs out very far in the bay, we anchored our ships a league from the shore and then making use of all the boats we disembarked half the soldiers close to the houses of the town.

The Indians of the town and others from the neighbourhood at once assembled, as they had done on the other occasion when they killed over fifty-six of our soldiers and wounded all the rest, as I have already related, and for that reason they were now very proud and haughty, and they were well armed in their own manner with bows, arrows, and lances, some of them as long as our lances and some of them shorter, and shields and *macanas* and two-handed swords and slings and stones, and they wore cotton armour and carried trumpets and drums, and many of them had their faces painted black and others red and white. They were drawn up in array and awaited us on the shore, ready to fall on us as we landed. As we had already gained experience from our former expedition, we had brought with us in the boat some falconets and were well supplied with crossbows and guns.

As we approached the shore they began to shoot arrows and hurl lances at us with all their might, and although we did them much damage with our falconets, such a hail storm of arrows fell on us before we could land that half of us were wounded. As soon as all the soldiers got on shore

we checked their ardour with our good sword play and with our crossbows, and although they still shot at us as at targets, we all wore cotton armour, yet they kept up the fight against us for a good while until we drove them back into some swamps near to the town. In this fight seven soldiers were killed, among them Juan de Quiteria, a man of importance, and our Captain Juan de Grijalva received three arrow wounds, and had two of his teeth broken, and more than sixty of us were wounded.[1]

When we saw that all the enemy had taken to flight we entered the town and attended to the wounded and buried the dead. We could not find a single person in the town, nor could we find those who had retreated into the swamp for they had all disappeared. In that skirmish we captured three Indians one of whom was a chief, and the Captain sent them off to summon the cacique of the town, giving them clearly to understand through the interpreters Julianillo and Melchorejo that they were pardoned for what they had done, and he gave them some green beads to hand to the cacique as a sign of peace, and they went off and never returned again. So we believed that the Indians, Julianillo and Melchorejo had not repeated to the prisoners what they had been told to say to them but had said something quite different.

At that town we stayed for three days.

I remember that this fight took place in some fields where there were many locusts, and while we were fighting they jumped up and came flying in our faces, and as the Indian archers were pouring a hail storm of arrows on us we sometimes mistook the arrows for locusts and did not shield ourselves from them and so got wounded; at other times we thought that they were arrows coming towards

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[1] The author of the *Itinerario* and the Letter from the Municipality of Vera Cruz to Charles V make this fight take place at Campeche and say one Spaniard was killed.

us, when they were only flying locusts and it greatly hampered our fighting. I must leave this and go on to tell how we embarked and kept on our course.

CHAPTER X.

How we went on our way and entered a large and broad river to which we then gave the name of the Boca de Términos.

KEEPING on our course we reached what seemed to be the mouth of a very rapid river, very broad and open, but it was not a river as we at first thought it to be, but it was a very good harbour.

Because there was land on both sides of us and the water was so wide that it looked like a strait, the pilot Alamínos said that here the Island ended and the mainland began, and that was the reason why we called it the Boca de Términos,[1] and so it is named on the charts.

The Captain Juan de Grijalva went ashore with all the other Captains already mentioned and many soldiers. We spent three days taking soundings at the mouth of the strait and exploring up and down the bay until we came to the end of it, and found out that there was no island, but that we were in a bay which formed a very good harbour. On shore we found some houses built of masonry, used as oratories of their Idols, and many Idols of pottery, wood and stone, which were the images of their gods, and some of them were figures of women

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[1] It is not quite clear by which opening the vessels entered the Laguna de Términos. Orozco y Berra (*Hist. Antigua*, vol. iv, page 31) says at the Puerto Escondido—it seems more likely to have been at the Puerto Real. Had they entered by the west entrance or Puerto Principal they must have attracted the attention of the people of Xicolango, then a considerable town and a Mexican outpost. (See *Relacion de Melchor de Alfaro Santa Cruz* in *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*, *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. ii. Madrid, 1898).

and others figures of serpents and there were many deer's antlers.

We thought there must be a town close by, and as it was such a safe port we considered that it would be a good place for a settlement, but we found out that it was altogether uninhabited, and that the oratories were merely those belonging to traders and hunters who put into the port when passing in their canoes and made sacrifices there. We had much deer and rabbit hunting and with the help of a lurcher we killed ten deer and many rabbits. At last when we had finished our soundings and explorations we made ready to go on board ship, but the lurcher got left behind. The sailors call this place the Puerto de Términos.

As soon as we were all on board we kept our course close along the shore until we arrived at a river which they call the Rio de Tabasco, which we named Rio de Grijalva.

CHAPTER XI.

How we arrived at the Rio de Tabasco which we named the River Grijalva, and what happened to us there.

MAKING our way along the coast towards the west, by day, but not daring to sail during the night for fear of shoals and reefs, at the end of three days we came in sight of the mouth of a very broad river, and we went near in shore with the ships, as it looked like a good port. As we came nearer in we saw the water breaking over the bar at the mouth of the river, so we got out boats, and by sounding we found out that the two larger vessels could not enter the river, so it was agreed that they should anchor outside in the sea, and that all the soldiers should go up the river in the other two vessels which drew less water and in the boats.

This we did because we saw many Indians in canoes along the banks of the river armed with bows and arrows and other weapons, after the manner of the people of Chanpoton, and we knew that there must be a large town in the neighbourhood.

As we had coasted along we had already seen nets set in the sea for catching fish, and had gone in the boat which was towed astern of the flagship and had taken fish out of two of them.

This river was called the Rio de Tabasco because the chief of the town called himself Tabasco, and as we discovered it on this voyage and Juan de Grijalva was its discoverer, we named it the Rio de Grijalva and so it is marked on the charts.

To go back to my story, when we arrived within half a league of the town we could hear the sound of chopping wood for the Indians were making barriers and stockades and getting ready to give us battle. When we were aware of this, so as to make certain, we disembarked half a league from the town on a point of land where some palm trees were growing. When the Indians saw us there a fleet of fifty canoes approached us full of warriors clad in cotton armour and carrying bows and arrows, lances and shields, drums and plumes of feathers. Many other canoes full of warriors were lying in the creeks, and they kept a little way off as though they did not dare to approach as did the first fleet. When we perceived their intentions we were on the point of firing at them with guns and crossbows, but it pleased God that we agreed to call out to them, and through Julianillo and Melchorejo, who spoke their language very well, we told them that they need have no fear, that we wished to talk to them, for we had things to tell them which when they understood them they would be glad that we had come to their country and their homes,

Moreover, we wished to give them some of the things we had brought with us. As they understood what was said to them, four of the canoes came near with about thirty Indians in them, and we showed them strings of green beads and small mirrors and blue cut glass beads,[1] and as soon as they saw them they assumed a more friendly manner, for they thought that they were *chalchihuites*[2] which they value greatly.

Then through Julianillo and Melchorejo as interpreters, the Captain told them that we came from a distant country and were the vassals of a great Emperor named Don Carlos, who had many great lords and chiefs as his vassals, and that they ought to acknowledge him as their lord, and it would be to their advantage to do so, and that in return for the beads they might bring us some food and poultry.

Two of the Indians answered us, one of them was a chief and the other was a Papa, that is, a sort of priest who has care of their Idols, for as I have said before, in New Spain they are called Papas. They replied that they would bring the food which we asked for, and would barter their things for ours; but as for the rest, they already had a chief, that we were only just now arrived and knew nothing about them, and yet we wanted to give them a chief. Let us beware not to make war on them as we had done at Potonchan,[3] for they had more than three *jiquipiles* of warriors from all the provinces around in readiness (every *jiquipil* numbers eight thousand men) and they said that they were well aware that only a few days earlier we had killed and wounded more than two hundred men at Potonchan[3] but that they were not

[1] Literally, blue diamonds.

[2] Chalchihuitli is Jadeite, which was treasured as a precious stone by the Indians.

[3] Chanpoton,

weaklings such as those, and for this reason they had come to talk to us and find out what we wanted, and that whatever we should tell them they would go and report to the chiefs of many towns who had assembled to decide on peace or war.

Then our Captain embraced the Indians as a sign of peace, and gave them some strings of beads and told them to go and bring back an answer as soon as possible, but he said that although we did not wish to anger them, that if they did not return we should have to force our way into their town.

These messengers whom we sent spoke to the Caciques and Papas, who also have a voice in their affairs, and they decided that it was better to keep the peace and supply us with food, and that between them and the neighbouring towns they would soon seek a present of gold to give us and secure our friendship, so that what had happened to the people of Potonchan[1] would not happen to them.

From what I saw and learnt afterwards, it is the custom in these provinces, and in other countries in New Spain to give presents when making peace, and this will be clearly seen later on.

The following day more than thirty Indians with their chief came to the promontory under the palm trees where we were camped and brought roasted fish and fowls, and zapote fruit and maize bread, and brasiers with live coals and incense, and they fumigated us all. Then they spread on the ground some mats, which here they call *petates*, and over them a cloth, and they presented some golden jewels, some were diadems, and others were in the shape of ducks, like those in Castille, and other jewels like lizards and three necklaces of hollow beads, and other articles of gold but not of much value, for they were not

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[1] Çhanpoton.

worth more than two hundred dollars. They also brought some cloaks and skirts, such as they wear, and said that we must accept these things in good part as they had no more gold to give us, but that further on, in the direction of the sunset, there was plenty of gold, and they said "Colua, Colua, Méjico, Méjico," but we did not know what this Colua or Méjico could be. Although the present that they brought us was not worth much, we were satisfied, because we thus knew for certain that they possessed gold. As soon as they had given their present they said that we should at once set out on our way and the Captain, Juan de Grijalva, thanked them for their gift and gave them a present of beads. It was decided that we should go on board at once, for the two ships were in much danger should a northerly gale blow for it would put them on a lee shore, and moreover we wanted to get nearer to where we were told there was gold.

CHAPTER XII.

How we followed along the coast towards the setting sun, and arrived at a river called the Rio de Banderas, and what happened there.

WE returned on board and set our course along the coast and in two days came in sight of a town called Ayagualulco, and many of the Indians from that town marched along the shore with shields made of the shells of turtle, which sparkled as the sun shone on them, and some of our soldiers contended that they were made of low grade gold.

The Indians who carried them as they marched along the sandy beach, knowing that they were at a safe distance,

cut capers, as though mocking at the ships. We gave the town the name of La Rambla, and it is thus marked on the charts.

Coasting along we came in sight of a bay into which flows the river Tonalá, which we entered on our return journey and named the Rio de San Antonio, and so it is marked on the charts.

As we sailed along we noted the position of the great river Coatzacoalcos, and we wished to enter the bay [not merely] to see what it was like, but because the weather was unfavourable. Soon we came in sight of the great snow mountains, which have snow on them all the year round, and we saw other mountains, nearer to the sea, which we called the range of San Martin, and we gave it that name because the first man to see them was a soldier from Havana who had come with us named San Martin.

As we followed along the coast, the Captain Pedro de Alvarado, went ahead with his ship and entered a river which the Indians call Papaloapan, and which we then called the Rio de Alvarado because Alvarado was the first to enter it. There, some Indian fishermen, natives of a town called Tlacotalpa gave him some fish. We waited at the mouth of the river with the other three ships until Alvarado came out, and the General was very angry with him for going up the river without his permission, and ordered him never to go ahead of the other ships again, lest an accident should happen when we could not give him help.

We kept on our course, all four ships together until we arrived at the mouth of another river, which we called the Rio de Banderas,[1] because we there came on a great number of Indians with long lances, and on every

[1] Rio de Banderas is the Rio Jamapa of the modern maps.

lance a great cloth banner which they waved as they beckoned to us. And what happened I will tell in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

How we arrived at the Rio de Banderas and what happened there.

SOME studious readers in Spain and other people who have been to New Spain, may have heard that Mexico was a very great city built in the water like Venice, and that it was governed by a great prince who was King over many provinces and ruled over all the lands of New Spain, a territory which is more than twice as large as Castille, and that this Prince was called Montezuma, and that as he was so powerful he wished to extend his rule beyond what was possible. He had received news of our arrival when we came first, with Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and of what had happened at the battle of Catoche and at Chanpoton, and also what had happened at the battle at this same Chanpoton during this voyage, and he knew that we soldiers being few in number had defeated the warriors of that town and their very numerous allies, and he knew as well that we had entered the Rio Tabasco and what had taken place between us and the caciques of that town, moreover he understood that our object was to seek for gold, in exchange for the things we had brought with us. All this news had been brought to him painted on a cloth made of *hennequen*[1] which is like linen, and as he knew that we were coasting along towards his provinces he sent orders to his governors that if we should arrive in their

[1] Hennequen, or Sisal hemp, is a species of Aloe (Agave Ixtli) now largely used for cordage.

neighbourhood with our ships that they should barter gold for our beads, especially the green beads, which are something like their *chalchihuites*, which they value as highly as emeralds; he also ordered them to find out more about our persons and our plans.

It is a fact, as we now know, that their Indian ancestors had foretold that men with beards would come from the direction of the sunrise and would rule over them. Whatever the reason may have been many Indians sent by the Great Montezuma were watching for us at the river I have mentioned with long poles, and on every pole a banner of white cotton cloth, which they waved and called to us, as though making signals of peace, to come to them.

When from the ships we saw such an unusual sight we were fairly astonished, and the general and most of the Captains were agreed that to find out what it meant we should lower two of the boats, and that all those who carried guns or crossbows and twenty of the most daring and active soldiers should go in them, and that Francisco de Montejo should accompany us, and that if we should discover that the men who were waving the banners were warriors that we should at once bring news of it and of anything else that we could find out.

Thank God at that time we had fine weather which is rare enough on this coast. When we got on shore we found three Caciques, one of them the governor appointed by Montezuma, who had many of the Indians of his household with him. They brought many of the fowls of the country and maize bread such as they always eat, and fruits such as pineapples and zapotes, which in other parts are called mameies, and they were seated under the shade of the trees, and had spread mats on the ground, and they invited us to be seated, all by signs, for Julianillo the man from Cape Catoche, did not understand their language which is Mexican. Then they

brought pottery braziers with live coals, and fumigated us with a sort of resin.

As soon as the Captain Montejo had reported all that had taken place to the general, he [the captain general] determined to anchor his ships and go ashore with all his captains and soldiers. When the Caciques and governors saw him on land and knew that he was the Captain General of us all, according to their custom, they paid him the greatest respect. In return he treated them in a most caressing manner and ordered them to be given blue and green glass beads and by signs he made them understand that they should bring gold to barter with us. Then the Governor sent orders to all the neighbouring towns to bring jewels to exchange with us, and during the six days that we remained there they brought more than sixteen thousand dollars worth of jewelry of low grade gold, worked into various forms.

This must be the gold which the historians Gómara, Yllescas and Jovio say was given by the natives of Tabasco, and they have written it down as though it were true, although it is well known to eye witnesses that there is no gold in the Province of the Rio de Grijalva or anywhere near it and very few jewels.

When the General saw that the Indians were not bringing any more gold to barter, and as we had already been there six days and the ships ran risk of danger from the North and North East wind, he thought it was time to embark.

So we took [formal] possession of the land in the name of His Majesty, and as soon as this had been done the General spoke to the Indians and told them that we wished to return to our ships and he gave them presents of some shirts from Spain. We took one of the Indians from this place on board ship with us, and after he had learnt our language he became a Christian and was named

Francisco, and later on I met him living with his Indian wife.

As we sailed on along the coast we sighted an Island[1] of white sand which the sea washed over, it appeared to be about three leagues distant from the land, and we called it the Isla Blanca and it is marked thus on the charts. Not far from the Isla Blanca we observed another Island with many green trees on it, lying about four leagues from the coast and we gave it the name of Isla Verde and going on further we saw an Island somewhat larger than the others about a league and a half off the shore, and in front of it there was a good roadstead where the General gave orders for the ships to come to anchor.

As soon as the boats were launched the Captain Juan de Grijalva and many of us soldiers went off to visit the Island for we saw smoke rising from it, and we found two masonry houses very well built, each house with steps leading up to some altars, and on these altars were idols with evil looking bodies, which were the gods of the Indians and that very night five Indians had been sacrificed before them; their chests had been cut open, and the arms and thighs had been cut off and the walls were covered with blood.

At all this we stood greatly amazed, and gave the Island the name of the Isla de Sacrificios and it is so marked on the charts.

We all of us went ashore opposite that Island, and on the broad sandy beach we put up huts and shelters made with branches of trees and sails taken from the ships.

Now many Indians had come down to the coast bringing gold made into small articles which they wished to barter as they had done at the Rio de Banderas, and, as we

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[1] Bernal Díaz is not quite correct about the comparative size of the Islands. The accompanying chart shows their size and position.

afterwards found out the great Montezuma had ordered them to do so. These Indians who brought the gold were very timid and the gold was small in quantity, for this reason the Captain Juan de Grijalva ordered the anchors to be raised and sail set, and we went on to anchor opposite another Island, about half a league from land, and it is at this Island that the port of Vera Cruz is now established.

CHAPTER XIV.

How we arrived at the Island now called San Juan de Ulúa, and the reason why that name was given to it, and what happened to us there.

WE landed on a sandy beach, and so as to escape the swarms of mosquitos we built huts on the tops of the highest sand dunes, which are very extensive in these parts.

From our boats we made careful soundings of the harbour and found that there was a good bottom and that under the shelter of the Island our ships would be safe from the Northerly gales.

As soon as this was done the General and thirty of us soldiers, well armed, went in two boats to the Island and we found there a temple where there was a very large and ugly idol which was called Tescatepuca[1] and in charge of it were four Indians with very large black cloaks and hoods, such as the Dominicans or canons wear, or very much like them, and these were the priests of the idols, and they are commonly called Papas in New Spain, as I have said before.

They had this day sacrificed two boys and cut open

[1] Tetzcatlipoca.

their chests, and offered the blood and hearts to that cursed Idol. The priests came towards us to fumigate us with the incense with which they had fumigated their Tescatepuca, for when we approached them they were burning something which had the scent of incense, but we would not allow them to fumigate us, for we all felt much pity at seeing those two boys who had just been killed and at beholding such great cruelty. The General asked the Indian Francisco, already mentioned by me, whom we had brought from the Rio de Banderas, and who seemed to be fairly intelligent what they had done this for, and Francisco by means of signs (we had no interpreter, for as I have already said, Julianillo and Melchorejo did not understand the Mexican language) replied that the people of Culúa had ordered the sacrifice to be made. As he was halting in his speech he said Ulúa, Ulúa, and as our Captain who was present was named Juan, and it was the day of San Juan in June, we called the Island San Juan de Ulúa. This port is now very well known, and great shelter walls have been erected so as to protect the ships from the North wind, and it is here that all the merchandise from Castille for Mexico and New Spain is landed.

To go back to my story, while we were encamped on the sand hills, Indians from the towns round about came to barter gold and jewels in exchange for our goods, but they brought so few things and those of such poor value that we took no count of it.

We stayed there for seven days, but we could not endure the mosquitos, and seeing that we were wasting time, and as we now knew for certain that these lands were not Islands but the Mainland, and that it contained large towns and multitudes of Indians, and seeing that our cassava bread was very mouldy and dirty with weevils and was going sour, and that the soldiers of our company

were not numerous enough to form a settlement, all the more so as thirteen soldiers had died of their wounds, and four others were still suffering, so taking all I have said into consideration it was agreed that we should send to inform the Governor Diego Velásquez of our condition, so that he could send us help.

Juan de Grijalva had the greatest desire to form a settlement even with the few soldiers he had with him, and always showed the courage of a very valiant and energetic Captain, and was not such a man as the historian Gómara describes.

It was therefore decided that the Captain Pedro de Alvarado should go in a very good ship called the *San Sebastian* to carry the message. This was agreed to for two reasons, one was that Juan de Grijalva and the other captains were not on good terms with Alvarado on account of his entry into the Rio Papaloapan (which we then named the Rio Alvarado) the other reason was that Alvarado had come on this voyage unwillingly, as he was far from well.

It was also arranged that the sick men and all the gold and the cloth which had been gained by barter should be sent back in the *San Sebastian*. The Captains wrote to Diego Velásquez, each one what he thought fit, and then the ship set sail and made for the Island of Cuba, and there I will leave them for the present, both Pedro de Alvarado and his voyage, and will tell how Diego Velásquez had sent in search of us.

CHAPTER XV.

How Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, sent a ship in search of us, and what else happened.

No sooner had we sailed from the Island of Cuba on our voyage with Captain Juan de Grijalva, than Diego Velásquez began to be anxious lest some calamity had befallen us, and he was always longing for news of us, so he sent a small ship with some soldiers in search of us, under the command of Cristóval de Olid, a person of consideration and very energetic (who was afterwards *Maestro de Campo*[1] in the expedition under Cortés). Diego Velásquez ordered him to follow the track of Francisco Hernández de Córdova until he should overtake us.

It appears that Cristóval de Olid, when he went in search of us, was struck by a heavy gale while anchored near the coast of Yucatan, and the pilot whom they had on board, so as to save the vessel from foundering at anchor, ordered the cables to be cut, so they lost their anchors and returned to Santiago de Cuba.

Diego Velásquez was at the port and heard that they brought no news of us, and if he was anxious before, he was doubly so now. However, about this time the Captain, Pedro de Alvarado, arrived with the gold, and the cloth, and the sick men, and with the whole story of what we had discovered; and when the Governor beheld the gold jewelry that the Captain Pedro de Alvarado had brought with him, he greatly overestimated its value.

There were present with Diego Velásquez many inhabitants from the city and from other parts of the Island, who had come on business, and when the king's

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[1] Quartermaster.

officers took the Royal Fifth, which belongs to His Majesty, they were astonished at our having discovered such rich lands, (for Peru was not discovered until twenty years later).

Pedro de Alvarado knew very well how to tell his story, and they say that Diego Velásquez could do nothing but embrace him, and order great rejoicings and sports for eight days. Report had been rife enough before about these rich lands, and with the arrival of the gold it rose to exaggeration throughout the Islands and in Castille, as I shall tell later on; but I must leave Diego Velásquez keeping holiday, and return to our ships which were at San Juan de Ulúa, and I shall go on to relate how we agreed to proceed with our exploration of the coast.

CHAPTER XVI.

How we went on exploring the coast as far as the Province of Panuco, and what else happened before our return to Cuba.

AFTER the Captain, Pedro de Alvarado had left us to go to the Island of Cuba, (as I have already related) it was decided by the General, Captains, and soldiers, and approved of by the Pilots, that we should keep in close to the shore and discover all that we were able on the coast. Keeping on our course we came in sight of the Sierra de Tuztla,[1] and further on, two days later, we saw some other higher ranges which are now called the Sierra de Tuzpa, after a town of that name near by. As we coasted along, we saw many towns apparently two or

[1] This is an error; the Sierra de Tuxtla lies between the Sierra San Martin and the mouth of the Papaloapan River, and had been passed before arriving at San Juan de Ulúa. It is Tuxpan (about lat. 20 deg. N) that was now sighted.

three leagues inland and these would belong to the province of Panuco. Continuing our course, we came to a great and rapid river which we called the Rio de Canoas[1] and dropped anchor at the mouth of it.

When all three ships were anchored and we were a little off our guard, twenty large canoes filled with Indian warriors, armed with bows, arrows, and lances, came down the river and made straight for the smallest ship which lay nearest the shore, and was commanded by Francisco de Montejo. The Indians shot a flight of arrows which wounded five soldiers, and they made fast to the ship with ropes intending to carry her off, and even cut one of her cables with their copper axes. However, the captain and soldiers fought well, and upset three of the canoes, and we hastened to their assistance in our boats, with guns and crossbows, and we wounded more than a third of the Indians, so they returned from their unlucky expedition whence they had come. Then we got up anchor and set sail and followed along the coast until we came to a great Cape[2] which was most difficult to double, for the currents were so strong we could make no headway.

Then the Pilot, Alaminos, said to the General, that it was no use trying to go further in that direction, and gave many reasons for his opinion. So counsel was taken as to what had best be done, and it was settled that we should return to Cuba. One reason for this was that the rains[3] had already begun, and we were short of provisions, and one ship was leaking badly. However, the Captains were not of one mind, for Juan de Grijalva said that he wanted

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[1] Orozco y Berra says, in a note (page 55), that this Rio de Canoas is the Rio Tanhuijo, 21 deg. 15 mins. 48 secs. N. lat.

[2] Punta Majahua or Cabo Rojo.

[3] *Invierno* (winter) is the word in the text; it must here mean the rainy season.

to form a settlement, and Alonzo de Ávila, and Francisco de Montejo objected, saying that they would not be able to hold out against the great number of warriors which the country contained, moreover, all of us soldiers were thoroughly tired of seafaring.

So we turned round and set all sail before the wind, and aided by the currents, in a few days we reached the mouth of the great Rio de Coatzacoalcos, but we could not enter it on account of unfavourable weather, and going close in shore we entered the Rio de Tonalá, to which we gave the name of San Anton. There we careened one of the ships which was making water fast, for on entering the river she had struck on the bar where the water is very shallow.

While we were repairing the ship many Indians came in a most friendly manner from the town of Tonalá, which is about a league distant, and brought maize bread, and fish and fruit, and gave them to us with great good will. The captain showed them much attention and ordered them to be given white and green beads, and made signs to them that they should bring gold for barter and we would give them our goods in exchange; so they brought jewels of low grade gold, and we gave them beads in return. People came also from Coatzacoalcos and the other towns in the neighbourhood and brought jewelry, but this did not amount to anything.

Besides these things for barter, the Indians of that province usually brought with them highly polished copper axes with painted wooden handles, as though for show or as a matter of elegance, and we thought that they were made of inferior gold, and began to barter for them, and in three days we had obtained more than six hundred, and we were very well contented thinking that they were made of debased gold, and the Indians were even more contented with their beads, but it was no

good to either party, for the axes were made of copper, and the beads were valueless. One sailor had bought seven axes, and was very well pleased with them.[1]

I also remember that a soldier named Bartolomé Pardo, went to one of the Idol Houses which stood on a hill, (which as I have already said are called Cues, which means houses of the Gods) and in that house he found many Idols, and copal, which is a resin used as incense, and stone knives used for sacrifices and circumcision, and in a wooden chest he found many articles of gold, such as diadems and necklaces, and two Idols and some hollow beads. The soldier took the gold for himself and the other Idols and offerings he brought to the captain. However, someone had seen what was done, and reported it to Grijalva, and he wanted to take the gold from the soldier, but we begged that it might be left to him, as he was a respectable man, so after the Royal Fifth had been taken for His Majesty, the rest was given back to the poor soldier, and it was worth about one hundred and fifty dollars.[2]

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[1] The Alonzo Remón Edition says that he bought them secretly, "and it seems that another sailor told this to the captain, and he ordered them to be given up, but as we all pleaded for him, thinking that the axes were gold, the captain gave them back again."

[2] In the original MSS. the following passage is blotted out :—

I sowed the seeds of some oranges near to another Idol house, and it happened thus :—There were so many mosquitos near the river that ten of us soldiers went up to sleep in a lofty Idol house, and close by that house I sowed the seeds which I had brought from Cuba, for there was a rumour that we were coming back to settle, they came up very well, for it seems that the Papas, when they saw that they were plants differing from those they knew, protected them and watered them and kept them free from weeds ; and all the oranges in that province are the descendants of these plants. I know well that it will be said that these old tales have nothing to do with my history, so I must leave off telling them.—G. G.

The Alonzo Remón Edition adds :—And I have called this to mind because these were the first oranges planted in New Spain. After the fall of Mexico, when the towns subject to Coatzacoalcos had been pacified, this was looked on as the best province, being the best situated in all New Spain, both on account of the mines it possessed

We left the Indians of those provinces well contented, and going on board ship again, we went on our way towards Cuba,[1] and in forty-five days, sometimes with fair weather and at other times with bad weather, we arrived at Santiago de Cuba where Diego Velásquez was residing, and he gave us a very good reception.

When the Governor saw the gold that we brought, which was worth four thousand dollars, and with that which had already been brought by Pedro de Alvarado, amounted in all to twenty thousand dollars, (and some say that it was more) he was well contented. Then the officers of the King took the Royal Fifth, but when the six hundred axes which we thought were low grade gold were brought out, they were all rusty like copper which they proved to be, and there was a good laugh at us, and they made great fun of our trading.

The Governor was very pleased at all this, but he did not seem to be on good terms with his kinsman Grijalva, and he had no cause for it, merely that Francisco de Montejo and Pedro de Alvarado were not on good terms with Grijalva, and Alonzo de Ávila added to the trouble. As soon as these squabbles were over there began to be talk of sending another fleet, and gossip as to who would be chosen as captain, but I will leave this for the present and will tell how Diego Velásquez sent to Spain to petition His Majesty to give him a commission to trade and to conquer, settle and apportion, the lands which had been discovered.

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as well as for its good harbour, for it was a land both rich in gold, and in pasture for cattle. For this reason it was settled by the principal *Conquistadores* of Mexico, of whom I was one. So I went to look for my orange trees and transplanted them and they turned out very well.

[1] The author of the *Itinerario* says that they touched at Campeche and secured enough maize, water and firewood to supply them for the remainder of the voyage.

BOOK II.

THE EXPEDITION UNDER HERNANDO CORTÉS.

THE VOYAGE.

CHAPTER XVII.

How Diego Velásquez sent to Spain to petition His Majesty to grant him a commission, to trade with, and conquer the country, and to settle and apportion the land as soon as peace was established.

ALTHOUGH it may seem to the reader that in relating what I now call to mind, I am wandering far away from my story, nevertheless it seems to me proper that, before I begin to tell about the valiant and energetic Captain Cortés, certain things should be mentioned, both for reasons which will be apparent later on, and because when two or three events happen at the same time, one cannot relate them together, but only that one which falls into its place in the story.

The fact is that when the captain, Pedro de Alvarado arrived at Santiago de Cuba with the gold from the lands which we had discovered, as I have already related, Diego Velásquez was in fear lest, before he could make his report to His Majesty, some court favourite should rob

him of his reward, and ask it from His Majesty for himself. For this reason he sent to Spain his chaplain, named Benito Martínez, a man well skilled in business, with the evidence and letters for Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, and Archbishop of Rosano, for such are his titles, and to the Licentiate, Luis Zapata, and to the Secretary, Lope de Conchillos, who at that time looked after the Affairs of the Indies. Diego Velásquez was the very humble servant of them all, especially of the Bishop, and he gave them Indian townships in the Island of Cuba, so that their inhabitants might extract gold from the mines for them, and for this reason they were ready to do much for Diego Velásquez.

At this time His Majesty was away in Flanders. Velásquez also sent to these gentlemen, just now mentioned by me, some of the jewels of gold which we had obtained by barter. Now everything that was done by the Royal Council of the Indies was done by the orders of these gentlemen, and that which Diego Velásquez wished to have arranged was, that he should be given authority to trade with, conquer and settle all this land which he had recently discovered, and any that he might thereafter discover. He said in his reports and letters that he had spent many thousands of gold dollars in the discovery. So the Chaplain, Benito Martínez, went to Spain and succeeded in obtaining all that he asked for, and even more, for he brought back a decree appointing Diego Velásquez, Adelantado of the Island of Cuba. Although what I have here stated was already settled, the despatches did not arrive before the valiant Cortés had already sailed with a fresh fleet. I must leave this matter here, both the despatches of which Benito Martínez was the bearer, and the fleet of the captain Cortés, and state that while writing this story I have seen the chronicles written by the historian, Francisco

Lopes de Gómara, and those of the Doctor Yllescas and of Jovio, in which they treat of the conquest of New Spain. I feel bound to declare that, wherever it appears to contradict the others, my story represents events clearly and truly, and runs very differently from what the historians I have named have written.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Concerning some errors and other things written by the Historians Gómara and Yllescas about affairs in New Spain.

WHILE I was writing this story, I saw by chance, what had been written by Gómara, Yllescas and Jovio, about the conquest of Mexico and New Spain, and when I had read their accounts and saw and appreciated their polished style, and thought how rudely and lamely my story was told, I stopped writing it, seeing that such good histories already existed. Being in this perplexed state of mind, I began to look into the arguments and discourses which are told in these books, and I saw that from beginning to end they did not tell correctly what took place in New Spain. When they begin to write about the great cities, and the great number of the inhabitants, they are as ready to write eighty thousand as eight thousand. Then about the great slaughter which they say we committed:—As we were only four hundred and fifty soldiers who marched to that war, we had enough to do to defend ourselves from being killed or defeated and carried off; and even had the Indians been craven cowards, we could not have committed all the slaughter attributed to us, more particularly as the Indians were very bold warriors who had cotton armour which shielded their bodies, and were armed with bows, arrows, shields, long lances, and two-handled stone-edged swords, which cut better than our swords did.

Nevertheless, the historians say that we made as great a slaughter and committed as great cruelties as did Alaric, that bravest of kings, and the haughty warrior Attila, on the battlefields of Catalonia. To go back to my story, they say that we destroyed and burnt many cities and temples, that is their *Cues*, and in saying this, they seem to think that they are giving pleasure to those who read their histories, and they do not understand when they write, that the conquerors themselves, and the inquisitive readers, who know what really took place, could tell them clearly that if they write other histories in the way they have written that of New Spain, such history will be worthless. The amusing part of it is, that they exalt some captains, and belittle others, and they speak of some, who were not even present at the conquest, as though they were there, and they make many other statements of equal value, but there are so many matters about which they are ignorant, that I cannot note them all. But there is one thing that they say worse than all and that is that Cortés sent secret orders to scuttle the ships, on the contrary, it was on the distinct advice of most of the other soldiers and my own, that he sent to have the ships sunk without any concealment whatever, and it was done so that the sailors who were in them might help to keep watch and make war. Indeed, in all they write, they speak with prejudice, so why should I go on dipping my pen to mention each item separately, it is merely wasting ink and paper, moreover I should say it badly, for I have got no style.

Let us leave this discussion and get back to my theme. After having carefully examined all that I have said as to the nonsense that has been written about the affairs of New Spain, I continued writing my own story, for it is the truest politeness and the most courteous style to tell the truth in what one writes, and knowing this, I made up my mind to carry out my plan, with such embellishments

and discourses as will be seen further on, so that the conquest of New Spain may be brought to light and may be clearly seen in the way it ought to be seen.

I wish to return to my story pen in hand as a good pilot carries his lead in hand at sea, looking out for shoals ahead, when he knows that they will be met with, so will I do in speaking of the errors of the historians, but I shall not mention them all, for if one had to follow them item by item, the trouble of discarding the rubbish would be greater than that of gathering in the harvest.

I say that upon this story of mine the historians may build up and give as much praise as pleases them to the valiant captain Cortés and to the sturdy Conquistadores. It was a great enterprise that was accomplished by our hands, and what historians may write about it, we, who were eye witnesses will certify when it is true, as we now certify to the errors, and as so much daring and zeal has been shown in writing falsely and with prejudice, we appreciate how holy and blessed is the truth, and that all that is said against it is cursed.

Moreover it appears that Gómara[1] was inspired to write with such laudation of Cortés, for we look upon it as certain that his palms were greased, for he dedicated his history to the present Marquis, the son of Cortés, insisting on his right so to dedicate and recommend it before our lord the King, and the members of the Royal Council of the Indies ought to have had the mistakes erased that are written down in his books.

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[1] Alonzo Remón Edition adds:—"Not only did Gómara write down so many mistakes and things that are not true, but he misled many writers and historians who since his time have written about the affairs of New Spain, such as the Doctor Yllescas and Pablo Jovio who copy his very words."

CHAPTER XIX.

How we came again with another fleet to the newly discovered lands with the valiant and energetic Don Hernando Cortés (who was afterwards Marqués del Valle) as captain of the fleet, and the attempts that were made to prevent his going in command.

AFTER the return of the Captain Juan de Grijalva to Cuba, when the Governor Diego Velásquez understood how rich were these newly discovered lands, he ordered another fleet, much larger than the former one to be sent off, and he had already collected in the Port of Santiago, where he resided, ten ships, four of them were those in which we had returned with Juan de Grijalva, which had at once been careened, and the other six had been got together from other ports in the Island. He had them furnished with provisions, consisting of Cassava bread and salt pork, for at that time there were neither sheep nor cattle in the Island of Cuba, as it had been only recently settled. These provisions were only to last until we arrived at Havana, for it was at that port that we were to take in our stores, as was afterwards done.

I must cease talking of this and tell about the disputes which arose over the choice of a captain for the expedition. There were many debates and much opposition, for some gentleman said that Vasco Porcallo, a near relation of the Conde de Feria, should be captain, but Diego Velásquez feared that he would rise against him with the fleet, for he was very daring; others said that Agustin Bermudez or Antonio Velásquez Borrejo, or Bernadino Velásquez, kinsman of Diego Velásquez should go in command.

Most of us soldiers who were there said that we should prefer to go again under Juan de Grijalva, for he was a good captain, and there was no fault to be found either with his person or his capacity for command.

While things were going on in the way I have related,

two great favourites of Diego Velásquez named Andrés de Duero, the Governor's Secretary, and Amador de Lares, His Majesty's accountant, secretly formed a partnership with a gentleman named Hernando Cortés, a native of Medellin, who held a grant of Indians in the Island. A short while before, Cortés had married a lady named Catalina Juarez la Marcayda; this lady was sister of a certain Juan Juarez who after the conquest of New Spain was a settler at Mexico. As far as I know, and from what others say, it was a love match. On this matter of the marriage other persons who saw it have had much to say, and for that reason I will not touch any more on this delicate subject.

I will go on to tell about this partnership, it came about in this manner:—These two great favourites of Velásquez agreed that they would get him to appoint Cortés Captain General of the whole fleet, and that they would divide between the three of them, the spoil of gold, silver and jewels which might fall to Cortés' share. For secretly Diego Velásquez was sending to trade and not to form a settlement, as was apparent afterwards from the instructions given about it, although it was announced and published that the expedition was for the purpose of founding a settlement.

When this arrangement had been made, Duero and the accountant went to work in such a way with Diego Velásquez, and addressed such honied words to him, praising Cortés highly, as the very man for the position of Captain, as in addition to being energetic he knew how to command and ensure respect, and as one who would be faithful in everything entrusted to him, both in regard to the fleet and in everything else, (pointing out too, that he was his godson, for Velásquez was his sponsor when Cortés married Doña Catalina Juarez), that they persuaded him to choose Cortés as Captain General.

Andrés de Duero, the Governor's Secretary, drew up the documents in very good ink[1] as the proverb says, in the way Cortés wished with very ample powers.

When the appointment was made public, some persons were pleased and others annoyed.

One Sunday when Diego Velásquez went to Mass,—and as he was Governor he was accompanied by the most distinguished persons in the town,—he placed Hernando Cortés on his right hand so as to pay him honour. A buffoon, called the mad Cervantes, ran in front of Diego Velásquez, making grimaces and cracking jokes and he cried out—

"The parade of my friend Diego, Diego,
"Who then is this captain of your choice?
"He comes from Medellin in Estramadura
"A very valiant captain indeed
"Have a care lest he run off with the fleet
"For all judge him a man to take care of his own."

And he cried out other nonsense, all of it somewhat malicious. And as he would go on shouting in this way, Andrés de Duero who was walking near Diego Velasquez, gave the buffoon a cuff and said "Silence thou crazy drunkard, and don't be such a rogue, for we are well aware that these malicious sayings, passed off as wit, are not made up by thee," and still the madman ran on, notwithstanding the cuffs, saying, "Viva, Viva, the parade of my friend Diego and his daring Captain Cortés, I swear friend Diego that so as not to see thee weeping over the bad bargain thou hast made this day, I wish to go with Cortés to these rich lands." There is no doubt that some kinsman of the Governor had given gold pieces to the buffoon to utter these malicious sayings, passing them off as witty. However, this all came true, and it is said that madmen do sometimes hit the mark in their speeches.

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[1] De muy buena tinta = most efficiently.

Truly Hernando Cortés was chosen to exalt our holy faith and to serve his Majesty, as I will tell later on.

Before going any further I wish to say that the valiant and energetic Hernando Cortés was a gentleman by birth (hijo-d'algo) by four lines of descent. The first through the Cortéses, for so his father Martin Cortés was named, the second through the Pizarros, the third through the Monroys and the fourth through the Altamiranos. Although he was such a valiant, energetic and daring captain, I will not from now on, call him by any of these epithets of valiant, or energetic, nor will I speak of him as Marqués del Valle, but simply as Hernando Cortés. For the name Cortés alone was held in as high respect throughout the Indies as well as in Spain, as was the name of Alexander in Macedonia, and those of Julius Caesar and Pompey and Scipio among the Romans, and Hannibal among the Carthaginians, or in our own Castille the name of Gonzalo Hernández, the Great Captain. And the valiant Cortés himself was better pleased not to be called by lofty titles but simply by his name, and so I will call him for the future. And now I must cease talking of this, and relate in the next chapter what he undertook and accomplished about the preparation of his fleet.

CHAPTER XX.

How Cortés prepared and continued the arrangements necessary for the dispatch of the fleet.

As soon as Hernando Cortés had been appointed General in the way I have related, he began to search for all sorts of arms, guns, powder and crossbows and every kind of warlike stores which he could get together, and all sorts of articles to be used for barter, and other things necessary for the expedition.

Moreover he began to adorn himself and be more careful of his appearance than before, and he wore a plume of feathers with a medal, and a gold chain, and a velvet cloak trimmed with knots of gold, in fact he looked like a gallant and courageous Captain. However, he had no money to defray the expenses I have spoken about, for at that time he was very poor and much in debt, although he had a good *encomienda* of Indians who were getting him a return from his gold mines, but he spent all of it on his person and on finery for his wife whom he had recently married, and on entertaining some guests who had come to visit him. For he was affable in his manner and a good talker, and he had twice been chosen *Alcalde*[1] of the town of Santiago Baracoa where he had settled, and in that country it is esteemed a great honour to be chosen as *Alcalde*.

When some merchant friends of his named Jaime Tria, Jerónimo Tria and Pedro de Jerez saw that he had obtained this command as Captain General, they lent him four thousand gold dollars in coin and gave him merchandise worth another four thousand dollars secured on his Indians and estates. Then he ordered two standards and banners to be made, worked in gold with the royal arms and a cross on each side with a legend which said, "Comrades, let us follow the sign of the holy Cross with true faith, and through it we shall conquer." And he ordered a proclamation to be made with the sound of drums and trumpets in the name of His Majesty and by Diego Velásquez in the King's name, and in his own as Captain General, to the effect that whatsoever person might wish to go in his company to the newly discovered lands to conquer them and to settle there, should receive his share of the gold, silver and riches which might be gained

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[1] Alcalde = Mayor.

and an *encomienda* of Indians after the country had been pacified, and that to do these things Diego Velásquez held authority from His Majesty.

Although he put in the proclamation this about the authority of Our Lord the King, the Chaplain, Benito Martínez, had not yet arrived from Spain with the Commission which Diego Velásquez had sent him to obtain, as I have already mentioned in a former chapter.

When this news was known throughout Cuba, and Cortés had written to all his friends in the different towns begging them to get ready to come with him on this expedition, some of them sold their farms so as to buy arms and horses, others began to prepare cassava bread and to salt pork for stores, and to make quilted cotton armour, and they got ready what was necessary as well as they could.

We assembled at Santiago de Cuba, whence we set out with the fleet more than three hundred and fifty soldiers in number. From the house of Velásquez there came Diego de Ordás, the chief Mayordomo, whom Velásquez himself sent with orders to keep his eyes open and see that no plots were hatched in the fleet, for he was always distrustful of Cortés although he concealed his fears. There came also Francisco de Morla and an Escobar, whom we called The Page, and a Heredia, and Juan Ruano and Pedro Escudero, and Martin Ramos de Lares, and many others who were friends and followers of Diego Velásquez; and I place myself last on the list for I also came from the house of Diego Velásquez, for he was my kinsman.

I have put down here the names of these soldiers from memory, later on, at the proper time and place I will record all those who went in the fleet whose names I can call to mind, and say from what part of Spain they came.

Cortés worked hard to get his fleet under way and hastened on his preparations, for already envy and malice had taken possession of the relations of Diego Velásquez who were affronted because their kinsman neither trusted them nor took any notice of them and because he had given charge and command to Cortés, knowing that he had looked upon him as a great enemy only a short time before, on account of his marriage, already mentioned by me; so they went about grumbling at their kinsman Diego Velásquez and at Cortés, and by every means in their power they worked on Diego Velásquez to induce him to revoke the commission.

Now Cortés was advised of all this, and for that reason never left the Governor's side, and always showed himself to be his zealous servant, and kept on telling him that, God willing, he was going to make him a very illustrious and wealthy gentleman in a very short time. Moreover Andrés de Duero was always advising Cortés to hasten the embarkation of himself and his soldiers, for Diego Velásquez was already changing his mind owing to the importunity of his family.

When Cortés knew this he sent orders to his wife that all provisions of food which he wished to take and any other gifts (such as women usually give to their husbands when starting on such an expedition) should be sent at once and placed on board ship.

He had already had a proclamation made that on that day by nightfall all ships, Captains, pilots and soldiers should be on board and no one should remain on shore. When Cortés had seen all his company embarked he went to take leave of Diego Velásquez, accompanied by his great friends and many other gentlemen, and all the most distinguished citizens of that town.

After many demonstrations and embraces of Cortés by the Governor, and of the Governor by Cortés, he took his

leave. The next day very early after having heard Mass we went to our ships, and Diego Velásquez himself accompanied us, and again they embraced with many fair speeches one to the other until we set sail.

A few days later, in fine weather, we reached the Port of Trinidad where we brought up in the harbour and went ashore, and nearly all the citizens of that town came out to meet us; and entertained us well.

Here in this story will be seen all the opposition which Cortés met with, and how what happened differed entirely from the account given by Gómara in his history.

NOTE.—This account differs very considerably from that given by Las Casas (Lib. III, cap. cxv). It appears that Diego Velásquez had already determined to take the command from Cortés, "at once on the very night that he became aware of what was going on, as soon as Diego Velásquez was in bed, and all those who belonged to [him,] Cortés, had left the Palace, he went in the profound silence of the night in the utmost haste to awaken the rest of his friends telling them that it was advisable to embark at once. Taking with him a company sufficient to defend his person, he immediately went off to the slaughter house and, although it troubled the contractor who had to supply the whole town with meat, he took it all away without leaving a single cow, pig, or sheep, and had it carried to the ships, exclaiming, but not out loud, for it might perhaps have cost him his life, that they could lay the blame on him [Cortés] for not supplying meat to the town. Then Cortés took off a small golden chain that he wore round his neck and gave it to the contractor or butcher, *and this Cortés told me himself.*

"Cortés at once went on board ship with all the people that he could arouse without noise. Many of the people who had agreed to go with him and who really went were already on board.

"When he was gone either the butcher or others who knew of his departure advised Diego Velásquez that Cortés was gone and was already on board ship. Diego Velásquez got up and mounted his horse, and all the people of the city, in a state of astonishment, accompanied him to the landing place by the sea at daybreak. When Cortés saw him he ordered a boat to be got ready with cannon, guns, muskets and crossbows, and all the necessary arms, and accompanied by the men he could trust best, with his magistrate's wand [in his hand] he came within crossbow shot of the land and

there stopped. Diego Velásquez said to him 'How is it, compadre,[1] that you are going off like this? Is this the right way to take leave of me?' Cortés replied 'Señor, may your Excellency pardon me, but these things and the like are done before they are thought about, I am at your Excellency's orders.' Diego Velásquez had nothing to say when he saw his infidelity and shamelessness. Cortés ordered the boat's head to be turned and went back to the ships, and ordered the sails to be hoisted in all haste [and] on the 18th Nov. 1518 [he set out] with very little food for the ships were not yet fully laden."

CHAPTER XXI.

What Cortés did when he arrived at the town of Trinidad and concerning the soldiers who there joined him to go in his company, and other things that happened.

THE leading inhabitants of that town soon provided quarters for Cortés and all of us among their neighbours. Cortés was lodged in the house of Captain Juan de Grijalva, and he ordered his standard and the Royal pennant to be set up in front of his quarters and issued a proclamation as he had done in Santiago, and ordered search to be made for all sorts of arms, and food and other necessaries to be purchased.

From that town there came to join us five brothers, namely Pedro de Alvarado and Jorge de Alvarado, and Gonzalo and Gómez, and Juan de Alvarado the elder, who was a bastard. The Captain Pedro de Alvarado has often been mentioned by me already. There also joined us from this town Alonzo de Ávila, who went as a Captain in Grijalva's expedition, and Juan de Escalante and Pedro Sanchez Farfan, and Gonzalo Mejía who later on became treasurer in Mexico, and a certain Baena and Juanes of Fuenterrabia, and Lares, the good horseman, so called because there was another Lares, and Cristóbal de Olid, the Valiant, who was Maestro de Campo during the

[1] Compadre = friend, crony.

Mexican wars, and Ortis the Musician, and Gaspar Sanchez, nephew of the treasurer of Cuba, and Diego de Pineda or Pinedo, and Alonzo Rodríguez, who owned some rich gold mines, and Bartolomé García and other gentlemen whose names I do not remember, all persons of quality.

From Trinidad Cortés wrote to the town of Santispíritus which was eighteen leagues distant, informing all the inhabitants that he was setting out on this expedition in His Majesty's service, adding fair words and inducements to attract many persons of quality who had settled in that town, among them Alonzo Hernándes Puertocarrero cousin of the Count of Medellin, and Gonzalo de Sandoval who became later on, in Mexico, *Alguazil Mayor*,[1] and for eight months was Governor of New Spain and Juan Velásquez de Leon came, a kinsman of Diego Velásquez, and Rodrigo Reogel, and Gonzalo Lópes de Jimena, and his brother, and Juan Sedeño also came. This Juan Sedeño was a settler in the town, I mention this because we had two others of the name Juan Sedeño in the fleet. All these distinguished persons whom I have named came from the town of Santispíritus to Trinidad where Cortés was staying, and when he heard that they were coming he went out to meet them with all the soldiers of his company and received them with great cordiality and they treated him with the highest respect.

All these settlers whom I have named possessed farms near the town where they made Cassava bread and kept herds of swine, and each one endeavoured to contribute as much food as he could.

We continued to enlist soldiers and to buy horses, which at that time were both scarce and costly, and as that gentleman already mentioned by me, Alonzo Hernándes

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[1] Chief Constable.

Puertocarrero, neither possessed a horse nor the wherewithal to buy one, Hernando Cortés bought him a gray mare, and paid for it with some of the golden knots off the velvet cloak which as I have said he had had made at Santiago de Cuba.

At that very time a ship arrived in port from Havana, which a certain Juan Sedeño, a settler at Havana, was taking, freighted with Cassava bread and salt pork to sell at some gold mines near Santiago de Cuba.

Juan Sedeño landed and went to pay his respects to Cortés, and after a long conversation Cortés bought the ship and the pork and bread on credit, and it all came with us. So we already had eleven ships and thank God all was going well with us.

Meanwhile Diego Velásquez had sent letters and commands for the fleet to be detained and Cortés to be sent to him as a prisoner.

CHAPTER XXII.

How the Governor Diego Velásquez sent two of his servants post haste to the town of Trinidad with orders and authority to cancel the appointment of Cortés, detain the fleet, arrest Cortés and send him as a prisoner to Santiago.

I MUST go back a little from our story, to say that after we had set out from Santiago de Cuba with all the ships, in the way I have already related, so many things were said to Diego Velásquez against Cortés, that he was forced to change his mind, for they told him that Cortés was already in rebellion, and that he left the port by stealth, and that he had been heard to say that although Diego Velásquez and his relations might regret it, he intended to be Captain and that was the reason why he had embarked

all his soldiers by night, so that if any attempt were made to detain him by force he might set sail; they also said that Andrés de Duero, the Secretary, and the Accountant Amador de Lares had deceived Diego Velásquez on account of arrangements made between them and Cortés. Those who took the leading part in persuading Diego Velásquez to revoke the authority he had given to Cortés were some members of the Velásquez family and an old man named Juan Millan whom some called the astrologer, but others said he had a touch of madness because he acted without reflection, and this old man kept repeating to Diego Velásques "Take care, Sir, for Cortés will take vengeance on you for putting him in prison,[1] and as he is sly and determined he will ruin you if you do not prevent it at once."

And Velásquez listened to these speeches, and was always haunted by suspicions, so without delay he sent two messengers whom he trusted, with orders and instructions to Francisco Verdugo, the Chief Alcalde of Trinidad, who was his brother-in-law, and wrote letters to other friends and relations, to the effect that on no account should the fleet be allowed to sail, and he said in his orders that Cortés should be detained or taken prisoner as he was no longer its captain, for he had revoked his commission and given it to Vasco Porcallo. The messengers also carried letters to Diego de Ordás and Francisco de Morla and other dependents of his begging them not to allow the fleet to sail.

When Cortés heard of this, he spoke to Ordás and Francisco Verdugo and to all the soldiers and settlers at Trinidad, whom he thought would be against him and in favour of the instructions, and he made such speeches and

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[1] This refers to an earlier incident in the relations between Cortés and Diego Velásquez.

promises to them that he brought them over to his side. Diego Ordás himself spoke at once to Francisco Verdugo, the Alcalde Mayor advising him to have nothing to do with the affair but to hush it up, and bade him note that up to that time they had seen no change in Cortés, on the contrary that he showed himself to be a faithful servant of the Governor, and that if Velásquez wished to impute any evil to him in order to deprive him of the command of the fleet, it was as well to remember that Cortés had many men of quality among his friends, who were unfriendly to Velásquez because he had not given them good grants of Indians. In addition to this, that Cortés had a large body of soldiers with him and was very powerful and might sow strife in the town, and perhaps the soldiers might sack the town and plunder it, and do even worse damage.

So the matter was quietly dropped and one of the messengers who brought the letters and instructions, named Pedro Lazo de la Vega joined our company, and by the other messenger Cortés sent a letter to Diego Velásquez written in a very friendly manner, saying that he was amazed at His Honour having come to such a decision, that his desire was to serve God and his Majesty, and to obey him as His Majesty's representative, and that he prayed him not to pay any more attention to what was said by the gentlemen of his family, nor to change his mind on account of the speeches of such an old lunatic as Juan Millan. He also wrote to all his friends and especially to his partners Duero and the Treasurer.

When these letters had been written Cortés ordered all the soldiers to polish up their arms, and he ordered the blacksmiths in the town to make head pieces, and the cross bowmen to overhaul their stores and make arrows, and he also sent for the two blacksmiths and persuaded them to accompany us, which they did. We were ten days

in that town. Here I will leave off and go on to tell how we embarked for Havana.

However, I wish first to point out to my readers how different this is from the story of Francisco Gómara who says that Diego Velásquez sent to Ordás telling him to invite Cortés to dinner on board a ship, and then to carry him off as a prisoner to Santiago, and makes other statements calculated to mislead in his history, but, so as not to become prolix, I will leave them to the judgment of interested readers.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How the Captain Hernando Cortés with all the soldiers sailed along the south coast to the port of Havana,[1] and how another ship was sent along the north coast to the same port, and what else took place.

WHEN Cortés saw that there was nothing more to be done at the town of Trinidad he summoned all the soldiers who had assembled there to go with him * * * * * (Pedro) de Alvarado that he should go by land to Havana[2] * * * * * to pick up some soldiers who lived on farms along the road, and I went in his company. Cortés also sent a gentleman named Juan de Escalante, a great friend of his, in a ship along the north coast, and he sent all the horses by land. When

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[1] This was on the south coast, not the present port of Havana on the north coast, which must have been about thirty miles distant. Cortés and his fleet sailed along the south coast of Cuba, and the "San Sebastian" and the vessel commanded by Juan de Escalante were the only vessels on the north side of the Island.

[2] The Alonzo Remón edition says "he summoned all the gentlemen and soldiers who had assembled there to go with him either to embark on the ships which were in port on the south coast, or if they preferred it to go by land to Havana with Pedro de Alvarado who was going to pick up some soldiers who lived on farms along the road."

all this had been done Cortés went on board the flagship to set sail with all the fleet for Havana.

It appears that the ships of the Convoy did not see the flagship in which Cortés had embarked, for it was night time and they went on to the port [of Havana]. We also arrived by land at the town of Havana with Pedro de Alvarado, and the ship in which Juan de Escalante had come along the north coast had already arrived, and all the horses which had been sent by land, but Cortés did not appear, and no one knew where he was delayed. Five days passed without news of his ship and we began to wonder whether he had been lost on the *Jardines*, ten or twelve miles from Havana near the Isle of Pines where there are many shallows. We all agreed that three of the smaller vessels should go in search of Cortés, and in preparing the vessels and in debates whether this or the other man—Pedro or Sancho—should go, two more days went by and Cortés did not appear. Then parties began to be formed, and we all played the game of "Who shall be Captain until Cortés comes?" And the man who took the lead in this was Diego de Ordás, as the chief Mayordomo of Velásquez, who had been sent by the Governor merely to look after the fleet and see that there should be no mutiny.

Let us leave this subject and return to Cortés who, as I have already said, had embarked on the largest ship of the fleet, and in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Pines, or near the *Jardines*, where there are many shallows, the ship ran aground and remained there hard and fast and could not be floated.

Cortés ordered all the cargo which could be removed to be taken ashore in the boat, for there was land near by where it could be stored, and when it was seen that the ship was floating and could be moved, she was taken into deeper water and was laden again with the cargo which

had been taken ashore, sail was then set and the voyage continued to the port of Havana.

When Cortés arrived nearly all of us gentlemen and soldiers who were awaiting him were delighted at his coming, all except some who had hoped to be Captains, for the game of choosing captains came to an end.

As soon as we had lodged Cortés in the house of Pedro Barba, who was the lieutenant of Diego Velásquez in that town, he ordered the standards to be brought out and placed in front of the buildings in which he was lodged and ordered proclamation to be made, as he had done before.

From the Havana there came the Hidalgo Francisco Montejo very often mentioned by me, who after the conquest of Mexico was appointed Governor and Adelantado of Yucatan, and there also came Diego de Soto of Toro who was Mayordomo to Cortés in Mexico, and a certain Angulo y Garcicaro, and Sebastian Rodríguez and a Pacheco and a somebody Gutierrez, and a Rójas (not Rójas el Rico) and a youth named Santa Clara, and two brothers called the Martínez del Freginal, and a Juan de Najara (I don't mean the deaf one who played Pelota[1] in Mexico), all persons of quality, not counting other soldiers whose names I cannot remember.

When Cortés beheld all these Hidalgos collected together he was greatly pleased. He sent a ship to the Cape of Guaniguanico, to an Indian town there, where they made Cassava bread and kept many pigs, to have her laden with salt pork, for the farm belonged to the Governor Diego Velásquez,[2] and he sent Diego de Ordás

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[1] A ball game.

[2] In a conversation with Las Casas in the year 1542, Cortés, speaking of this expedition, laughingly remarked, "A mi fé, anduve por alli como un gentil corsario." "By my faith I went about there like an excellent robber." (Las Casas, *Hist. de Indias*, Lib. III, cap. cxvi).

who was the chief Mayordomo of the property of Velásquez in command of the ship, as he wished to get him out of the way, for he knew that Diego de Ordás did not show himself to be very well disposed towards him at the time when his ship went ashore near the Isle of Pines and the question arose as to who should be chosen captain. So in order to avoid disputes with him he sent Diego de Ordás off with orders that after freighting the ship with supplies of food, he should remain at the port of Guaniguanico until he was joined by the other ship which was going along the north coast, and then that the two should sail together for Cozumel, but that [in case of any change of plans] he would send Indians in canoes to advise him what was to be done.

I must not forget to say that Francisco de Montejo and all the other settlers at Havana sent on board great stores of Cassava bread and salt pork, for other provisions were not to be had.

Cortés now ordered all the artillery, which consisted of ten brass guns and some falconets, to be brought out of the ships, and gave them in charge of an artilleryman named Mesa, and of a levantine named Arbenga, and a certain Juan Catalan, with orders to have them thoroughly cleaned and tested, and to see that the balls and powder were in readiness, and he gave them wine and vinegar with which to clean them. He gave the gunners as a companion a certain Bartolomé de Usagre. He also ordered that the crossbows with their cords, nuts, and other necessaries should be overhauled, and that they should be tested at a target, so as to see how far each of them would carry.

As in the country round Havana there is much cotton, we made well padded armour for ourselves, which is most necessary when fighting Indians, on account of the great use they make of darts, arrows and lances, and stones which fall on one like hail.

It was here in Havana that Cortés began to organize a household and to be treated as a Lord. The first Marshal of the household,[1] whom he appointed was a certain Guzman who soon afterwards died or was killed by the Indians (this was not Cristóbal de Guzman, the Mayordomo of Cortés who took Guatemoc[2] prisoner during the war in Mexico) and he had as *camarero*[3] Rodrigo Ranguel, and for Mayordomo, Juan de Cáceres who became a rich man after the conquest of Mexico.

When all this was settled we got ready to embark and the horses were divided among all the ships, and mangers were made for them and a store of maize and hay put on board. I will now call to mind all the mares and horses that were shipped :—

The Captain Cortés :—A vicious dark chestnut horse, which died as soon as we arrived at San Juan de Ulúa.

Pedro de Alvarado and Hernando López de Ávila :—a very good sorrel mare, good both for sport and as a charger. When we arrived at New Spain Pedro de Alvarado bought the other half share in the mare or took it by force.

Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero :—a grey mare, a very good charger which Cortés bought for him with his gold buttons.

Juan Velásquez de Leon :—A very powerful gray mare which we called "La Rabona,"[4] very handy and a good charger.

Cristóval de Olid :—a dark chestnut horse, fairly good.

Francisco de Montejo and Alonzo de Ávila :—a parched sorrel horse, no use for warfare.

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[1] Maestresala = the chief waiter in a nobleman's household.

[2] Guatemuz in the original.

[3] *Camarero* = chamberlain.

[4] La Rabona = the bob-tailed.

Francisco de Morla :—a dark chestnut horse, very fast and very easily handled.

Juan de Escalante :—a light chestnut horse with three white stockings, not much good.

Diego de Ordás, a gray mare, barren, tolerably good, but not fast.

Gonzalo Domínguez :—a wonderfully good horseman; a very good dark chestnut horse, a grand galloper.

Pedro González de Trujillo :—a good chestnut horse, all chestnut, a very good goer.

Moron, a settler at Bayamo :—a dappled horse with stockings on the forefeet, very handy.

Baena: a settler at Trinidad :—a dappled horse almost black, no good for anything.

Lares, a very good horseman :—an excellent horse of rather light chestnut colour, a very good goer.

Ortiz the musician and Bartolomé García, who once owned gold mines :—a very good dark horse called "El Arriero,"[1] this was one of the best horses carried in the fleet.

Juan Sedeño, a settler at Havana :—a chestnut mare which foaled on board ship.

This Juan Sedeño passed for the richest soldier in the fleet, for he came in his own ship with the mare, and a negro and a store of cassava bread and salt pork, and at that time horses and negroes were worth their weight in gold, and that is the reason why more horses were not taken, for there were none to be bought. I will leave off here and tell what next happened to us, when we were just about to embark.

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[1] *El arriero* = the muleteer, carrier.

CHAPTER XXIV.

How Diego Velásquez sent a servant named Gaspar de Garnica with orders and instructions that in any case Cortés should be arrested and the fleet taken from him, and what was done about it.

To make my story clear, I must go back and relate that when Diego Velásquez knew for certain that his lieutenant and brother-in-law Francisco Verdugo who was stationed at the town of Trinidad not only refused to compel Cortés to leave the fleet, but, together with Diego de Ordás, had helped him to get away, they say that he was so angry that he roared with rage and told his secretary Andrés de Duero and the Treasurer Amador de Lares that they had deceived him by the agreement they had made, and that Cortés was mutinous. He made up his mind to send a servant with letters and orders to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant at Havana, and wrote very graciously to all his friends who were settlers in that town, and to Diego de Ordás and to Juan Velásquez de Leon who were his friends and kinsmen praying them neither for good nor ill to let the fleet get away, and to seize Cortés at once and send him under a strong guard to Santiago de Cuba.

On the arrival of Garnica (that was the name of the man who brought the letters and orders to Havana) it was known at once what he had brought with him, for by the same messenger Cortés was advised of what Velásquez was doing. It happened in this way:—it appears that a friar of the Order of Mercy, who gave himself out to be a follower of Velásquez, was in the Governor's company at the time, and he wrote a letter to another friar of his order named Bartolomé del Olmedo, who was with us, and in that letter, written by the friar, Cortés was informed by his two associates, Andrés de Duero and the treasurer of all that had happened.

To go back to my story :—As Cortés had sent away Diego de Ordás in a ship to collect stores, there was no one to oppose him except Juan Velásquez de Leon, and as soon as Cortés spoke to him he brought him over to his side,—all the more easily because Juan Velásquez was put out with his kinsman for not giving him a good grant of Indians.

Not one of the others to whom Diego Velásquez had written favoured his proposal, indeed one and all declared for Cortés, the lieutenant Pedro Barba above all. In addition to this the Alvarados, Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, Francisco de Montejo, Cristóval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Andrés de Monjaraz, and his brother Gregorio de Monjaraz and all of us would have given our lives for Cortés. So that if in the Town of Trinidad the orders of Velásquez were slighted, in the town of Havana they were absolutely ignored.

By this same Garnica, the lieutenant Pedro Barba wrote to Diego Velásquez that he did not dare to seize Cortés as he was too strongly supported by soldiers, and he was afraid lest Cortés should sack and plunder the town and carry off all the settlers along with him; that from all that he had gathered Cortés was the Governor's faithful servant and would not dare to be anything else. Cortés also wrote to Velásquez in the agreeable and complimentary terms which he knew so well how to use, and told him that he should set sail next day and that he remained his humble servant.

CHAPTER XXV.

How Cortés set sail with all his company of Gentlemen and soldiers for the Island of Cozumel and what happened there.

THERE was to be no parade of the forces until we arrived at Cozumel. Cortés ordered the horses to be taken on board ship, and he directed Pedro de Alvarado to go along the North coast in a good ship named the *San Sebastian*, and he told the pilot who was in charge to wait for him at Cape San Antonio as all the ships would meet there and go in company to Cozumel. He also sent a messenger to Diego de Ordás, who had gone along the North Coast to collect supplies of food with orders to do the same and await his coming.

On the 10th February 1519, after hearing Mass, they set sail along the south coast with nine ships and the company of gentlemen and soldiers whom I have mentioned, so that with the two ships absent on the north coast there were eleven ships in all, including that which carried Pedro de Alvarado with seventy soldiers and I travelled in his company.

The Pilot named Camacho who was in charge of our ship paid no attention to the orders of Cortés and went his own way and we arrived at Cozumel two days before Cortés and anchored in the port which I have often mentioned when telling about Grijalva's expedition.

Cortés had not yet arrived, being delayed by the ship commanded by Francisco de Morla having lost her rudder in bad weather, however she was supplied with another rudder by one of the ships of the fleet,[1] and all then came on in company.

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[1] Blotted out in the original MS. "They turned back looking for the rudder in the sea and they found it and put it in its place, so that they were soon able to navigate the ship."—G. G.

To go back to Pedro de Alvarado. As soon as we arrived in port we went on shore with all the soldiers to the town of Cozumel, but we found no Indians there as they had all fled. So we were ordered to go on to another town about a league distant, and there also the natives had fled and taken to the bush, but they could not carry off their property and left behind their poultry and other things and Pedro de Alvarado ordered forty of the fowls to be taken. In an Idol house there were some altar ornaments made of old cloths and some little chests containing diadems, Idols, beads and pendants of gold of poor quality, and here we captured two Indians and an Indian woman, and we returned to the town where we had disembarked.

While we were there Cortés arrived with all the fleet, and after taking up his lodging the first thing he did was to order the pilot Camacho to be put in irons for not having waited for him at sea as he had been ordered to do. When he saw the town without any people in it, and heard that Pedro de Alvarado had gone to the other town and had taken fowls and cloths and other things of small value from the Idols, and some gold which was half copper, he showed that he was very angry both at that and at the pilot not having waited for him, and he reprimanded Pedro de Alvarado severely, and told him that we should never pacify the country in that way by robbing the natives of their property, and he sent for the two Indians and the woman whom we had captured, and through Melchorejo, (Julianillo his companion was dead) the man we had brought from Cape Catoche who understood the language well, he spoke to them telling them to go and summon the Caciques and Indians of their town, and he told them not to be afraid, and he ordered the gold and the cloths and all the rest to be given back to them, and for the fowls (which had already been eaten)

he ordered them to be given beads and little bells, and in addition he gave to each Indian a Spanish shirt. So they went off to summon the lord of the town, and the next day the Cacique and all his people arrived, women and children and all the inhabitants of the town, and they went about among us as though they had been used to us all their lives, and Cortés ordered us not to annoy them in any way. Here in this Island Cortés began to rule energetically, and Our Lord so favoured him that whatever he put his hand to it turned out well for him, especially in pacifying the people and towns of these lands, as we shall see further on.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How Cortés reviewed all his army and what else happened to us.

WHEN we had been in Cozumel three days Cortés ordered a muster of his forces so as to see how many of us there were, and he found that we numbered five hundred and eight, not counting the shipmasters, pilots and sailors, who numbered about one hundred. There were sixteen horses and mares all fit to be used for sport or as chargers.

There were eleven ships both great and small, and one a sort of launch which a certain Gines Nortes brought laden with supplies.

There were thirty two cross bowmen and thirteen musketeers;—*escopeteros*, as they were then called and [1] brass guns, and four falconets, and much powder and ball. About the number of cross bowmen my memory

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[1] Blotted out in the original MS. is the word "ten."—G. G.

does not serve me very well, but it is not material to my story.

After the review Cortés ordered Mesa surnamed "the gunner" and Bartolomé de Usagre and Arbenga and a certain Catalan who were all artillerymen, to keep their guns clean and in good order, and the ammunition ready for use. He appointed Francisco de Orozco, who had been a soldier in Italy to be captain of the Artillery. He likewise ordered two crossbowmen named Juan Benítez and Pedro del Guzman the crossbowman, who were masters of the art of repairing crossbows, to see that every crossbow had two or three [spare] nuts and cords and fore cords and to be careful to keep them stored and to have smoothing tools and *inguijuela*[1] and [to see] that the men should practice at a target. He also ordered all the horses to be kept in good condition.

I don't know why I should expend so much ink in telling about these preparations of arms and the rest of it, for in truth Cortés was most vigilant about everything.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How Cortés came to know that the Indians of Cape Catoche held two Spaniards in captivity, and what he did about it.

As Cortés was most diligent in all matters, he sent for me and a Biscayan named Martin Ramos, and asked us what we thought about those words which the Indians of Campeche had used when we went there with Francisco Hernández de Córdova, when they cried out "Castilan, Castilan" as I have already stated in the chapter which treats of that expedition. We again related to Cortés all that we had seen and heard about the matter, and he said

[1] Probably some technical term now obsolete.

that he also had often thought about it, and that perhaps there might be some Spaniards living in the country, and added "It seems to me that it would be well to ask these Caciques of Cozumel if they know anything about them." So through Melchorejo, the man from Cape Catoche, who already understood a little Spanish and knew the language of Cozumel very well, all the chiefs were questioned, and every one of them said that they had known of certain Spaniards and gave descriptions of them, and said that some Caciques, who lived about two days' journey inland, kept them as slaves, and that here in Cozumel were some Indian traders who spoke to them only a few days ago. We were all delighted at this news, and Cortés told the Caciques that they must go at once and summon the Spaniards, taking with them letters, (which in the Indian language they call *amales*) and he gave shirts to the Caciques and Indians who went with the letters and spoke reassuringly to them, and told them that when they returned he would give them some more beads. The Cacique advised Cortés to send a ransom to the owners who held these men as slaves, so that they should be allowed to come, and Cortés did so, and gave to the messengers all manner of beads. Then he ordered the two smallest vessels to be got ready (one of them was little larger than a launch) and twenty men with guns and crossbows, under the command of Diego de Ordás, and he sent them off to the coast near Cape Catoche where the larger vessel was to wait for eight days while the smaller vessel should go backwards and forwards and bring news of what was being done, for the land of Cape Catoche was only four leagues distant, and the one country could be seen from the other.

In the letter Cortés said:—"Gentlemen and brothers, here in Cozumel I have learnt that you are captives in the hands of a Cacique, and I pray you that you come here to Cozumel at once, and for this purpose I have sent a ship

with soldiers, in case you have need of them, and a ransom to be paid to those Indians with whom you are living. The ship will wait eight days for you. Come in all haste, and you will be welcomed and protected. I am here at this Island with five hundred soldiers and eleven ships, in which I go on, please God, to a town called Tabasco or Potonchan."

The two vessels were soon despatched with the two Indian traders from Cozumel who carried the letters, and they crossed the strait in three hours and the messengers with the letters and ransom were landed. In two days the letters were delivered to a Spaniard named Jerónimo de Aguilar, for that we found to be his name, and so I shall call him in future. When he had read the letter and received the ransom of beads which we had sent to him he was delighted, and carried the ransom to the Cacique his master, and begged leave to depart, and the Cacique at once gave him leave to go wherever he pleased. Aguilar set out for the place, five leagues distant, where his companion Gonzalo Guerrero was living, but when he read the letter to him he answered, "Brother Aguilar, I am married and have three children and the Indians look on me as a Cacique and captain in wartime,—You go and God be with you, but I have my face tatooed and my ears pierced, what would the Spaniards say should they see me in this guise? and look how handsome these boys of mine are, for God's sake give me those green beads you have brought and I will give the beads to them and say that my brothers have sent them from my own country." And the Indian wife of Gonzalo spoke to Aguilar in her own tongue very angrily and said to him, "What is this slave coming here for talking to my husband,—go off with you, and don't trouble us with any more words."

Then Aguilar reminded Gonzalo that he was a Christian and said that he should not imperil his soul for the sake of

an Indian woman, and as for his wife and children he could take them with him if he did not wish to desert them But by no words or admonishments could he be persuaded to come. It appears that Gonzalo Guerrero was a sailor and a native of Palos.

When Jerónimo de Aguilar saw that Gonzalo would not accompany him he went at once, with the two Indian messengers, to the place where the ship had been awaiting his coming, but when he arrived he saw no ship for she had already departed. The eight days during which Ordás had been ordered to await and one day more had already expired, and seeing that Aguilar had not arrived Ordás returned to Cozumel without bringing any news about that for which he had come.

When Aguilar saw that there was no ship there he became very sad, and returned to his master and to the town where he usually lived.

Now I will leave this and say that when Cortés saw Ordás return without success or any news of the Spaniards or Indian messengers he was very angry, and said haughtily to Ordás that he thought that he would have done better than to return without the Spaniards or any news of them, for it was quite clear that they were prisoners in that country.

At that moment it happened that some sailors called the Peñates,[1] natives of Gibraleon,[2] had stolen some pieces of salt pork from a soldier named Berrio and would not return them, so Berrio complained to Cortés and the sailors were put on oath, and they perjured themselves, but in the enquiry the fact of the theft was proved, and that the pork had been divided among seven sailors, and Cortés ordered four of them to be flogged, in spite of the appeals of some of the Captains.

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[1] Peñates = rock men. [2] Gibraltar.

Here I must leave both this matter of the sailors and that of Aguilar, and keep the story of our journey up to date and tell how many Indians both the natives of the towns near Cape Catoche and those from other parts of Yucatan came on pilgrimages to the Island of Cozumel, for it appeared that there were some very hideous idols kept in a certain oratory on Cozumel to which it was the custom of the people of the land to offer sacrifices at that season. One morning the courtyard of the oratory where the Idols were kept was crowded with Indians, and many of them both men and women were burning a resin like our incense. As this was a new sight to us we stood round watching it with attention, and presently an old Indian with a long cloak, who was the priest of the Idols (and I have already said that the priests in New Spain are called *Papas*) went up on the top of the oratory and began to preach to the people. Cortés and all of us were wondering what would be the result of that black sermon. Cortés asked Melchorejo, who understood the language well, what the old Indian was saying, for he was informed that he was preaching evil things, and he sent for the Cacique and all the principal chiefs and the priest himself, and, as well as he could through the aid of our interpreter, he told them that if we were to be brothers they must cast those most evil Idols out of their temple, for they were not gods at all but very evil things which led them astray and could lead their souls to hell. Then he spoke to them about good and holy things, and told them to set up in the place of their Idols an image of Our Lady which he gave them, and a cross, which would always aid them and bring good harvests and would save their souls, and he told them in a very excellent way other things about our holy faith.

The Priest and the Caciques answered that their forefathers had worshipped those Idols because they were good, and that they did not dare to do otherwise, and that

if we cast out their Idols we would see how much harm it would do us, for we should be lost at sea. Then Cortés ordered us to break the Idols to pieces and roll them down the steps,[1] and this we did; then he ordered lime to be brought, of which there was a good store in the town, and Indian masons, and he set up a very fair altar on which we placed the figure of Our Lady; and he ordered two of our party named Alonzo Yáñez and Álvaro López who were carpenters and joiners to make a cross of some rough timber which was there, and it was placed in a small chapel near the altar and the priest named Juan Díaz said mass there, and the Cacique and the heathen priest and all the Indians stood watching us with attention.

The Caciques in this Island of Cozumel are called Calachiones as I have already said when telling about our doings at Potonchan. Now I will leave off here, and will go on to tell how we embarked on board ship.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

How Cortés allotted the ships and appointed captains to go in them, and gave instructions to the pilots and arranged lantern signals for the night time, and what else happened to us.

CORTÉS himself took command of the flagship, Pedro de Alvarado and his brothers took charge of the *San Sebastian*, a very good ship, and the commands of the other ships were given to Alonso Hernández Puertocarrero, Francisco de Montejo, who had a good ship, Cristóval de Olid, Diego de Ordás, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Juan de Escalante,

[1] In the "Itinerary of Grijalva" a temple or oratory of the Idols is thus described:—"It was eighteen steps (of a stairway) in height and the base was solid, and the measurement round it was one hundred and eighty feet. On the top of this was a small tower the height of two men one above the other and inside were certain figures and bones and *Cenis* which are the Idols which they worship."

Francisco de Morla, the Page Escobar, and the smallest vessel of all, a launch, was commanded by Gines Nortes. Each ship had its pilot; Anton de Alaminos was Pilot in Chief, and instructions were given about the course to be steered and other matters, and about the lantern signals for the night time.

Cortés took leave of the Caciques and priests and confided to their care the Image of Our Lady and told them to reverence the cross and keep it clean and wreathed with flowers and they would see what advantage they would gain by so doing, and the Indians replied that they would do so, and they brought four fowls and two jars of honey and they embraced him.

We embarked and set sail on a day in the Month of March 1519, and went on our way in fair weather. At ten o'clock that same morning loud shouts were given from one of the ships, which tried to lay to, and fired a shot so that all the vessels of the fleet might hear it, and when Cortés heard this he at once checked the flagship and seeing the ship commanded by Juan de Escalante bearing away and returning towards Cozumel, he cried out to the other ships which were near him "What is the matter? What is the matter?" And a soldier named Luis de Zaragoza answered that Juan de Escalante's ship with all the Cassava bread on board was sinking, and Cortés cried, "Pray God that we suffer no such disaster," and he ordered the Pilot Alaminos to make signal to all the other ships to return to Cozumel. So this same day we returned to the port whence we had sailed, and sent the Cassava bread on shore, and we found the image of Our Lady and the Cross well cared for with incense burning in front of it, and this pleased us greatly. The Cacique and priests came to speak to Cortés and asked why we had returned, and he replied, because one of the ships was leaking and we wished to caulk her, and he asked them to

come in their canoes and help the ships boats to bring the Cassava bread on shore, and this they did.

We were four days repairing the ship. Now I will stop writing about this, and will relate how the Spaniard named Aguilar who was a prisoner among the Indians heard of our return, and what else happened.

CHAPTER XXIX.

How the Spaniard named Jerónimo de Aguilar, who was a prisoner among the Indians, heard that we had returned to Cozumel and came to us, and what else took place.

WHEN the Spaniard who was a prisoner among the Indians, knew for certain that we had returned to Cozumel with the ships, he was very joyful and gave thanks to God, and he came in all haste with the two Indians who had carried the letters and ransom, and embarked in a canoe, and as he was able to pay well with the green beads we had sent him, he soon hired a canoe and six Indian rowers, and they rowed so fast that, meeting no head wind, in a very short time they crossed the strait between the two shores, which is a distance of about four leagues.

When they arrived on the coast of Cozumel and were disembarking, some soldiers who had gone out hunting (for there were wild pigs on the island) told Cortés that a large canoe, which had come from the direction of Cape Catoche, had arrived near the town. Cortés sent Andrés de Tápia and two other soldiers to go and see, for it was a new thing for Indians to come fearlessly in large canoes into our neighbourhood. So they set out, and as soon as the Indians who came in the canoe which Aguilar had hired caught sight of the Spaniards, they were frightened and wished to get back into the canoe and flee away. Aguilar told them in their own language not to be afraid,

that these men were his brothers. When Andrés de Tápia saw that they were only Indians (for Aguilar looked neither more nor less than an Indian), he at once sent word to Cortés by a Spaniard that they were Cozumel Indians who had come in the canoe. As soon as the men had landed, the Spaniard in words badly articulated and worse pronounced, cried *Dios y Santa Maria de Sevilla*, and Tápia went at once to embrace him. The other soldier who had accompanied Tápia when he saw what had happened, promptly ran to Cortés to beg a reward for the good news, for it was a Spaniard who had come in the canoe, and we were all delighted when we heard it.

Tápia soon brought the Spaniard to Cortés, but before he arrived where Cortés was standing, several Spaniards asked Tápia where the Spaniard was? although he was walking by his side, for they could not distinguish him from an Indian as he was naturally brown and he had his hair shorn like an Indian slave, and carried a paddle on his shoulder, he was shod with one old sandal and the other was tied to his belt, he had on a ragged old cloak, and a worse loin cloth with which he covered his nakedness, and he had tied up, in a bundle in his cloak, a Book of Hours, old and worn. When Cortés saw him in this state, he too was deceived like the other soldiers, and asked Tápia "Where is the Spaniard?" On hearing this, the Spaniard squatted down on his haunches as the Indians do and said "I am he." Cortés at once ordered him to be given a shirt and doublet and drawers and a cape and sandals, for he had no other clothes, and asked him about himself and what his name was and when he came to this country. The man replied, pronouncing with difficulty, that he was called Jerónimo de Aguilar, a native of Ecija, and that he had taken holy orders, that eight years had passed since he and fifteen other men and two women left Darien for the Island of Santo Domingo, where he had

some disputes and a law-suit with a certain Enciso y Valdívia, and he said that they were carrying ten thousand gold dollars and the legal documents of the case, and that the ship in which they sailed, struck on the *Alacranes* so that she could not be floated, and that he and his companions and the two women got into the ship's boat, thinking to reach the Island of Cuba or Jamaica, but that the currents were very strong and carried them to this land, and that the Calachiones of that district had divided them among themselves, and that many of his companions had been sacrificed to the Idols, and that others had died of disease, and the women had died of overwork only a short time before, for they had been made to grind corn; that the Indians had intended him for a sacrifice, but that one night he escaped and fled to the Cacique with whom since then he had been living (I don't remember the name that he gave) and that none were left of all his party except himself and a certain Gonzalo Guerrero, whom he had gone to summon, but he would not come.

When Cortés heard all this, he gave thanks to God, and said that he would have him well looked after and rewarded. He questioned Aguilar about the country and the towns, but Aguilar replied that having been a slave, he knew only about hewing wood and drawing water and digging in the fields, that he had only once travelled as far as four leagues from home when he was sent with a load, but, as it was heavier than he could carry, he fell ill, but that he understood that there were very many towns. When questioned about Gonzalo Guerrero, he said that he was married and had three sons, and that his face was tattooed and his ears and lower lip were pierced, that he was a seaman and a native of Palos, and that the Indians considered him to be very valiant; that when a little more than a year ago a captain and three vessels arrived at Cape Catoche, (it seems probable that this was when we

came with Francisco Hernández de Córdova) it was at the suggestion of Guerrero that the Indians attacked them, and that he was there himself in the company of the Cacique of the large town, whom I have spoken about when describing the expedition of Francisco Hernández de Córdova. When Cortés heard this he exclaimed "I wish I had him in my hands for it will never do to leave him here."

When the Caciques of Cozumel found out that Aguilar could speak their language, they gave him to eat of their best, and Aguilar advised them always to respect and revere the holy image of Our Lady and the Cross, for they would find that it would benefit them greatly.

On the advice of Aguilar the Caciques asked Cortés to give them a letter of recommendation, so that if any other Spaniards came to that port they would treat the Indians well and do them no harm, and this letter was given to them. After bidding the people good-bye with many caresses and promises we set sail for the Rio de Grijalva.

This is the true story of Aguilar, and not the other which the historian Gómara has written; however, I am not surprised that what he says is news to me. Now I must go on with my story.

CHAPTER XXX.

How we again embarked and made sail for the Rio de Grijalva, and what happened to us on the voyage.

ON the 4th March 1519, with the good fortune to carry such a useful and faithful interpreter along with us, Cortés gave orders for us to embark in the same order as we

had followed before we ran back to Cozumel, under the same instructions and with the same lantern signals by night.

We sailed along in good weather, until at nightfall a head wind struck us so fiercely that the ships were dispersed and there was great danger of being driven ashore. Thank God, by midnight the weather moderated, and as soon as dawn broke the ships got together again, excepting the vessel under the command of Juan Velásquez de Leon. We went on our way and up to midday had seen nothing of the missing vessel which distressed us all as we feared she had been lost on a shoal. When the whole day had passed and she did not appear Cortés told the pilot Alaminos that it was no good going on any further without news of the missing ship, so the pilot made signal for all the vessels to lay to, and wait to see if by chance the storm had driven her into some bay whence she could not get out again against a head wind. However, when she still failed to appear, the pilot said to Cortés, "Sir, I feel certain that she put into a sort of port or bay which we have already passed, and that a head wind keeps her there, for the pilot on board of her is Juan Álvarez el Manquillo who was with Francisco Hernández de Córdova and again with Grijalva and he knows that port." So it was agreed that the whole fleet should go back and search for the missing ship, and we found her at anchor in the bay of which the pilot had spoken, which was a great relief to us all. We stayed in that bay for a day and we lowered two boats and the pilot and a Captain called Francisco de Lugo went on shore and found farms and maize plantations, and some places where the Indians made salt, and there were four *Cues* which are the houses of their Idols, and there were many Idols in them, nearly all of them figures of tall

TEMPLE ON THE ISLA DE LAS MUGERES.

Drawn by Miss Annie Hunter from a photograph by W. H. Holmes and a drawing by F. Catherwood.

Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1908.

women so that we called that place the *Punta de las Mugeres*.[1]

I remember that Aguilar said that the town where he was held in slavery was near these farms and that he had come there with a load, and his master had taken him there, and that he fell ill on account of the weight of the load, and he said that the town where Gonzalo Guerrero lived was not far off, and that there was some gold in all the towns, but it did not amount to much; that if we liked he would guide us to the towns, and advised us to go there. Cortés replied, laughing, that we were not after such small game, but to serve God and the King.

Soon afterwards Cortés ordered a Captain named Escobar to go in the vessel under his command, which was a fast sailer and drew little water, to the Boca de Términos and to examine the place thoroughly and find out if it would be a good port for a settlement, and if game were plentiful there as he had been told it was. That after he had examined the place he should put up some sign and break down some trees at the mouth of the harbour, or that he should write a letter and place it where we could see it from either side of the harbour, so that we should know that he had gone in there; or that, after examining the port he should beat up to windward and await the fleet at sea. This order was given on the

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[1] Punta de las Mugeres = the cape of the women. The Island which forms the bay is still called Isla de las Mugeres. Bernal Díaz says nothing about this locality in his description of the two earlier voyages, but the author of the *Itinerario* says that Grijalva observed it, after leaving Cozumel:—"We made sail and went towards the Island of Yucatan along the North Coast, and as we coasted along we came to a beautiful tower on a point, which is said to be inhabited by women who live without men. One might believe them to be a race of Amazons." As Grijalva could not possibly have had any information on the subject, it seems to show that the *Itinerario* was written at a later date than is usually assigned to it, and gave this explanation to account for the name given to the locality by Cortés.

advice of the pilot, so that when we arrived at the Boca de Términos with the fleet we should not be delayed by going into port.

So Escobar left us and went to the Puerto de Términos and did all that he was told to do, and he found the lurcher which had been left there in Grijalva's time, and she was fat and sleek. Escobar said that when the lurcher saw the ship come into port she wagged her tail and showed other signs of delight, and came at once to the soldiers and went with them on board the ship.

After carrying out his orders Escobar put to sea again and awaited the fleet, and it appears that with the south wind that was blowing he was not able to lay to but was driven out to sea.

To go back to our fleet; we remained at the Punta de las Mugeres until the next day when we put to sea with a good breeze off the land and went on until we arrived at the Boca de Términos, but, as we did not meet Escobar, Cortés ordered a boat to be lowered, and with ten cross-bowmen went to look for him in the Boca de Términos, or to see if there was any signal or letter. They soon found trees that had been cut down, and a letter in which Escobar said that the harbour was a good one, that the land was fertile, and that there was an abundance of game, and he told about the lurcher. However, the pilot Alaminos told Cortés that we had better keep on our course, for with the wind from the south Escobar must have been driven out to sea, but that he would not be far off as he would lie close to the wind. But Cortés was anxious lest some accident had befallen him, so he ordered the sheets to be slacked away and we soon came up to Escobar who made his report to Cortés and told him why he could not await his coming.

While this was taking place we arrived near Potonchan

[Chanpoton] and Cortés ordered the Pilot to drop anchor in the bay, but the Pilot replied that it was a bad port, for the tide ran out so far that the ships had to be brought up more than two leagues from the shore. Cortés had a mind to give the Indians a lesson on account of the defeat they had inflicted on Francisco Hernández de Córdova and Grijalva, and many of us soldiers who had been in those battles begged him to go in, and not to leave without giving the Indians a good chastisement, even if it did detain us two or three days. But the Pilot Alaminos and the other pilots contended that if we should go in it might, with a head wind, be eight days before we could get out again; that we had a fair wind now for Tabasco and could get there in two days. So we passed on and after three days sail arrived at the Rio de Grijalva called in the Indian language the Tabasco River, and what happened to us there and the attack that was made on us I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER XXXI.

How we arrived at the Rio de Grijalva, which in the language of the Indians is called Tabasco, of the attack the Indians made on us, and what else happened to us with them.

On the 12th March, 1519, we arrived with all the fleet at the Rio de Grijalva, which is also called Tabasco, and as we already knew from our experience with Grijalva that vessels of large size could not enter into the river, the larger vessels were anchored out at sea, and from the smaller vessels and boats all the soldiers were landed at the Cape of the Palms (as they were in Grijalva's time) which was about half a league distant from the town of

Tabasco.[1] The river, the river banks and the mangrove thickets were swarming with Indians, at which those of us who had not been here in Grijalva's time were much astonished.

In addition to this there were assembled in the town more than twelve thousand warriors[2] all prepared to make war on us, for at this time the town was of considerable importance and other large towns were subject to it and they had all made preparation for war and were well supplied with the arms which they are accustomed to use.

The reason for this was that the people of Potonchan[3] and Lázaro and the other towns in that neighbourhood had looked upon the people of Tabasco as cowards, and had told them so to their faces, because they had given

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[1] The large town which the author here calls Tabasco appears originally to have been called Potonchan; it was renamed by the Spaniards Santa Maria de la Victoria; it was later on called Tabasco, and it soon fell into ruin and disappeared altogether, its place as a port being taken by Frontera on the other side of the river. In the *Relacion de la Villa de Santa Maria de la Victoria*, 1579 (*Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. ii, p. 341), we find: "This river and port is at 18° 30′ (N. Lat.), where this town was established about a league from the mouth of the river on a *placel** of water which is formed on the north side, and on a branch of the river which leads to a town called Taxagual, of fifteen households (*vecinos*) more or less, which is three leagues from this town and one league away from the river. The land of this town [Santa Maria] is sterile because it is built on sand and swamps. This branch of the river turns to the south-west, and into it enter swamps and lagoons, and it has many deep places (*bajos*). The barques and frigates anchor in this branch of the river when they come to this town to load or unload at the foot of the Cross which is at the end of the street and the mound on which it stands." See also Note to Chapter III. In the *American Antiquarian* for September, 1896, Dr. Daniel Brinton published an article on "The Battle and the Ruins of Cintla," taken principally from notes made by the late Dr. C. H. Berendt, who visited and surveyed the ruins in March and April, 1869.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "twenty eight thousand."

[3] Chanpoton.

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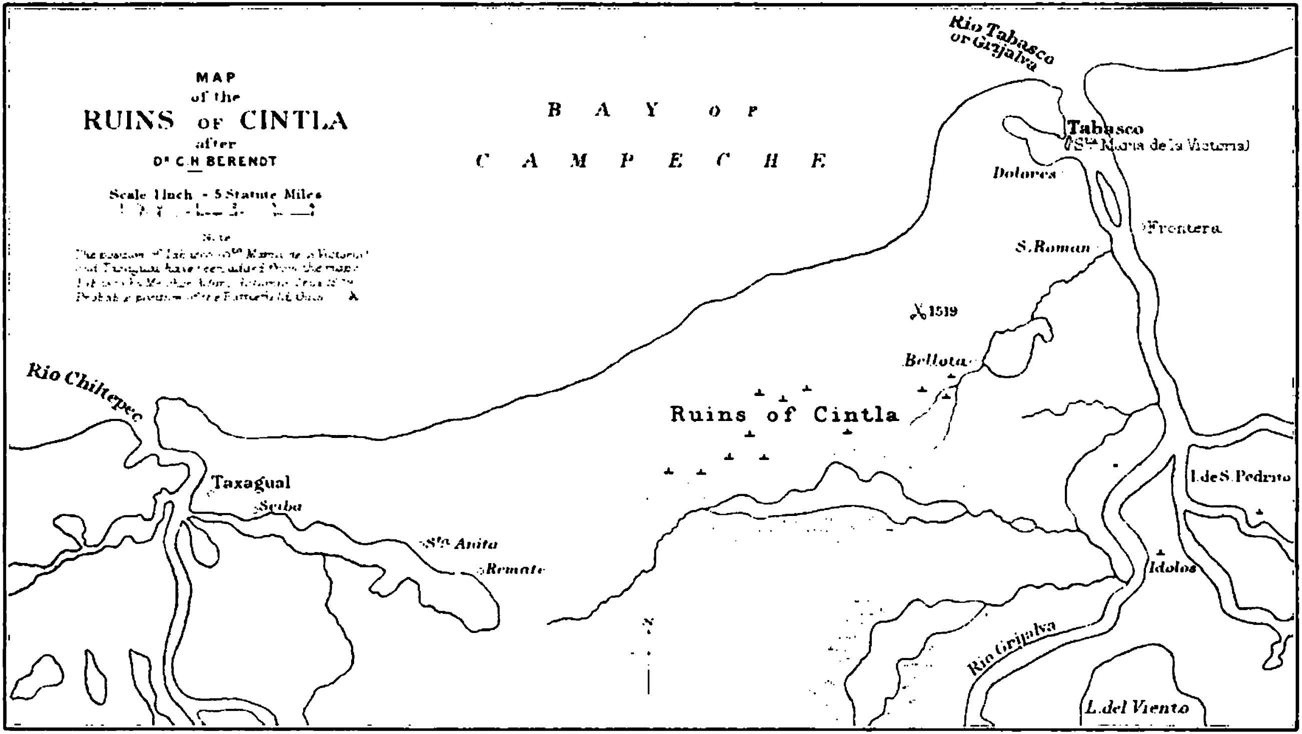
* "Sobre un placel de Agua que se hace de la parte del Norte" = on a sandbank which has formed to the north of the water (?).



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Grijalva the gold jewels which I have spoken about in an earlier chapter, and they said that they were too faint hearted to attack us although they had more towns and more warriors than the people of Potonchan and Lázaro. This they said to annoy them and added that they in their towns had attacked us and killed fifty six of us. So on account of these taunts which had been uttered, the people of Tabasco had determined to take up arms.

When Cortés saw them drawn up ready for war he told Aguilar the interpreter, who spoke the language of Tabasco well,[1] to ask the Indians who passed near us, in a large canoe and who looked like chiefs, what they were so much disturbed about, and to tell them that we had not come to do them any harm, but were willing to give them some of the things we had brought with us and to treat them like brothers, and we prayed them not to begin a war as they would regret it, and much else was said to them about keeping the peace. However, the more Aguilar talked to them the more violent they became, and they said that they would kill us all if we entered their town, and that it was fortified all round with fences and barricades of large trunks of trees.

Aguilar spoke to them again and asked them to keep the peace, and allow us to take water and barter our goods with them for food, and permit us to tell the Calachones[2] things which would be to their advantage and to the service of God our Lord, but they still persisted in saying that if we advanced beyond the palm trees they would kill us.

When Cortés saw the state of affairs he ordered the

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[1] These people were Tzendals, a branch of the Maya stock, and Aguilar, who spoke Maya, could understand and speak to them.

[2] Çalachiones?

boats and small vessels to be got ready and ordered three cannon to be placed in each boat and divided the crossbowmen and musketeers among the boats. We remembered that when we were here with Grijalva we had found a narrow path which ran across some streams from the palm grove to the town, and Cortés ordered three soldiers to find out in the night if that path ran right up to the houses, and not to delay in bringing the news, and these men found out that it did lead there. After making a thorough examination of our surroundings the rest of the day was spent in arranging how and in what order we were to go in the boats.

The next morning we had our arms in readiness and after hearing mass Cortés ordered the Captain Alonzo de Avila and a hundred soldiers among whom were ten crossbowmen, to go by the little path which led to the town, and, as soon as he heard the guns fired, to attack the town on one side while he attacked it on the other. Cortés himself and all the other Captains and soldiers went in the boats and light draft vessels up the river. When the Indian warriors who were on the banks and among the mangroves saw that we were really on the move, they came after us with a great many canoes with intent to prevent our going ashore at the landing place, and the whole river bank appeared to be covered with Indian warriors carrying all the different arms which they use, and blowing trumpets and shells and sounding drums. When Cortés saw how matters stood he ordered us to wait a little and not to fire any shots from guns or crossbows or cannon, for as he wished to be justified in all that he might do he made another appeal to the Indians through the interpreter Aguilar, in the presence of the King's Notary, Diego de Godoy, asking the Indians to allow us to land and take water and speak to them about God and about His Majesty, and adding that should

they make war on us, that if in defending ourselves some should be killed and others hurt, theirs would be the fault and the burden and it would not lie with us, but they went on threatening that if we landed they would kill us.

Then they boldly began to let fly arrows at us, and made signals with their drums, and like valiant men they surrounded us with their canoes, and they all attacked us with such a shower of arrows that they kept us in the water in some parts up to our waists. As there was much mud and swamp at that place we could not easily get clear of it, and so many Indians fell on us, that what with some hurling their lances with all their might and others shooting arrows at us, we could not reach the land as soon as we wished.

While Cortés was fighting he lost a shoe in the mud and could not find it again, and he got on shore with one foot bare. Presently someone picked the shoe out of the mud and he put it on again.

While this was happening to Cortés, all of us Captains as well as soldiers, with the cry of "Santiago," fell upon the Indians and forced them to retreat, but they did not fall back far, as they sheltered themselves behind great barriers and stockades formed of thick logs until we pulled them apart and got to one of the small gateways of the town. There we attacked them again, and we pushed them along through a street to where other defences had been erected, and there they turned on us and met us face to face and fought most valiantly, making the greatest efforts, shouting and whistling and crying out "al calacheoni", "al calacheoni", which in their language meant an order to kill or capture our Captain. While we were thus surrounded by them Alonzo de Ávila and his soldiers came up.

As I have already said they came from the Palm grove by land and could not arrive sooner on account of the swamps and creeks. Their delay was really unavoidable,

just as we also had been delayed over the summons of the Indians to surrender, and in breaking openings in the barricades, so as to enable us to attack them. Now we all joined together to drive the enemy out of their strongholds, and we compelled them to retreat, but like brave warriors they kept on shooting showers of arrows and fire-hardened darts, and never turned their backs on us until [we gained] a great court with chambers and large halls, and three Idol houses, where they had already carried all the goods they possessed. Cortés then ordered us to halt, and not to follow on and overtake the enemy in their flight.

There and then Cortés took possession of that land for His Majesty, performing the act in His Majesty's name. It was done in this way; he drew his sword and as a sign of possession he made three cuts in a huge tree called a *Ceiba*, which stood in the court of that great square, and cried that if any person should raise objection, that he would defend the right with the sword and shield which he held in his hands.

All of us soldiers who were present when this happened cried out that he did right in taking possession of the land in His Majesty's name, and that we would aid him should any person say otherwise. This act was done in the presence of the Royal Notary. The partizans of Diego Velásquez chose to grumble at this act of taking possession.[1]

I call to mind that in that hard fought attack which the Indians made on us, they wounded fourteen soldiers, and

[1] This was the first overt act showing the intention of Cortés to free himself from the control of Velásquez and place himself directly under the protection of his sovereign, a policy which was consummated a few weeks later on the sands at Vera Cruz. Had Cortés intended to continue his subservience to Diego Velásques, his name would have been used in the formal act of taking possession as it had been used in the proclamations made by Cortés in Cuba.

they gave me an arrow wound in the thigh, but it was only a slight wound; and we found eighteen Indians dead in the water where we disembarked.

We slept there [in the great square] that night with guards and sentinels on the alert. I will stop here and go on to tell what more happened.

NOTE.—The Carta de Vera Cruz says that the Indians then sent a deputation and a small present to Cortés, but still insisted that the Spaniards should leave the country. Cortés demanded food for his men, and the Indians promised to send it. Cortés then waited for two days, and as no Indians with food made their appearance he sent out the foraging expeditions described in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER XXXII.

How Cortés ordered two of his Captains each with a hundred soldiers to go and examine the country further inland, and what happened to us.

THE next morning Cortés ordered Pedro de Alvarado to set out in command of a hundred soldiers, fifteen of them with guns and crossbows, to examine the country inland for a distance of two leagues, and to take Melchorejo the interpreter from Cape Catoche in his company. When Melchorejo was looked for he could not be found as he had run off with the people of Tabasco, and it appears that the day before he had left the Spanish clothes that had been given to him hung up in the palm grove, and had fled by night in a canoe. Cortés was much annoyed at his flight, fearing that he would tell things to his fellow countrymen to our disadvantage,—well, let him go as a bit of bad luck, and let us get back to our story. Cortés also sent the Captain Francisco de Lugo, in another direction, with a hunded soldiers, twelve of them musketeers and crossbowmen, with instructions not to go beyond two leagues and to return to the camp to sleep.

When Francisco de Lugo and his company had marched about a league from camp he came on a great host of Indian archers carrying lances and shields, drums and standards and they made straight for our company of soldiers and surrounded them on all sides. They were so numerous and shot their arrows so deftly that it was impossible to withstand them, and they hurled their fire-hardened darts and cast stones from their slings in such numbers that they fell like hail, and they attacked our men with their two-handed knife-like swords.[1] Stoutly as Francisco de Lugo and his soldiers fought, they could not ward off the enemy, and when this was clear to them, while still keeping a good formation, they began to retreat towards the camp. A certain Indian, a swift and daring runner, had been sent off to the camp to beg Cortés to come to their assistance, meanwhile Francisco de Lugo by careful management of his musketeers and crossbowmen, some loading while others fired, and by occasional charges was able to hold his own against all the squadrons attacking him.

Let us leave him in the dangerous situation I have described and return to Captain Pedro de Alvarado, who after marching about a league came on a creek which was very difficult to cross, and it pleased God our Lord so to lead him that he should return by another road in the direction where Francisco de Lugo was fighting. When he heard the reports of the muskets and the great din of drums and trumpets, and the shouts and whistles of the Indians, he knew that there must be a battle going on, so with the greatest haste but in good order he ran towards the cries and shots and found Captain Francisco de Lugo and his men fighting with their faces to the enemy, and five of the enemy lying dead. As soon as he joined forces

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[1] Macanas or Maquahuitls—edged with flint or obsidian.

with Francisco de Lugo they turned on the Indians and drove them back, but they were not able to put them to flight, and the Indians followed our men right up to the camp.

In like manner other companies of warriors had attacked us where Cortés was guarding the wounded, but we soon drove them off with our guns, which laid many of them low, and with our good sword play.

When Cortés heard of Francisco de Lugo's peril from the Cuban Indian who came to beg for help, we promptly went to his assistance, and we met the two captains with their companies about half a league from the camp. Two soldiers of Francisco de Lugo's company were killed and eight wounded, and three of Pedro de Alvarado's company were wounded. When we arrived in camp we buried the dead and tended the wounded, and stationed sentinels and kept a strict watch.

In those skirmishes we killed fifteen Indians and captured three, one of whom seemed to be a chief, and through Aguilar, our interpreter, we asked them why they were so mad as to attack us, and that they could see that we should kill them if they attacked us again. Then one of these Indians was sent with some beads to give to the Caciques to bring them to peace, and that messenger told us that the Indian Melchorejo whom we had brought from Cape Catoche, went to the chiefs the night before and counselled them to fight us day and night and said that they would conquer us as we were few in number; so it turned out that we had brought an enemy with us instead of a help.

This Indian whom we despatched with the message went off and never returned. From the other two Indian prisoners Aguilar the interpreter learnt for certain that by the next day the Caciques from all the neighbouring towns of the province would have assembled with all their forces

ready to make war on us, and that they would come and surround our camp, for that was Melchorejo's advice to them.

I must leave off here, and will go on to tell what we did in the matter.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

How Cortés told us all to get ready by the next day to go in search of the Indian host, and ordered the horses to be brought from the ships, and what happened in the battle which we fought.

As soon as Cortés knew for certain that the Indians intended to make war on us, he ordered all the horses to be landed from the ships without delay, and the cross-bowmen and musketeers and all of us soldiers, even those who were wounded, to have our arms ready for use.

When the horses were brought on shore they were very stiff and afraid to move, for they had been many days on board ship, but the next day they moved quite freely.

At that time it happened that six or seven soldiers, young men and otherwise in good health, suffered from pains in their loins, so that they could not stand on their feet and had to be carried on men's backs. We did not know what this sickness came from, some say that they fell ill on account of the [quilted] cotton armour which they never took off, but wore day and night, and because in Cuba they had lived daintily and were not used to hard work, so in the heat they fell ill. Cortés ordered them not to remain on land but to be taken at once on board ship.

The best horses and riders were chosen to form the cavalry, and the horses had little bells attached to their breastplates. The men were ordered not to stop to spear those who were down, but to aim their lances at the faces of the enemy.

Thirteen gentlemen were chosen to go on horseback with Cortés in command of them, and I here record their names:—Cortés, Cristóval de Olíd, Pedro de Alvarado, Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Montejo, and Alonzo de Ávila to whom was given the horse belonging to Ortiz the musician and Bartolomé García, for neither of these men were good horsemen, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Morla, and Lares the good horseman (I call him so because there was another Lares), Gonzalo Domínguez, an excellent horseman, Moron of Bayamo, and Pedro González of Trujillo. Cortés selected all these gentlemen and went himself as their captain.

Cortés ordered Mesa the artilleryman to have his guns ready, and he placed Diego de Ordás in command of us foot soldiers and he also had command of the musketeers and bowmen, for he was no horseman.

Very early the next day which was the day of Nuestra Señora de Marzo[1] after hearing mass, which was said by Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, we formed in order under our standard bearer, who at that time was Antonio de Villaroel the husband of Isabel de Ojeda, who afterwards changed his name to Antonio Serrano de Cardona, and marched to some large savannas where Francisco de Lugo and Pedro de Alvarado had been attacked, about a league distant from the camp we had left; and that savanna and township was called Cintla, and was subject to Tabasco.

Cortés [and the horsemen] were separated a short distance from us on account of some swamps which could not be crossed by the horses, and as we were marching along in the way I have said, we came on the whole force of Indian warriors who were on the way to attack us in our

[1] Lady-day, 25th March.

camp. It was near the town of Cintla that we met them on an open plain. So it happened that those warriors were looking for us with the intention of attacking us, and we were looking for them for the very same purpose. I must leave off here, and will go on to tell what happened in the battle, and one may well call it a battle, as will be seen further on.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How all the Caciques of Tabasco and its dependencies atttacked us, and what came of it.

I HAVE already said how we were marching along when we met all the forces of the enemy which were moving in search of us, and all the men wore great feather crests and they carried drums and trumpets, and their faces were coloured black and white, and they were armed with large bows and arrows, lances and shields and swords shaped like our two-handed swords, and many slings and stones and fire-hardened javelins, and all wore quilted cotton armour. As they approached us their squadrons were so numerous that they covered the whole plain, and they rushed on us like mad dogs completely surrounding us, and they let fly such a cloud of arrows, javelins and stones that on the first assault they wounded over seventy of us, and fighting hand to hand they did us great damage with their lances, and one soldier[1] fell dead at once from an arrow wound in the ear, and they kept on shooting and wounding us.[2] With our muskets and crossbows and with

[1] Alonzo Remón Edition says "a soldier named Saldaña."

[2] Carta de Vera Cruz says that only twenty were wounded in all, and that no one died of their wounds. Gomara says seventy were wounded.

good sword play we did not fail as stout fighters, and when they came to feel the edge of our swords little by little they fell back, but it was only so as to shoot at us in greater safety. Mesa, our artilleryman, killed many of them with his cannon, for they were formed in great squadrons and they did not open out so that he could fire at them as he pleased, but with all the hurts and wounds which we gave them, we could not drive them off. I said to Diego de Ordás "it seems to me that we ought to close up and charge them," for in truth they suffered greatly from the strokes and thrusts of our swords, and that was why they fell away from us, both from fear of these swords, and the better to shoot their arrows and hurl their javelins and the hail of stones. Ordás replied that it was not good advice, for there were three hundred Indians to every one of us, and that we could not hold out against such a multitude,—so there we stood enduring their attack. However, we did agree to get as near as we could to them, as I had advised Ordás, so as to give them a bad time with our swordsmanship, and they suffered so much from it that they retreated towards a swamp.

During all this time Cortés and his horsemen failed to appear, although we greatly longed for him, and we feared that by chance some disaster had befallen him.

I remember that when we fired shots the Indians gave great shouts and whistles and threw dust and rubbish into the air so that we should not see the damage done to them, and they sounded their trumpets and drums and shouted and whistled and cried "Alala! alala!"

Just at this time we caught sight of our horsemen, and as the great Indian host was crazed with its attack on us, it did not at once perceive them coming up behind their backs, and as the plain was level ground and the horsemen were good riders, and many of the horses were very handy and fine gallopers, they came quickly on the

enemy and speared them as they chose. As soon as we saw the horsemen we fell on the Indians with such energy that with us attacking on one side and the horsemen on the other, they soon turned tail. The Indians thought that the horse and its rider was all one animal, for they had never seen horses up to this time.

The savannas and fields were crowded with Indians running to take refuge in the thick woods near by.

After we had defeated the enemy Cortés told us that he had not been able to come to us sooner as there was a swamp in the way, and he had to fight his way through another force of warriors before he could reach us, and three horsemen and five horses had been wounded.

As soon as the horsemen had dismounted under some trees and houses, we returned thanks to God for giving us so complete a victory.

As it was Lady day we gave to the town which was afterwards founded here the name of Santa Maria de la Victoria, on account of this great victory being won on Our Lady's day. This was the first battle that we fought under Cortés in New Spain.

After this we bound up the hurts of the wounded with cloths, for we had nothing else, and we doctored the horses by searing their wounds with the fat from the body of a dead Indian which we cut up to get out the fat, and we went to look at the dead lying on the plain and there were more than eight hundred of them, the greater number killed by thrusts, the others by the cannon, muskets and crossbows, and many were stretched on the ground half dead. Where the horsemen had passed, numbers of them lay dead or groaning from their wounds. The battle lasted over an hour, and the Indians fought all the time like brave warriors, until the horsemen came up.

We took five prisoners, two of them Captains. As it was late and we had had enough of fighting, and we had

not eaten anything, we returned to our camp. Then we buried the two soldiers who had been killed, one by a wound in the ear, and the other by a wound in the throat, and we seared the wounds of the others and of the horses with the fat of the Indian, and after posting sentinels and guards, we had supper and rested.

It is on this occasion that Francisco López de Gomara says that Francisco de Morla set out on a dapple gray horse before Cortés and the other horsemen arrived, and that the sainted apostles Señor Santiago and Señor San Pedro appeared. I say that all our doings and our victories are at the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in this battle there were so many Indians to every one of us that they could have blinded us with the dust they raised but for the pity of God who always helped us. It may be that as Gomara says the Glorious Apostles Señor Santiago and Señor San Pedro came to our aid and that I, being a sinner was not worthy to behold them. What I saw was Francisco de Morla, on a chestnut horse, who came up at the same time as Cortés, and it seems to me that now as I write I can see again with these sinful eyes all that battle in the very way that it took place, and although I am a poor sinner and not worthy to see either of those glorious apostles, there were there in our company over four hundred soldiers and Cortés himself and many other gentlemen, and it would have been talked about, and evidence would have been taken, and a church would have been built when the town was founded, and the town would have been named Santiago de la Victoria, or San Pedro de la Victoria instead of Santa Maria de la Victoria. If it was as Gomara says we must have all been very bad Christians, when our Lord God sent his holy Apostle to us, not to recognise the great favour that he was showing to us, and not daily to have venerated that church. I wish to God it were as the historian Gomara says, but, until I read

his history, one never heard about it among the conquistadores who were there at the time.

I will leave off here and go on to tell what else happened to us.

CHAPTER XXXV.

How Cortés sent to summon all the Caciques of those provinces and what was done about it.

I HAVE already said that we captured five Indians during the battle of whom two were captains. When Aguilar spoke to these men he found out from what they said that they were fit persons to be sent as messengers, and he advised Cortés to free them, so that they might go and talk to the Caciques of the town and any others they might see. These two messengers were given green and blue beads, and Aguilar spoke many pleasant and flattering words to them, telling them that they had nothing to fear as we wished to treat them like brothers, that it was their own fault that they had made war on us, and that now they had better collect together all the Caciques of the different towns as we wished to talk to them, and he gave them much other advice in a gentle way so as to gain their good will. The messengers went off willingly and spoke to the Caciques and chief men, and told them all we wished them to know about our desire for peace.

When our envoys had been listened to, it was settled among them that fifteen Indian slaves, all with stained faces and ragged cloaks and loin cloths, should at once be sent to us with fowls and baked fish and maize cakes. When these men came before Cortés he received them graciously, but Aguilar the interpreter asked them rather angrily why they had come with their faces in that state, that it looked more as though they came to fight than to treat for peace; and he told them to go back to the

Caciques and inform them, that if they wished for peace in the way we offered it, chieftains should come and treat for it, as was always the custom, and that they should not send slaves. But even these painted faced slaves were treated with consideration by us and blue beads were sent by them in sign of peace, and to soothe their feelings.

The next day thirty Indian Chieftains, clad in good cloaks, came to visit us and brought fowls, fish, fruit and maize cakes, and asked leave from Cortés to burn and bury the bodies of the dead who had fallen in the recent battles, so that they should not smell badly or be eaten by lions and tigers. Permission was at once given them and they hastened to bring many people to bury and burn the bodies according to their customs.

Cortés learnt from the Caciques that over eight hundred men were missing, not counting those who had been carried off wounded.[1]

They said that they could not tarry with us either to discuss the matter or make peace, for on the morrow the chieftains and leaders of all the towns would have assembled, and that then they would agree about a peace.

As Cortés was very sagacious about everything, he said, laughing, to us soldiers who happened to be in his company, "Do you know, gentlemen, that it seems to me that the Indians are terrified at the horses and may think that they and the cannon alone make war on them. I have thought of something which will confirm this belief, and that is to bring the mare belonging to Juan Sedeño, which foaled the other day on board ship, and tie her up where I am now standing and also to bring the stallion of Ortiz the musician, which is very excitable, near enough to scent the mare, and when he has scented her to lead

[1] The Carta de Vera Cruz says the Indians were 40,000 in number and that they lost 220 killed.

each of them off separately so that the Caciques who are coming shall not hear the horse neighing as they approach, not until they are standing before me and are talking to me." We did just as Cortés ordered and brought the horse and mare, and the horse soon detected the scent of her in Cortés's quarters. In addition to this Cortés ordered the largest cannon that we possessed to be loaded with a large ball and a good charge of powder.

About mid-day forty Indians arrived, all of them Caciques of good bearing, wearing rich mantles such as are used by them. They saluted Cortés and all of us, and brought incense and fumigated all of us who were present, and they asked pardon for their past behaviour, and said that henceforth they would be friendly.

Cortés, through Aguilar the Interpreter, answered them in a rather grave manner, as though he were angry, that they well knew how many times he had asked them to maintain peace, that the fault was theirs, and that now they deserved to be put to death, they and all the people of their towns, but that as we were the vassals of a great King and Lord named the Emperor Don Carlos, who had sent us to these countries, and ordered us to help and favour those who would enter his royal service, that if they were now as well disposed as they said they were, that we would take this course, but that if they were not, some of those *Tepustles* would jump out and kill them (they call iron *Tepustle* in their language) for some of the *Tepustles* were still angry because thay had made war on us. At this moment the order was secretly given to put a match to the cannon which had been loaded, and it went off with such a thunderclap as was wanted, and the ball went buzzing over the hills, and as it was mid-day and very still it made a great noise, and the Caciques were terrified on hearing it. As they had never seen anything like it they believed what Cortés had told them was true.

Then Cortés told them, through Aguilar, not to be afraid for he had given orders that no harm should be done to them.

Just then the horse that had scented the mare was brought and tied up not far distant from where Cortés was talking to the Caciques, and, as the mare had been tied up at the place where Cortés and the Indians were talking, the horse began to paw the ground and neigh and become wild with excitement, looking all the time towards the Indians and the place whence the scent of the mare had reached him, and the Caciques thought that he was roaring at them and they were terrified. When Cortés observed their state of mind, he rose from his seat and went to the horse and told two orderlies to lead it far away, and said to the Indians that he had told the horse not to be angry as they were friendly and wished to make peace.

While this was going on there arrived more than thirty Indian carriers, whom the natives call *Tamenes*, who brought a meal of fowls and fish and fruits and other food, and it appears that they had lagged behind and could not reach us at the same time as the Caciques.

Cortés had a long conversation with these chieftains and Caciques and they told him that they would all come on the next day and would bring a present and would discuss other matters, and then they went away quite contented.

And there I will leave them until the next day.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

How all the Caciques and Calachonis from the Rio de Grijalva came and brought a present, and what took place about it.

EARLY the next morning, the 15th March, 1519,[1] many Caciques and chiefs of Tabasco and the neighbouring towns arrived and paid great respect to us all, and they brought a present of gold, consisting of four diadems and some gold lizards, and two [ornaments] like little dogs, and earrings, and five ducks, and two masks[2] with Indian faces, and two gold soles for sandals, and some other things of little value. I do not remember how much the things were worth; and they brought cloth, such as they make and wear, which was quilted stuff. My readers will have heard from those who know that province that there is nothing of much value in it.

This present, however, was worth nothing in comparison with the twenty women that were given us, among them one very excellent woman called Doña Marina, for so she was named when she became a Christian. I will leave off talking about her and the other women who were brought to us, and will tell how Cortés received this present with pleasure and went aside with all the Caciques, and with Aguilar, the interpreter, to hold converse, and he told them that he gave them thanks for what they had brought with them, but there was one thing that he must ask of them, namely, that they should re-occupy the town with all their people, women and children, and he wished to see it repeopled within two days, for he would recognize that as a sign of true peace. The Caciques

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[1] This is evidently an error, as Bernal Díaz has already stated that the Battle of Cintla was fought on Lady day, the 25th March.

[2] In the text "dos figuras de Caras de Indios."

sent at once to summon all the inhabitants with their women and children and within two days they were again settled in the town.

One other thing Cortés asked of the chiefs and that was to give up their idols and sacrifices, and this they said they would do, and, through Aguilar, Cortés told them as well as he was able about matters concerning our holy faith, how we were Christians and worshipped one true and only God, and he showed them an image of Our Lady with her precious Son in her arms and explained to them that we paid the greatest reverence to it as it was the image of the Mother of our Lord God who was in heaven. The Caciques replied that they liked the look of the great Teleciguata (for in their language great ladies are called Teleciguatas) and [begged] that she might be given them to keep in their town, and Cortés said that the image should be given to them and ordered them to make a well-constructed altar, and this they did at once.

The next morning, Cortés ordered two of our carpenters, named Alonzo Yañez and Alvaro López, to make a very tall cross.

When all this had been settled Cortés asked the Caciques what was their reason for attacking us three times when we had asked them to keep the peace ; the chief replied that he had already asked pardon for their acts and had been forgiven, that the Cacique of Chanpoton, his brother, had advised it, and that he feared to be accused of cowardice, for he had already been reproached and dishonoured for not having attacked the other captain who had come with four ships, (he must have meant Juan de Grijalva) and he also said that the Indian whom we had brought as an Interpreter, who escaped in the night, had advised them to attack us both by day and night.

Cortés then ordered this man to be brought before him without fail, but they replied that when he saw that the

battle was going against them, he had taken to flight, and they knew not where he was although search had been made for him; but we came to know that they had offered him as a sacrifice because his counsel had cost them so dear.

Cortés also asked them where they procured their gold and jewels, and they replied, from the direction of the setting sun, and said "Culua" and "Mexico," and as we did not know what Mexico and Culua meant we paid little attention to it.

Then we brought another interpreter named Francisco, whom we had captured during Grijalva's expedition, who has already been mentioned by me, but he understood nothing of the Tabasco language only that of Culua[1] which is the Mexican tongue. By means of signs he told Cortés that Culua was far ahead, and he repeated "Mexico" which we did not understand.

So the talk ceased until the next day when the sacred image of Our Lady and the Cross were set up on the altar and we all paid reverence to them, and Padre Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo said mass and all the Caciques and chiefs were present and we gave the name of Santa Maria de la Victoria to the town, and by this name the town of Tabasco is now called. The same friar, with Aguilar as interpreter, preached many good things about our holy faith to the twenty Indian women who had been given us, telling them not to believe in the Idols which they had been wont to trust in, for they were evil things and not gods, and that they should offer no more sacrifices to them for they would lead them astray, but that they should worship our Lord Jesus Christ, and immediately afterwards they were baptized. One Indian lady who was given to us here was christened Doña Marina, and she was truly a great chief-

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[1] The word in the text is Cuba, but clearly it must be intended for Culua, as is shown in the context.

tainess and the daughter of great Caciques and the mistress of vassals, and this her appearance clearly showed. Later on I will relate why it was and in what manner she was brought here.

I do not clearly remember the names of all the other women, and it is not worth while to name any of them; however, they were the first women to become Christians in New Spain.

Cortés allotted one of them to each of his captains and Doña Marina, as she was good looking and intelligent and without embarrassment, he gave to Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, who I have already said was a distinguished gentleman, and cousin of the Count of Medellin. When Puertocarrero went to Spain, Doña Marina lived with Cortés, and bore him a son named Don Martin Cortés.

We remained five days in this town, to look after the wounded and those who were suffering from pain in the loins, from which they all recovered. Furthermore, Cortés drew the Caciques to him by kindly converse, and told them how our master the Emperor, whose vassals we were, had under his orders many great lords, and that it would be well for them also to render him obedience, and that then, whatever they might be in need of, whether it was our protection or any other necessity, if they would make it known to him, no matter where he might be, he would come to their assistance.

The Caciques all thanked him for this, and thereupon all declared themselves the vassals of our great Emperor. These were the first vassals to render submission to His Majesty in New Spain.

Cortés then ordered the Caciques to come with their women and children early the next day, which was Palm Sunday, to the altar, to pay homage to the holy image of Our Lady and to the Cross, and at the same time Cortés ordered them to send six Indian carpenters to accompany

our carpenters to the town of Cintla where our Lord God was pleased to give us victory in the battle which I have described, there to cut a cross on a great tree called a Ceiba which grew there, and they did it so that it might last a long time, for as the bark is renewed the cross will show there for ever. When this was done he ordered the Indians to get ready all the canoes that they owned to help us to embark, for we wished to set sail on that holy day because the pilots had come to tell Cortés that the ships ran a great risk from a *Norther* which is a dangerous gale.

The next day, early in the morning, all the Caciques and chiefs came in their canoes with all their women and children and stood in the court where we had placed the church and cross, and many branches of trees had already been cut ready to be carried in the procession. Then the Caciques beheld us all, Cortés, as well as the captains, and every one of us marching together with the greatest reverence in a devout procession, and the Padre de la Merced and the priest, Juan Diaz, clad in their vestments, said mass, and we paid reverence to and kissed the Holy Cross, while the Caciques and Indians stood looking on at us.

When our solemn festival was over the chiefs approached and offered Cortés ten fowls, and baked fish and vegetables, and we took leave of them, and Cortés again commended to their care the Holy image and the sacred crosses and told them always to keep the place clean and well swept and to deck the cross with garlands and to reverence it, and then they would enjoy good health and bountiful harvests.

It was growing late when we got on board ship and the next day, Monday, we set sail in the morning and with a fair wind laid our course for San Juan de Ulúa, keeping close in shore all the time

As we sailed along in the fine weather, we soldiers who knew the coast would say to Cortés, "Señor, over there is La Rambla, which the Indians call Ayagualulco," and soon afterwards we arrived off Tonalá which we called San Antonio, and we pointed it out to him. Further on we showed him the great river of Coatzacoalcos, and he saw the lofty snow capped mountains, and then the Sierra of San Martin, and further on we pointed out the split rock, which is a great rock standing out in the sea with a mark on the top of it which gives it the appearance of a seat. Again further on we showed him the Rio de Alvarado, which Pedro de Alvarado entered when we were with Grijalva, and then we came in sight of the Rio de Banderas, where we had gained in barter the sixteen thousand dollars, then we showed him the Isla Blanca, and told him where lay the Isla Verde, and close in shore we saw the Isla de Sacrificios where we found the altars and the Indian victims in Grijalva's time; and at last our good fortune brought us to San Juan de Ulúa soon after midday on Holy Thursday.

I remember that a gentleman, Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero came up to Cortés and said: "It seems to me, sir, that these gentlemen who have been twice before to this country are saying to you:—

Cata Francia, Montesinos.	Behold France, Montesinos.
Cata Paris la ciudad.	Look at Paris, the city.
Cata las aguas de Duero	See the waters of the Duero
Do van a dar en la Mar.	Flowing to the sea.

I say that you are looking on rich lands, may you know how to govern them well!"

Cortés knew well the purpose for which these words were said, and answered: "Let God give us the good fortune in fighting which He gave to the Paladin Roldan, and with Your Honour and the other gentlemen for leaders, I shall know well how to manage it."

Let us leave off here, for this is what took place and Cortés did not go into the Rio de Alvarado, as Gomara says he did.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Showing that Doña Marina was a *Cacica* and the daughter of persons of high rank, and was the mistress of towns and vassals, and how it happened that she was taken to Tabasco.

BEFORE telling about the great Montezuma and his famous City of Mexico and the Mexicans, I wish to give some account of Doña Marina, who from her childhood had been the mistress and Cacica of towns and vassals. It happened in this way:

Her father and mother were chiefs and Caciques of a town called Paynala, which had other towns subject to it, and stood about eight leagues from the town of Coatzacoalcos. Her father died while she was still a little child, and her mother married another Cacique, a young man, and bore him a son. It seems that the father and mother had a great affection for this son and it was agreed between them that he should succeed to their honours when their days were done. So that there should be no impediment to this, they gave the little girl, Doña Marina, to some Indians from Xicalango[1] and this they did by night so as to escape observation, and they then spread the report that she had died, and as it happened at this time that a child of one of their Indian slaves died they gave out that it was their daughter and the heiress who was dead.

The Indians of Xicalango gave the child to the people of Tabasco, and the Tabasco people gave her to Cortés. I myself knew her mother, and the old woman's son and

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[1] Xicalango, on the southern side of the Laguna de Términos, was an outlying stronghold of the Aztec Empire. (See *Relacion de Melchor de Sta. Cruz.*)

her half-brother, when he was already grown up and ruled the town jointly with his mother, for the second husband of the old lady was dead. When they became Christians, the old lady was called Marta and the son Lázaro. I knew all this very well because in the year 1523 after the conquest of Mexico and the other provinces, when Cristóval de Olid revolted in Honduras, and Cortés was on his way there, he passed through Coatzacoalcos and I and the greater number of the settlers of that town accompanied him on that expedition as I shall relate in the proper time and place. As Doña Marina proved herself such an excellent woman and good interpreter throughout the wars in New Spain, Tlascala and Mexico (as I shall show later on) Cortés always took her with him, and during that expedition she was married to a gentleman named Juan Jaramillo at the town of Orizaba, before certain witnesses, one of whom was named Aranda, a settler in Tabasco and this man told [me] about the marriage (not in the way the historian Gomara relates it).

Doña Marina was a person of the greatest importance and was obeyed without question by the Indians throughout New Spain.

When Cortés was in the town of Coatzacoalcos he sent to summon to his presence all the Caciques of that province in order to make them a speech about our holy religion, and about their good treatment, and among the Caciques who assembled was the mother of Doña Marina and her half-brother, Lázaro.

Some time before this Doña Marina had told me that she belonged to that province and that she was the mistress of vassals, and Cortés also knew it well, as did Aguilar, the interpreter. In such a manner it was that mother, daughter and son came together, and it was easy enough to see that she was the daughter from the strong likeness she bore to her mother.

These relations were in great fear of Doña Marina, for they thought that she had sent for them to put them to death, and they were weeping.

When Doña Marina saw them in tears, she consoled them and told them to have no fear, that when they had given her over to the men from Xicalango, they knew not what they were doing, and she forgave them for doing it, and she gave them many jewels of gold, and raiment, and told them to return to their town, and said that God had been very gracious to her in freeing her from the worship of idols and making her a Christian, and letting her bear a son to her lord and master Cortés and in marrying her to such a gentleman as Juan Jaramillo, who was now her husband. That she would rather serve her husband and Cortés than anything else in the world, and would not exchange her place to be Cacica of all the provinces in New Spain.

All this which I have repeated here I know for certain (and I swear to it.)[1]

This seems to me very much like what took place between Joseph and his brethren in Egypt when they came into his power over the matter of the wheat. It is what actually happened and not the story which was told to Gomara, who also says other things which I will leave unnoticed.

To go back to my subject: Doña Marina knew the language of Coatzacoalcos, which is that common to Mexico, and she knew the language of Tabasco, as did also Jerónimo de Aguilar, who spoke the language of Yucatan and Tabasco, which is one and the same. So that these two could understand one another clearly, and Aguilar translated into Castilian for Cortés.

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[1] The words in brackets are blotted out in the original MS. —G. G.

This was the great beginning of our conquests and thus, thanks be to God, things prospered with us. I have made a point of explaining this matter, because without the help of Doña Marina we could not have understood the language of New Spain and Mexico.

Here I will leave off, and go on later to tell how we disembarked in the Port of San Juan de Ulúa.

BOOK III.

THE MARCH INLAND.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

How we arrived with all the ships at San Juan de Ulúa, and what happened there.

ON Holy Thursday, the anniversary of the Last Supper of Our Lord, in the year 1519, we arrived with all the fleet at the Port of San Juan de Ulúa, and as the Pilot Alaminos knew the place well from having come there with Juan de Grijalva he at once ordered the vessels to drop anchor where they would be safe from the northerly gales. The flagship hoisted her royal standards and pennants, and within half an hour of anchoring, two large canoes (which in those parts are called piraguas) came out to us, full of Mexican Indians. Seeing the big ship with the standards flying they knew that it was there they must go to speak with the captain; so they went direct to the flagship and going on board asked who was the Tatuan[1] which in their language means the chief. Doña Marina who understood the language well, pointed him out. Then the Indians paid many marks

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[1] Tlatoan.

of respect to Cortés, according to their usage, and bade him welcome, and said that their lord, a servant of the great Montezuma, had sent them to ask what kind of men we were and of what we were in search, and added that if we were in need of anything for ourselves or the ships, that we should tell them and they would supply it. Our Cortés thanked them through the two interpreters, Aguilar and Doña Marina, and ordered food and wine to be given them and some blue beads, and after they had drunk he told them that we came to see them and to trade with them and that our arrival in their country should cause them no uneasiness but be looked on by them as fortunate. The messengers returned on shore well content, and the next day, which was Good Friday, we disembarked with the horses and guns, on some sand hills which rise to a considerable height, for there was no level land, nothing but sand dunes; and the artilleryman Mesa placed the guns in position to the best of his judgment. Then we set up an altar where mass was said and we made huts and shelters for Cortés and the captains, and three hundred of the soldiers brought wood and made huts for themselves and we placed the horses where they would be safe and in this way was Good Friday passed.

The next day, Saturday, Easter Eve, many Indians arrived sent by a chief who was a governor under Montezuma, named Pitalpitoque[1] (whom we afterwards called Ovandillo), and they brought axes and dressed wood for the huts of the captain Cortés and the other ranchos near to it, and covered them with large cloths on account of the strength of the sun, for as it was in Lent the heat was very great—and they brought fowls and maize cakes and plums, which were then in season, and I think that they brought

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[1] Pitalpitoque = Cuitlalpitoc, who had been sent as an ambassador to meet Grijalva. See *Orozco y Berra*, pp. 44 and 132, vol. iv.

some gold jewels, and they presented all these things to Cortés; and said that the next day a governor would come and would bring more food. Cortés thanked them heartily and ordered them to be given certain articles in exchange with which they went away well content. The next day, Easter Sunday, the governor whom they spoke of arrived. His name was Tendile,[1] a man of affairs, and he brought with him Pitalpitoque who was also a man of importance amongst the natives and there followed them many Indians with presents of fowls and vegetables. Tendile ordered these people to stand aside on a hillock and with much humility he made three obeisances to Cortés according to their custom,[2] and then to all the soldiers who were standing around. Cortés bade them welcome through our interpreters and embraced them and asked them to wait, as he wished presently to speak to them. Meanwhile he ordered an altar to be made as well as it could be done in the time, and Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who was a fine singer, chanted Mass, and Padre Juan Diaz[3] assisted, and the two governors and the other chiefs who were with them looked on. When Mass was over, Cortés and some of our captains and the two Indian officers of the great Montezuma dined together. When the tables had been cleared away—Cortés went aside with the two Caciques and our two interpreters and explained to them that we were Christians and vassals of the greatest lord on earth, called the Emperor Don Carlos, who had many great princes as his vassals and servants, and that it was at his orders that we had come to this country, because for many years he had heard rumours

[1] Teuhtlilli, Governor of Cuetlaxtla (Cotaxtla of modern maps).

[2] Blotted out in the original—"and they brought much incense on live coals in pottery brasiers."—G. G.

[3] Blotted out in the original—"and other soldiers who helped him."—G. G.

about the country and the great prince who ruled it. That he wished to be friends with this prince and to tell him many things in the name of the Emperor which things, when he knew and understood them, would please him greatly. Moreover he wished to trade with their prince and his Indians in good friendship, and he wanted to know where this prince would wish that they should meet so that they might confer together. Tendile replied somewhat proudly, and said—"You have only just now arrived and you already ask to speak with our prince; accept now this present which we give you in his name, and afterwards you will tell me what you think fitting." With that he took out a *petaca*—which is a sort of chest, many articles of gold beautifully and richly worked and ordered ten loads of white cloth made of cotton and feathers to be brought, wonderful things to see, and there were other things which I do not remember, besides quantities of food consisting of fowls of the country,[1] fruit and baked fish. Cortés received it all with smiles in a gracious manner and gave in return, beads of twisted glass and other small beads from Spain, and he begged them to send to their towns to ask the people to come and trade with us as he had brought many beads to exchange for gold, and they replied that they would do as he asked. As we afterwards found out, these two men, Tendile and Pitalpitoque, were the governors of the provinces named Cotustan, Tustepeque,[2] Guazpaltepeque and Tatalteco, and of some other townships lately conquered. Cortés then ordered his servants to bring an arm-chair, richly carved and inlaid and some *margaritas*,[3] stones with many [intricate] designs in them, and a string

[1] Turkeys, Huajolotes (Mex.).

[2] Cotaxtla, Tuxtepec.

[3] Piedras margaritas, possibly margajita; probably mossagate or lapis lazuli.

of twisted glass beads[1] packed in cotton scented with musk and a crimson cap with a golden medal engraved with a figure of St. George on horseback, lance in hand, slaying the dragon, and he told Tendile that he should send the chair to his prince Montezuma (for we already knew that he was so called) so that he could be seated in it when he, Cortés, came to see and speak with him, and that he should place the cap on his head, and that the stones and all the other things were presents from our lord the King, as a sign of his friendship, for he was aware that Montezuma was a great prince, and Cortés asked that a day and a place might be named where he could go to see Montezuma. Tendile received the present and said that his lord Montezuma was such a great prince that it would please him to know our great King and that he would carry the present to him at once and bring back a reply.

It appears that Tendile brought with him some clever painters such as they had in Mexico and ordered them to make pictures true to nature of the face and body of Cortés and all his captains, and of the soldiers, ships, sails and horses, and of Doña Marina and Aguilar, even of the two greyhounds, and the cannon and cannon balls, and all of the army we had brought with us, and he carried the pictures to his master. Cortés ordered our gunners to load the lombards with a great charge of powder so that they should make a great noise when they were fired off, and he told Pedro de Alvarado that he and all the horsemen should get ready so that these servants of Montezuma might see them gallop and told them to attach little bells to the horses' breastplates. Cortés also mounted his horse and said—"It would be well if we could gallop on these sand dunes but they will observe that even when

[1] Diamantes torcidos.

on foot we get stuck in the sand—let us go out to the beach when the tide is low and gallop two and two;"—and to Pedro de Alvarado whose sorrel coloured mare was a great galloper, and very handy, he gave charge of all the horsemen.

All this was carried out in the presence of the two ambassadors, and so that they should see the cannon fired, Cortés made as though he wished again to speak to them and a number of other chieftains, and the lombards were fired off, and as it was quite still at that moment, the stones went flying through the forest resounding with a great din, and the two governors and all the other Indians were frightened by things so new to them, and ordered the painters to record them so that Montezuma might see. It happened that one of the soldiers had a helmet half gilt but somewhat rusty and this Tendile noticed, for he was the more forward of the two ambassadors, and said that he wished to see it as it was like one that they possessed which had been left to them by their ancestors of the race from which they had sprung, and that it had been placed on the head of their god—Huichilobos,[1] and that their prince Montezuma would like to see this helmet. So it was given to him, and Cortés said to them that as he wished to know whether the gold of this country was the same as that we find in our rivers, they could return the helmet filled with grains of gold so that he could send it to our great Emperor. After this, Tendile bade farewell to Cortés and to all of us and after many expressions of regard from Cortés he took leave of him and said that he would return with a reply without delay. After Tendile had departed we found out that besides being an Indian employed in matters of great importance, Tendile was the most active of the servants whom his master, Montezuma, had in

[1] Huitzilopochtli.

his employ, and he went with all haste and narrated everything to his prince, and showed him the pictures which had been painted and the present which Cortés had sent. When the great Montezuma gazed on it he was struck with admiration and received it on his part with satisfaction. When he examined the helmet and that which was on his Huichilobos, he felt convinced that we belonged to the race which, as his forefathers had foretold would come to rule over that land. It is here that the historian Gomara relates many things which were not told to him correctly.

I will leave off here, and then go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

How Tendile went to report to his Prince Montezuma and to carry the present, and what we did in our camp.

WHEN Tendile departed with the present which the Captain Cortés gave him for his prince Montezuma, the other governor, Pitalpitoque, stayed in our camp and occupied some huts a little distance from ours, and they brought Indian women there to make maize bread, and brought fowls and fruit and fish, and supplied Cortés and the captains who fed with him. As for us soldiers, if we did not hunt for shell fish on the beach, or go out fishing, we did not get anything.

About that time, many Indians came from the towns already mentioned by me over which these two servants of Montezuma were governors, and some of them brought gold and jewels of little value, and fowls to exchange with us for our goods, which consisted of green beads and clear glass beads and other articles, and with this we managed to supply ourselves with food. Almost all the soldiers had brought things for barter, as we learnt in Grijalva's time

that it was a good thing to bring beads—and in this manner six or seven days passed by.

Then one morning, Tendile arrived with more than one hundred laden Indians, accompanied by a great Mexican Cacique, who in his face, features and appearance bore a strong likeness to our Captain Cortés and the great Montezuma had sent him purposely, for it is said that when Tendile brought the portrait of Cortés all the chiefs who were in Montezuma's company said that a great chief named Quintalbor looked exactly like Cortés and that was the name of the Cacique who now arrived with Tendile; and as he was so like Cortés we called them in camp "our Cortés" and "the other Cortés." To go back to my story, when these people arrived and came before our Captain they first of all kissed the earth[1] and then fumigated him and all the soldiers who were standing around him, with incense which they brought in brasiers of pottery. Cortés received them affectionately and seated them near himself, and that chief who came with the present (who I have already said was named Quintalbor) had been appointed spokesman together with Tendile. After welcoming us to the country and after many courteous speeches had passed he ordered the presents which he had brought to be displayed, and they were placed on mats which they call petates over which were spread cotton cloths.[2] The first article presented was a wheel like a sun, as big as a cart-wheel, with many sorts of pictures on it, the whole of fine gold, and a wonderful thing to behold, which those who afterwards weighed it said was worth more than ten thousand dollars. Then another wheel was presented of greater size made of silver of great brilliancy in

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[1] On seeing Don Hernando Cortés they made the usual obeisance, placing the forefinger (*dedo mayor*) of the right hand on the ground and raising it to the mouth. (*Orozco y Berra*, vol. iv, p. 127.)

[2] See Appendix A. Montezuma's gifts to Cortés.

imitation of the moon with other figures shown on it, and this was of great value as it was very heavy—and the chief brought back the helmet full of fine grains of gold, just as they are got out of the mines, and this was worth three thousand dollars. This gold in the helmet was worth more to us than if it had contained $20,000, because it showed us that there were good mines there. Then were brought twenty golden ducks, beautifully worked and very natural looking, and some [ornaments] like dogs, of the kind they keep, and many articles of gold worked in the shape of tigers and lions and monkeys, and ten collars beautifully worked and other necklaces; and twelve arrows and a bow with its string, and two rods like staffs of justice, five palms long, all in beautiful hollow work of fine gold. Then there were presented crests of gold and plumes of rich green feathers, and others of silver, and fans of the same materials, and deer copied in hollow gold and many other things that I cannot remember for it all happened so many years ago. And then over thirty loads of beautiful cotton cloth were brought worked with many patterns and decorated with many coloured feathers, and so many other things were there that it is useless my trying to describe them for I know not how to do it. When all these things had been presented, this great Cacique Quintalbor and Tendile asked Cortés to accept this present with the same willingness with which his prince had sent it, and divide it among the *teules*[1] and men who accompanied him. Cortés received the present with delight and then the ambassadors told Cortés that they wished to repeat what their prince, Montezuma, had sent them to say. First of all they told him that he was pleased that such valiant men, as he had heard that we

[1] *Teules*, "for so they call the Idols which they worship." See p. 172.

were, should come to his country, for he knew all about what we had done at Tabasco, and that he would much like to see our great emperor who was such a mighty prince and whose fame was spread over so many lands, and that he would send him a present of precious stones; and that meanwhile we should stay in that port; that if he could assist us in any way he would do so with the greatest pleasure; but as to the interview, they should not worry about it; that there was no need for it and they (the ambassadors) urged many objections. Cortés kept a good countenance, and returned his thanks to them, and with many flattering expressions gave each of the ambassadors two holland shirts and some blue glass beads and other things, and begged them to go back as his ambassadors to Mexico and to tell their prince, the great Montezuma, that as we had come across so many seas, and had journeyed from such distant lands solely to see and speak with him in person, that if we should return thus, that our great king and lord would not receive us well, and that wherever their prince Montezuma might be we wished to go and see him and do what he might order us to do. The ambassadors replied that they would go back and give this message to their prince, but as to the question of the desired interview —they considered it superfluous. By these ambassadors Cortés sent what our poverty could afford as a gift to Montezuma: a glass cup of Florentine ware, engraved with trees and hunting scenes and gilt, and three holland shirts and other things, and he charged the messengers to bring a reply. The two governors set out and Pitalpitoque remained in camp; for it seems that the other servants of Montezuma had given him orders to see that food was brought to us from the neighbouring towns. Here I will leave off, and then go on to tell what happened in our camp.

CHAPTER XL.

How Cortés sent to look for another harbour and site where to make a settlement, and what was done about it.

As soon as the messengers had been sent off to Mexico, Cortés despatched two ships to go and explore the coast further along, and placed Francisco de Montejo in command of them and ordered him to follow the course we had taken with Grijalva (for Montejo had accompanied us during Grijalva's expedition) and to seek out a safe harbour, and search for lands where we could settle, for it was clear that we could not settle on those sand dunes, both on account of the mosquitoes and the distance from other towns. Cortés ordered Alaminos and Juan Álvarez el Manquillo to go as pilots as they knew the route, and told them to sail as far along the coast as was possible in ten days. They did as they were told and arrived at the Rio Grande, which is close to Panuco,[1] which we had reached during the expedition under the Captain Juan de Grijalva. They were not able to proceed any further on account of the strong currents. Seeing how difficult the navigation had become, they turned round and made for San Juan de Ulúa, without having made any further progress, or having anything to tell us, beyond the news that, twelve leagues away, they had seen a town looking like a fortified harbour which was called Quiahuitztlan, and that near that town was a harbour where the pilot Alaminos thought that the ships would be safe from the northerly gales. He gave to it an ugly name, that of Bernal, for it is like another harbour in Spain of that name. In these comings and goings Montejo was occupied ten or twelve days.

[1] The expedition under Grijalva did not pass beyond Cape Rojo.

I must now go back to say that the Indian Pitalpitoque, who remained behind to look after the food, slackened his efforts to such an extent that no provisions reached the camp and we were greatly in need of food, for the cassava turned sour from the damp and rotted and became foul with weevils and if we had not gone hunting for shell fish we should have had nothing to eat. The Indians who used to come bringing gold and fowls for barter, did not come in such numbers as on our first arrival and those who did come were very shy and cautious and we began to count the hours that must elapse before the return of the messengers who had gone to Mexico. We were thus waiting when Tendile returned accompanied by many Indians, and after having paid their respects in the usual manner by fumigating Cortés and the rest of us with incense, he presented ten loads of fine rich feather cloth, and four chalchihuites, which are green stones of very great value, and held in the greatest esteem among the Indians, more than emeralds are by us, and certain other gold articles. Not counting the chalchihuites, the gold alone was said to be worth three thousand dollars. Then Tendile and Pitalpitoque approached (the other great cacique, Quintalbor, fell ill on the road and did not return) and those two governors went aside with Cortés and Doña Marina and Aguilar, and reported that their prince Montezuma had accepted the present and was greatly pleased with it, but as to an interview, that no more should be said about it; that these rich stones of chalchihuite should be sent to the great Emperor as they were of the highest value, each one being worth more and being esteemed more highly than a great load of gold, and that it was not worth while to send any more messengers to Mexico. Cortés thanked the messengers and gave them presents, but it was certainly a disappointment to him to be told so distinctly that we could not see Montezuma,

and he said to some soldiers who happened to be standing near: "Surely this must be a great and rich prince, and some day, please God, we must go and see him"—and the soldiers answered: "We wish that we were already living with him!"

Let us now leave this question of visits and relate that it was now the time of the Ave Maria, and at the sound of a bell which we had in the camp we all fell on our knees before a cross placed on a sand hill and said our prayers of the Ave Maria before the cross. When Tendile and Pitalpitoque saw us thus kneeling, as they were very intelligent, they asked what was the reason that we humbled ourselves before a tree cut in that particular way. As Cortés heard this remark he said to the Padre de la Merced who was present: "It is a good opportunity, father, as we have good material at hand, to explain through our interpreters matters touching our holy faith." And then he delivered a discourse to the Caciques so fitting to the occasion that no good theologian could have bettered it. After telling them that we were Christians and relating all the matters pertaining to our holy religion, he told them that their idols were not good but evil things which would take flight at the presence of that sign of the cross, for on a similar cross the Lord of Heaven and earth and all created things suffered passion and death; that it is He whom we adore and in whom we believe, our true God, Jesus Christ, who had been willing to suffer and die in order to save the whole human race; that the third day He rose again and is now in heaven; and that by Him we shall all be judged. Cortés said many other things very well expressed, which they thoroughly understood, and they replied that they would report them to their prince Montezuma. Cortés also told them that one of the objects for which our great Emperor had sent us to their countries was to abolish human sacrifices, and the other

evil rites which they practised and to see that they did not rob one another, or worship those curséd images. And Cortés prayed them to set up in their city, in the temples where they kept the idols which they believed to be gods, a cross like the one they saw before them, and to set up in the same place an image of Our Lady, which he would give them, with her precious son in her arms, and they would see how well it would go with them, and what our God would do for them. However, as many other arguments were used and as I do not know how to write them all out at length I will leave the subject and recall to mind that on this latest visit many Indians came with Tendile, who were wishing to barter articles of gold, which, however, were of no great value. So all the soldiers set about bartering, and the gold which we gained by this barter we gave to the sailors who were out fishing in exchange for their fish so as to get something to eat, for otherwise we often underwent great privations through hunger. Cortés was pleased at this although he pretended not to see what was going on, and many of the servants and friends of Diego Velásquez asked him why he did not prevent us from bartering. What happened about this I will tell later.

CHAPTER XLI.

What was done about the bartering for gold, and other things that took place in camp.

WHEN the friends of Diego Velásquez saw that some of us soldiers were bartering for gold, they asked Cortés why he permitted it, and said that Diego Velásquez did not send out the expedition in order that the soldiers should carry off most of the gold, and that it would be as well to issue an order that for the future no gold should be

bartered for by anyone but Cortés himself and that all the gold already obtained should be displayed so that the royal fifth might be taken from it, and that some suitable person should be placed in charge of the treasury.

To all this Cortés replied that all they said was good, and that they themselves should name that person, and they chose Gonzalo Mejia. When this had been done, Cortés turned to them with angry mien and said: "Observe, gentlemen, that our companions are suffering great hardships from want of food, and it is for this reason that we ought to overlook things, so that they may all find something to eat; all the more so as the amount of gold they bargain for is but a trifle,—and God willing, we are going to obtain a large amount of it. However, there are two sides to everything; the order has been issued that bartering for gold shall cease, as you desired; we shall see next what we will get to eat."

This is where the historian, Gomara, states that Cortés did this so that Montezuma might think that we cared nothing for gold, but he (Gomara) was not well informed, for ever since the event of Grijalva's visit to the Rio de Banderas, Montezuma must have understood well enough, and even more so when we sent the helmet to him with a request that it should be filled with gold grains from the mines, besides they had seen us bargaining and the Mexicans were not the sort of people to misunderstand the meaning of it all.

Let us drop this subject then, which Gomara says he knows about because "they told him so" and I will go on to relate how, one morning, we woke up to find not a single Indian in any of their huts, neither those who used to bring the food, nor those who came to trade, nor Pitalpitoque himself; they had all fled without saying a word. The cause of this, as we afterwards learned, was that Montezuma had sent orders to avoid further conversation

with Cortés and those in his company; for it appears that Montezuma was very much devoted to his idols, named Tezcatepuca, and Huichilobos, the latter the god of war, and Tezcatepuca, the god of hell; and daily he sacrificed youths to them so as to get an answer from the gods as to what he should do about us; for Montezuma had already formed a plan, if we did not go off in the ships, to get us all into his power, and to raise a breed of us[1] and also to keep us for sacrifice. As we afterwards found out, the reply given by the gods was that he should not listen to Cortés, nor to the message which he sent about setting up a cross and an image of Our Lady, and that such things should not be brought to the city. This was the reason why the Indians left our camp without warning. When we heard the news we thought that they meant to make war on us, and we were very much on the alert. One day, as I and another soldier were stationed on some sand dunes keeping a look out, we saw five Indians coming along the beach, and so as not to raise a scare in camp over so small a matter, we permitted them to approach. When they came up to us with smiling countenances they paid us homage according to their custom, and made signs that we should take them into camp. I told my companion to remain where he was and I would accompany the Indians, for at that time my feet were not as heavy as they are now that I am old, and when we came before Cortés the Indians paid him every mark of respect and said: *Lope luzio, lope luzio*—which in the Totonac language means: "prince and great lord." These men had large holes in their lower lips, some with stone disks in them spotted with blue, and others with thin leaves of gold. They also had their ears pierced with large holes in which were placed disks of

[1] Blotted out in the original MS.—With which to make war. —G. G.

stone or gold, and in their dress and speech they differed greatly from the Mexicans who had been staying with us. When Doña Marina and Aguilar, the Interpreters, heard the word *Lope luzio* they did not understand it, and Doña Marina asked in Mexican if there were not among them *Nahuatatos*, that is, interpreters of the Mexican language, and two of the five answered yes, that they understood and spoke it, and they bade us welcome and said that their chief had sent them to ask who we might be, and that it would please him to be of service to such valiant men, for it appeared that they knew about our doings at Tabasco and Potonchan, and they added that they would have come to see us before but for fear of the people of Culua who had been with us, (by Culua they meant Mexicans, as we might say Cordovans, or rustics) and that they knew that three days ago they had fled back to their own country, and in the course of their talk Cortés found out that Montezuma had opponents and enemies, which he was delighted to hear, and after flattering these five messengers and giving them presents he bade them farewell, asking them to tell their chief that he would very soon come and pay them a visit. From this time on we called those Indians the *Lope luzios.* I must leave them now and go on to say that in those sand dunes where we were camped there were always many mosquitos, both long-legged ones and small ones which are called *xexenes* which are worse than the large ones, and we could get no sleep on account of them. We were very short of food and the cassava bread was disappearing, and what there was of it was very damp and foul with weevils. Some of the soldiers who possessed Indians in the Island of Cuba were continually sighing for their homes, especially the friends and servants of Diego Valásquez. When Cortés noted the state of affairs and the wishes of these men he gave orders that we should go to the fortified town which had been seen by Montejo and

the pilot, Alaminos, named Quiahuitztlan where the ships would be under the protection of the rock which I have mentioned. When arrangements were being made for us to start, all the friends, relations and servants of Diego Velásquez asked Cortés why he wanted to make that journey without having any provisions, seeing that there was no possibility of going on any further and that over thirty five soldiers had already died in camp from wounds inflicted at Tabasco, and from sickness and hunger; that the country we were in was a great one and the settlements very thickly peopled and that any day they might make war on us; that it would be much better to return to Cuba and account to Diego Velásquez for the gold gained in barter, which already amounted to a large sum, and the great presents from Montezuma, the sun and the silver moon and the helmet full of golden grains from the mines, and all the cloths and jewels already mentioned by me. Cortés replied to them that it was not good advice to recommend our going back without reason; that hitherto we could not complain of our fortune and should give thanks to God who was helping us in everything, and as for those who had died, that that always happened in wars and under hardship; that it would be as well to find out what the country contained; that meanwhile we could eat the maize and other food held by the Indians and by the neighbouring towns, unless our hands had lost their cunning. With this reply, the partisans of Diego Velásquez were somewhat, but not wholly appeased, for there were already cliques formed in camp who discussed the return to Cuba. I will leave off here and then go on to say what happened.

CHAPTER XLII.

How we raised Hernando Cortés to the post of Captain General and Chief Justice, until His Majesty's wishes on the matter should be known, and what was done about it.

I HAVE already said that the relations and friends of Diego Velásquez were going about the camp raising objections to our going on any further and insisting that we should return at once from San Juan de Ulúa to the Island of Cuba. It appears that Cortés had already talked the matter over with Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, and Pedro de Alvarado and his four brothers, Jorge, Gonzalo, Gómez and Juan, and with Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Lugo, and with me and other gentlemen and captains, and suggested that we should beg of him to be our captain. Francisco de Montejo understood what was going on and was on the watch. One night, after midnight, Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, Juan de Escalante and Francisco de Lugo, came to my hut. Francisco de Lugo and I came from the same country and were distant kinsmen. They said to me: "Señor Bernal Díaz, come out with your arms and go the rounds; we will accompany Cortés who is just now going the rounds." When I was a little distance from the hut they said to me: "Look to it, sir, that you keep secret for a time what we wish to tell you, for it is a matter of importance, and see that your companions in your hut know nothing about it, for they are of the party of Diego Velásquez." What they said to me was: "Sir, does it seem to you to be right that Hernando Cortés should have deceived us all in bringing us here, he having proclaimed in Cuba that he was coming to settle, and now we find out that he has no power to do so, but only to trade, and they want us to return to Santiago de Cuba with all the gold

that has been collected, and we shall lose our all, for will not Diego Velásquez take all the gold as he did before? Look, sir, counting this present expedition, you have already come to this country three times, spending your own property and contracting debts and risking your life many times with the wounds you have received. Many of us gentlemen who know that we are your honour's friends wish you to understand that this must not go on; that this land must be settled in the name of His Majesty, and by Hernando Cortés in His Majesty's name, while we await the opportunity to make it known to our lord the King in Spain. Be sure, sir, to cast your vote so that all of us unanimously and willingly choose him captain, for it will be a service to God and our lord the King." I replied that it was not a wise decision to return to Cuba and that it would be a good thing for the country to be settled and that we should choose Cortés as General and Chief Justice until his Majesty should order otherwise. This agreement passed from soldier to soldier and the friends and relations of Diego Velásquez, who were more numerous than we were, got to know of it, and with over-bold words asked Cortés why he was craftily arranging to remain in this country instead of returning to render an account of his doings to the man who had sent him as captain, and they told him that Diego Velásquez would not approve of it, and that the sooner we embarked the better; that there was no use in his subterfuges and secret meetings with the soldiers, for we had neither supplies nor men, nor any possibility of founding a settlement. Cortés answered without a sign of anger, and said that he agreed with them; that he would not go against the instructions and notes which he had received from Diego Velásquez, and he issued an order for us all to embark on the following day, each one in the ship in which he had come. We who had made the agreement answered that it was

not fair to deceive us so, that in Cuba he had proclaimed that he was coming to make a settlement, whereas he had only come to trade; and we demanded on behalf of our Lord God and of His Majesty that he should at once form a settlement and give up any other plan, because that would be of the greatest benefit and service to God and the King; and they placed many other well-reasoned arguments before him saying that the natives would never let us land again as they had done this time, and that as soon as a settlement was made in the country soldiers would gather in from all the islands to give us help and that Velásquez had ruined us all by stating publicly that he had received a decree from His Majesty to form a settlement, the contrary being the case; that we wished to form a settlement, and to let those depart who desired to return to Cuba. So Cortés agreed to it, although he pretended to need much begging, as the saying goes: "You are very pressing, and I want to do it,"[1]—and he stipulated that we should make him Chief Justice and Captain General, and the worst of all that we conceded was that we should give him a fifth of all the gold which should be obtained, after the royal fifth had been deducted, and then we gave him the very fullest powers in the presence of the King's Notary, Diego de Godoy, embracing all that I have here stated. We at once set to work to found and settle a town, which was called the "Villa rica de la Vera Cruz" because we arrived on Thursday of the (last) supper and landed on "Holy Friday of the Cross" and "rich" because of what that gentleman said, as I have related in a former chapter (XXVI) who approached Cortés and said to him: "Behold rich lands! May you know how to govern them well!" and what he wanted to say was—"May you

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[1] "Tu me lo ruegas y yo me lo quiero."

remain as their Captain General." That gentleman was Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero.

To go back to my story: as soon as the town was founded we appointed alcaldes and regidores; the former were Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero and Francisco Montejo. In the case of Montejo, it was because he was not on very good terms with Cortés that Cortés ordered him to be named as Alcalde, so as to place him in the highest position. I need not give the names of the Regidores, for it is no use naming only a few of them; but I must mention the fact that a pillory was placed in the Plaza and a gallows set up outside the town. We chose Pedro de Alvarado as captain of expeditions and Cristóbal de Olid as Maestro de Campo.[1] Juan de Escalante was chosen chief Alguacil;[2] Gonzalo Mejia, treasurer, and Alonzo de Ávila accountant. A certain Corral was named as Ensign, because Villaroel who had been Ensign was dismissed from the post on account of some offence (I do not exactly know what) he had given Cortés about an Indian woman from Cuba. Ochoa, a Biscayan, and Alonzo Romero were appointed Alguaciles of the Camp.[3]

It will be said that I have made no mention of the Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval, he of whom our lord the Emperor has heard such reports, who was such a renowned captain that he ranked next to Cortés[4] in our estimation. I say this was because at that time he was a youth, and we did not take such count of him and of other valiant captains until we saw him grow in worth in such a way that Cortés and all the soldiers held him in the same esteem as Cortés himself, as I shall tell later on.

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[1] Maestro de Campo = Quartermaster.

[2] Alguacil Mayor = High Constable.

[3] Alguacil del Real = Constables and storekeepers.

[4] Blotted out in the original: "y Pedro de Alvarado."—G. G.

I must leave my story here and say that the historian, Gomara, states that he was told all that which he has written down. But I assert that these things happened as I have related them. Gomara is wrong in other things that he wrote because his informants did not give him a true account. However good the style may be in which he tells the story, so that all may appear to be true, I assert that all he says about this matter is wrong.

I will drop the subject now and go on to tell how the party of Diego Velásquez tried to stop the election of Córtés as captain, and to insist on our returning to the Island of Cuba.

CHAPTER XLIII.

How the party of Diego Velásquez tried to upset the powers we had given to Cortés, and what was done about it.

WHEN the partisans of Diego Velásquez realized the fact that we had chosen Cortés for our Captain and Chief Justice, and had founded a town and chosen the Alcaldes and Regidores, and appointed Pedro de Alvarado as captain [of expeditions] and named the Alguacil Mayor and Maestro de Campo and had done all that I have narrated, they were angry and furious and they began to excite factions and meetings and to use abusive language about Cortés and those of us who had elected him, saying that it was not right to do these things unless all the captains and soldiers who had come on the expedition had been parties to it; that Diego Velásquez had given Cortés no such powers, only authority to trade, and that we partisans of Cortés should take care that our insolence did not so increase as to bring us to blows. Then Cortés secretly told Juan de Escalante that we should make him produce the instructions given him by Diego Velásquez.

Upon this Cortés drew them from his bosom and gave them to the King's scribe to read aloud. In these instructions were the words: "As soon as you have gained all you can by trading, you will return," and the document was signed by Diego Velásquez and countersigned by his Secretary, Andrés de Duero. We begged Cortés to cause this document to be attached to the deed recording the power we had given him, as well as the proclamation which he issued in the Island of Cuba. And this was done so that his Majesty in Spain should know that all that we did was done in his royal service, and that they should not bring against us anything but the truth; and it was a good precaution, seeing how we were treated in Spain by Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for such were his titles) who, we knew for certain, took steps to destroy us as I shall tell later on.

After this was done, these same friends and dependents of Diego Velásquez returned to Cortés to say that it was not right that he should have been chosen Captain without their consent and that they did not wish to remain under his command, but to return at once to the Island of Cuba. Cortés replied that he would detain no one by force, and that to anyone who came to ask leave to return, he would willingly grant it, even although he were left alone. With this some of them were quieted, but not Juan Velásquez de Leon who was a relation of Diego Velásquez, and Diego de Ordás, and Escobar, whom we called the Page, for he had been brought up by Diego Velásquez, and Pedro Escudero and other friends of Diego Velásquez; and it came to this, that they refused all obedience to Cortés. With our assistance, Cortés determined to make prisoners of Juan Velásquez de Leon, and Diego de Ordás, and Escobar the Page, and Pedro Escudero and others whose names I do not remember, and we took care that the others should create no disturbance. These men re-

mained prisoners for some days, in chains and under guard.

I will go on to tell how Pedro de Alvarado made an expedition to a town in the neighbourhood. Here the chronicler, Gomara, in his history gives quite a wrong account of what happened, and whoever reads his history will see that his story is greatly exaggerated, had he been correctly informed he would have related what [really] took place.

CHAPTER XLIV.

How it was arranged to send Pedro de Alvarado inland to look for maize and other supplies and what else happened.

WHEN all that I have related had been settled and done with, it was arranged that Pedro de Alvarado should go inland to some towns which we had been told were near by and see what the country was like and bring back maize and some sort of supplies, for there was a great want of food in camp. Alvarado took one hundred soldiers with him, among them fifteen crossbowmen and six musketeers. More than half his soldiers were partisans of Diego Velásquez. All Cortés' party remained with him for fear there should be any further disturbance or tricks played or any rising against him, until things became more settled.

Alvarado went first to some small towns subject to another town called Cotastan,[1] where the language of Culua was spoken. This name, Culua, in this country means the common language of the partisans of Mexico and Montezuma; so that in all that country when Culua is mentioned, it means people vassal and subject to Mexico, and must be thus understood, just as we should speak of the Romans and their allies.

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[1] Cotaxtla.

When Pedro de Alvarado reached these towns he found that they had all been deserted that same day, and he found in the *cues* bodies of men and boys who had been sacrificed, and the walls and altars stained with blood and the hearts placed as offerings before the Idols. He also found the stones on which the sacrifices were made and the stone knives with which to open the chest so as to take out the heart.

Pedro de Alvarado said that he found most of the bodies without arms or legs, and that he was told by some Indians that they had been carried off to be eaten, and our soldiers were astounded at such great cruelty. I will not say any more of the number of sacrifices, although we found the same thing in every town we afterwards entered, and I will go back to Pedro de Alvarado and say that he found the towns well provisioned but deserted that very day by their inhabitants, so that he could not find more than two Indians to carry maize, and each soldier had to load himself with poultry and vegetables, and he returned to camp without doing any other damage (although he had good opportunity for doing it) because Cortés had given orders to that effect, so that there should be no repetition of what happened at Cozumel.

We were pleased enough in camp even with the little food that had been brought, for all evils and hardships disappear when there is plenty to eat.

Here it is that the historian, Gomara, says that Cortés went inland with four hundred soldiers. He was misinformed, for the first to go was [Alvarado] as I have stated here, and no other.

To go back to my story: As Cortés was most energetic in every direction, he managed to make friends with the partisans of Diego Velásquez, for, with that solvent of hardness, presents of gold from our store to some, and promises to others, he brought them over to his side, and

took them out of prison; all except Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, who were in irons on board ship. These, too, he let out of prison after a few days, and made good and true friends of them as will be seen further on,—and all through gold which is such a pacifier!

When everything had been settled, we arranged to go to the fortified town already mentioned by me, which was called Quiahuitztlan. The ships were to go to the rock and harbour which was opposite that town, about a league distant from it. I remember that as we marched along the coast we killed a large fish which had been thrown up high and dry by the sea. When we arrived at the river where Vera Cruz is now situated[1] we found the water to be deep, and we crossed over it in some broken canoes like troughs, and others crossed by swimming, or on rafts.

Then we came on some towns subject to the large town named Cempoala, whence came the five Indians with the golden labrets, who I have already said came as messengers to Cortés at the sand dunes, and whom we called *Lope luzios*. We found some idol houses and places of sacrifice, and blood splashed about, and incense used for fumigation and other things belonging to the idols, and stones with which they made the sacrifices, and parrots' feathers and many paper books doubled together in folds like Spanish cloth; but we found no Indians, they having already fled, for as they had never before seen men like us, nor horses, they were afraid.

We slept there that night, and went without supper, and next day, leaving the coast, we continued our march inland towards the west, without knowing the road we were taking, and we came on some good meadows called *savanas* where deer were grazing, and Pedro de Alvarado rode after one on his sorrel mare and struck at it with his

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[1] The third site, now known as La Antigua.

lance and wounded it, but it got away into the woods and could not be caught.

While this was happening we saw twelve Indians approaching, inhabitants of the farms where we had passed the night. They came straight from their Cacique, and brought fowls and maize cakes, and they said to Cortés, through our interpreters, that their chief had sent the fowls for us to eat, and begged us to come to his town, which was, according to the signs they made, distant one sun's (that is one day's) march.

Cortés thanked them and made much of them, and we continued our march and slept in another small town, where also many sacrifices had been made, but as my readers will be tired of hearing of the great number of Indian men and women whom we found sacrificed in all the towns and roads we passed, I shall go on with my story without stopping to say any more about them.

They gave us supper at the little town and we learnt that the road to Quiahuitztlan, which I have already said is a fortress, passed by Cempoala. I will go on to say how we entered Cempoala.

CHAPTER XLV.

How we entered Cempoala, which at that time was a very fine town and what happened to us there.

WE slept at the little town where the twelve Indians I have mentioned had prepared quarters for us, and after being well informed about the road which we had to take to reach the town on the hill, very early in the morning we sent word to the Caciques of Cempoala that we were coming to their town and that we hoped they would approve. Cortés sent six of the Indians with this message

and kept the other six as guides. He also ordered the guns, muskets and crossbows to be kept ready for use, and sent scouts on ahead on the look out, and the horsemen and all the rest of us were kept on the alert, and in this way we marched to within a league of the town. As we approached, twenty Indian chieftains came out to receive us in the name of the Cacique, and brought some cones made of the roses of the country with a delicious scent, which they gave to Cortés and those on horseback with every sign of friendliness, and they told Cortés that their Lord was awaiting us at our apartments, for, as he was a very stout and heavy man, he could not come out to receive us himself. Cortés thanked them and we continued our march, and as we got among the houses and saw what a large town it was, larger than any we had yet seen, we were struck with admiration. It looked like a garden with luxuriant vegetation, and the streets were so full of men and women who had come to see us, that we gave thanks to God at having discovered such a country.

Our scouts, who were on horseback, reached a great plaza with courts, where they had prepared our quarters, and it seems that during the last few days they had been whitewashed and burnished, a thing they knew well how to do, and it seemed to one of the scouts that this white surface which shone so brightly must be silver and he came back at full speed to tell Cortés that the walls of the houses were made of silver! Doña Marina and Aguilar said that it must be plaster or lime and we had a good laugh over the man's silver and excitement and always afterwards we told him that everything white looked to him like silver. I will leave our jokes and say that we reached the buildings, and the fat Cacique came out to receive us in the court. He was so fat that I shall call him by this name ; and he made deep obeisance to Cortés and fumigated him, as is their custom, and Cortés embraced

him and we were lodged in fine and large apartments that held us all, and they gave us food and brought some baskets of plums which were very plentiful at that season, and maize cakes, and as we arrived ravenous and had not seen so much food for a long time, we called the town Villa Viciosa; and others called it Sevilla.

Cortés gave orders that none of the soldiers should leave the plaza and that on no account should they give any offence to the Indians. When the fat Cacique heard that we had finished eating he sent to tell Cortés that he wished to come and visit him; and he came in company with a great number of Indian chieftains, all wearing large gold labrets and rich mantles. Cortés left his quarters to go out and meet them, and embraced the Cacique with great show of caressing and flattery, and the fat Cacique ordered a present to be brought which he had prepared, consisting of gold, jewels and cloths; but although it did not amount to much and was of little value he said to Cortés: "*Lope luzio, Lope luzio,* accept this in good part; if I had more I would give it to you!" I have already said that in the Totonac language *Lope luzio* means Señor or great lord.

Cortés replied through Doña Marina and Aguilar that he would pay for the gift in good works, and that if the Cacique would tell him what he wanted to be done that he would do it for them for we were the vassals of a great prince, the Emperor Don Carlos, who ruled over many kingdoms and countries, and had sent us to redress grievances and punish evil doers, and to put an end to human sacrifices. And he explained to them many things touching our holy religion. When the fat Cacique heard this, he sighed, and complained bitterly of the great Montezuma and his governors saying that he had recently been brought under his yoke; that all his golden jewels had been carried off, and he and his people were so grievously

oppressed, that they dared do nothing without Montezuma's orders, for he was the Lord over many cities and countries and ruled over countless vassals and armies of warriors.

As Cortés knew that he could not attend at that time to the complaints which they made, he replied that he would see to it that they were relieved of their burdens, that he was now on the way to visit his *Acales* (for so they call the ships in the Indian language) and take up his residence and make his headquarters in the town of Quiahuitztlan, and that as soon as he was settled there he would consider the matter more thoroughly. To this the fat Cacique replied that he was quite satisfied that it should be so.

The next morning we left Cempoala, and there were awaiting our orders over four hundred Indian carriers, who are here called *tamenes* who carry fifty pounds weight on their backs and march five leagues with it. When we saw so many Indians to carry burdens we rejoiced, as before this, those of us who had not brought Indians with us from Cuba had to carry knapsacks on our own backs. And only six or seven Cubans had been brought in the fleet, and not a great number as Gomara asserts. Doña Marina and Aguilar told us that in these parts in times of peace the Caciques are bound to furnish *tamenes* to carry burdens, as a matter of course, and from this time forward wherever we went we asked for Indians to carry loads.

Cortés took leave of the fat Cacique, and on the following day we set out on our march and slept at a little town which had been deserted near to Quiahuitztlan, and the people of Cempoala brought us food. The historian, Gomara, says that Cortés remained many days in Cempoala and planned a league and rebellion against Montezuma, but he was not correctly informed, because, as I have said, we left Cempoala on the following morning, and where the

rebellion was planned and what was the reason of it, I will relate further on.

I will pause here and go on to tell how we entered Quiahuitztlan.

CHAPTER XLVI.

How we entered Quiahuitztlan, which was a fortified town, and were peaceably received.

THE next day about ten o'clock we reached the fortified town called Quiahuitztlan, which stands amid great rocks and lofty cliffs and if there had been any resistance it would have been very difficult to capture it. Expecting that there would be fighting we kept a good formation with the artillery in front and marched up to the fortress in such a manner that if anything had happened we could have done our duty.

At this time, Alonzo de Ávila was acting as captain, and as he was arrogant and bad tempered, when a soldier named Hernando Alonzo de Villanueva failed to keep his place in the ranks, he gave him a thrust with a lance in his arm which maimed him; and after this Hernando Alonzo de Villanueva was always called "El Manquillo."[1] It will be said that I am always turning aside to tell old stories, so I must leave off and go on to say that we went half way through the town without meeting a single Indian to speak to, at which we were very much surprised, for they had fled in fear that very day when they had seen us climbing up to their houses. When we had reached the top of the fortress in the plaza near by where they had their *cues* and great idol houses, we saw fifteen Indians awaiting us all clad in good mantles, and each one with a brasier in his hand

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[1] El Manquillo = the one armed or the maimed.

containing incense, and they came to where Cortés was standing and fumigated him and all the soldiers who were standing near and with deep obeisances they asked pardon for not coming out to meet us, and assured us that we were welcome and asked us to rest. And they said that they had fled and kept out of the way until they could see what sort of things we were, for they were afraid of us and of our horses, but that night they would order all the people to come back to the town.

Cortés displayed much friendship toward them and told them many things about our holy religion ; this we were always in the habit of doing wherever we might go. And he told them that we were the vassals of our great Emperor, Don Carlos, and he gave them some green beads and other trifles from Spain, and they brought fowls and maize cakes. While we were talking, someone came to tell Cortés that the fat Cacique from Cempoala was coming in a litter carried on the shoulders of many Indian chieftains. When the fat Cacique arrived he, together with the Cacique and chiefs of the town addressed Cortés, relating their many causes of complaint against Montezuma and telling him of his great power, and this they did with such sighs and tears that Cortés and those who were standing with him were moved to pity. Besides relating the way that they had been brought into subjection, they told us that every year many of their sons and daughters were demanded of them for sacrifice, and others for service in the houses and plantations of their conquerors ; and they made other complaints which were so numerous that I do not remember them all ; but they said that Montezuma's tax gatherers carried off their wives and daughters if they were handsome and ravished them, and this they did throughout the land where the Totonac language was spoken, which contained over thirty towns.

Cortés consoled them as well as he was able through our

interpreters and said he would help them all he could, and would prevent these robberies and offences, as it was for that our lord the Emperor had sent us to these parts, and that they should have no anxiety, for they would soon see what we would do in the matter; and they seemed to gather some satisfaction from this assurance but their hearts were not eased on account of the great fear they had of the Mexicans.

While this conversation was going on, some Indians from the town came in great haste to tell the Caciques who were talking to Cortés, that five Mexicans, who were Montezuma's tax gatherers, had just arrived. When they heard the news they turned pale and trembled with fear, and leaving Cortés alone they went off to receive the Mexicans, and in the shortest possible time they had decked a room with flowers, and had food cooked for the Mexicans to eat, and prepared plenty of cacao, which is the best thing they have to drink.

When these five Indians entered the town, they came to the place where we were assembled, where were the houses of the Cacique and our quarters, and approaching us with the utmost assurance and arrogance, without speaking to Cortés or to any of us, they passed us by. Their cloaks and loin cloths were richly embroidered (for at that time they wore loin cloths), and their shining hair was gathered up as though tied on their heads, and each one was smelling the roses that he carried, and each had a crooked staff in his hand. Their Indian servants carried fly-whisks, and they were accompanied by many of the chief men of the other Totonac towns, who until they had shown them to their lodgings and brought them food of the best, never left them.

As soon as they had dined they sent to summon the fat Cacique and the other chiefs, and scolded them for entertaining us in their houses, for now they would have to

speak and deal with us which would not please their lord Montezuma; for without his permission and orders they should not have sheltered us, nor given us presents of golden jewels, and on this subject they uttered many threats against the fat Cacique and the other chiefs and ordered them at once to provide twenty Indians, men and women, to appease their gods for the wrong that had been done.

When he saw what was going on, Cortés asked our interpreters, Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar why the Caciques were so agitated since the arrival of those Indians, and who they were. Doña Marina who understood full well what had happened, told him what was going on; and then Cortés summoned the fat Cacique and the other chiefs, and asked them who these Indians were, and why they made such a fuss about them. They replied that they were the tax gatherers of the great Montezuma and that they had come to inquire why they had received us in their town without the permission of their lord, and that they now demanded twenty men and women to sacrifice to their god, Huichilobos, so that he would give them victory over us, for they [the tax gatherers] said that Montezuma had declared that he intended to capture and make slaves of us.

Cortés reassured them and bade them have no fear for he was here with all of us in his company and that he would chastise them [the tax gatherers].

In the next chapter I will tell in full what was done about it.

CHAPTER XLVII.

How Cortés ordered the five tax gatherers of Montezuma to be taken prisoners and gave out that from that time forward neither obedience nor tribute should be rendered to the Mexicans, and how the rebellion against Montezuma was started.

As soon as Cortés understood what the chiefs were telling him, he said that he had already explained to them that our lord the King had sent him to chastise evil doers and that he would not permit either sacrifice or robbery, and that as these tax gatherers had made this demand, he ordered them to make prisoners of them at once and to hold them in custody until their lord Montezuma should be told the reason, namely, how they had come to rob them and carry off their wives and children as slaves and commit other violence. When the Caciques heard this they were thunderstruck at such daring. What!—to order the messengers of the great Montezuma to be maltreated? They said that they were too much afraid, and did not dare to do it. But Cortés went on impressing on them that the messengers should be thrown into prison at once, and so it was done, and in such a way that with some long poles and collars (such as are in use among them) they secured them so that they could not escape, and they flogged one of them who would not allow himself to be bound. Then Cortés ordered all the Caciques to pay no more tribute or obedience to Montezuma, and to make proclamation to that effect in all their friendly and allied towns, and if any tax gatherers came to their other towns, to inform him of it, and he would send for them. So the news was known throughout that province, for the fat Cacique promptly sent messengers to spread the tidings, and the chiefs who had come in company with the tax gatherers, as soon as they had seen them taken prisoners,

noised it abroad, for each one returned to his own town to deliver the order and relate what had happened.

When they witnessed deeds so marvellous and of such importance to themselves they said that no human beings would dare to do such things, and that it was the work of Teules, for so they call the idols which they worship, and for this reason from that time forth, they called us Teules, which, as I have already explained, is as much as to say that we were either gods or demons. When in the course of my story I may use the word *Teule* in matters connected with our persons, let it be understood that we (Spaniards) are meant.

I must go back to tell about the prisoners. It was the advice of all the Caciques that they should be sacrificed so that none of them could return to Mexico to tell the story; but when Cortés heard this he said that they should not be killed, and that he would take charge of them, and he set some of our soldiers to guard them. At midnight, Cortés sent for these soldiers who were in charge and said to them: "See to it that two of the prisoners are loosened [the two] that appear to you the most intelligent, in such a way that the Indians of this town shall know nothing about it." And he told them to bring the prisoners to his lodging. When the prisoners came before him, he asked them through our interpreters why they were prisoners and what country they came from, as though he knew nothing about them. They replied that the Caciques of Cempoala and of this town, with the aid of their followers and ours, had imprisoned them, and Cortés answered that he knew nothing about it, and was sorry for it, and he ordered food to be brought them and talked in a very friendly manner to them, and told them to return at once to their lord Montezuma and tell him that we were all his good friends and entirely at his service, and that lest any harm should happen to them he had taken them from their prison, and

had quarrelled with the Caciques who had seized them and that anything he could do to serve them he would do with the greatest good will, and that he would order the three Indians their companions who were still held prisoners to be freed and protected. That they two should go away at once and not turn back to be captured and killed.

The two prisoners replied that they valued his mercy and said they still had fear of falling into the hands of their enemies, as they were obliged to pass through their territory. So Cortés ordered six sailors to take them in a boat during the night a distance of four leagues and set them on friendly ground beyond the frontier of Cempoala. When the morning came and the Caciques of the town and the fat Cacique found that the two prisoners were missing they were all the more intent on sacrificing those that remained, if Cortés had not put it out of their power and pretended to be enraged at the loss of the two who had escaped. He ordered a chain to be brought from the ships and bound the prisoners to it, and then ordered them to be taken on board ship, saying that he himself would guard them, as such bad watch had been kept over the others. When they were once on board he ordered them to be freed from their chains and with friendly words he told them that he would soon send them back to Mexico.

I must leave this subject and say that when this was done, all the Caciques of this town and of Cempoala, and all the other Totonac chiefs who had assembled, asked Cortés what was to be done, and that all the force of the great Montezuma and of Mexico would descend upon them and they could not escape death and destruction.

Cortés replied with the most cheerful countenance that he and his brothers who were here with him would defend them and would kill anyone who wished to molest them. Then the Caciques and other townsmen vowed one and all

that they would stand by us in everything we ordered them to do and would join their forces [with ours] against Montezuma and all his allies. Then, in the presence of Diego de Godoy, the scribe, they pledged obedience to his Majesty and messengers were sent to relate all that had happened to the other towns in that province. And as they no longer paid any tribute and no more tax gatherers appeared there was no end to the rejoicing at being rid of that tyranny.

Now, I will leave this incident and tell how we agreed to descend to the plain to some fields where we began to build a fort. This is what really took place and not the story that was told to the historian Gomara.[1]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

How we determined to found "La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz" and to build a fort in some meadows near the salt marshes, and close to the harbour with the ugly name [Bernal] where our ships were at anchor, and what we did there.

AS soon as we had made this federation and friendship with more than twenty of the hill towns, known as [the towns of] the Totonacs, which at this time rebelled against the great Montezuma, and gave their allegiance to His Majesty, and offered to serve us—we determined with their ready help at once to found the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz on a plain half a league from this fortress-like town, called Quiahuitztlan, and we laid out plans of a church, market-place and arsenals, and all those things that are needed for a town, and we built a fort, and from the laying of the foundations until the walls were high enough to receive

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[1] Blotted out in the original MS. "No matter how eloquently he may relate it."—G. G.

the woodwork, loopholes, watch-towers, and barbicans, we worked with the greatest haste.

Cortés himself was the first to set to work to carry out the earth and stone on his back, and to dig foundations, and all his captains and soldiers followed his example; and we kept on labouring [without pause] so as to finish the work quickly, some of us digging foundations and others building walls,[1] carrying water, working in the lime kilns, making bricks and tiles, or seeking for food. Others worked at the timber, and the blacksmiths, for we had two blacksmiths with us, made nails. In this way we all laboured without ceasing, from the highest to the lowest; the Indians helping us, so that the church and some of the houses were soon built and the fort almost finished.

While we were thus at work, it seems that the great Montezuma heard the news in Mexico about the capture of his tax gatherers and the rebellion against his rule, and how the Totonac towns had withdrawn their allegiance and risen in revolt. He showed much anger against Cortés and all of us, and had already ordered a great army of warriors to make war on the people who had rebelled against him, and not to leave a single one of them alive. He was also getting ready to come against us with a great army with many companies.

Just at this moment there arrived two Indian prisoners whom Cortés had ordered to be set free, as I have related in the last chapter, and when Montezuma knew that it was Cortés who had taken them out of prison and had sent them to Mexico,—and when he heard the words and promises which he had sent them to report, it pleased our Lord God that his anger was appeased, and he resolved to send and gather news of us. For this purpose he despatched his two young nephews under the charge of four old men

[1] Tapias = walls made of earth stamped into a mould.

who were Caciques of high rank, and sent with them a present of gold and cloth, and told his messengers to give thanks to Cortés for freeing his servants.

On the other hand, he sent many complaints, saying that it was owing to our protection that those towns had dared to commit such a great treason as to refuse to pay him tribute and to renounce their allegiance to him, and that now, having respect for what he knew to be true—that we were those whom his ancestors had foretold were to come to their country, and must therefore be of his own lineage, how was it that we were living in the houses of these traitors? He did not at once send to destroy them, but the time would come when they would not brag of such acts of treason.

Cortés accepted the gold and the cloth, which was worth more than two thousand dollars, and he embraced the envoys and gave as an excuse that he and all of us were very good friends of the Lord Montezuma, and that it was as his servant that he still kept guard over the three tax gatherers, and he sent at once to have them brought from the ships—where they had been well treated and well clothed, and he delivered them up to the messengers.

Then Cortés, on his part, complained greatly of Montezuma, and told the envoys how the Governor, Pitalpitoque, had left the camp one night without giving him notice, which was not well done and that he believed and felt certain that the Lord Montezuma had not authorized any such meanness, and that it was on account of this that we had come to these towns where we were now residing and where we had been well treated by the inhabitants. And he prayed him to pardon the disrespect of which the people had been guilty. As to what he said about the people no longer paying tribute, they could not serve two masters and during the time we had been there they had rendered service to us in the name of our Lord and King; but

as he, Cortés, and all his brethren were on their way to visit him, and place themselves at his service, that when we were once there, then his commands would be attended to.

When this conversation and more of the same nature was over, Cortés ordered blue and green glass beads to be given to the two youths, who were Caciques of high rank, and to the four old men who had come in charge of them, who were also chieftains of importance, and paid them every sign of honour. And as there were some good meadows in the neighbourhood, Cortés ordered Pedro de Alvarado who had a good and very handy sorrel mare, and some of the other horsemen, to gallop and skirmish before the Caciques, who were delighted at the sight of their galloping, and they then took leave of Cortés and of all of us well contented, and returned to Mexico.

About this time Cortés' horse died, and he bought or was given another called "El Arriero," a dark chestnut which belonged to Ortiz, the musician, and Bartolomé Garcia, the miner; it was one of the best of the horses that came in the fleet.

I must stop talking about this, and relate that as these towns of the sierra, our allies, and the town of Cempoala had hitherto been very much afraid of the Mexicans, believing that the great Montezuma would send his great army of warriors to destroy them, when they saw the kinsmen of the great Montezuma arriving with the presents I have mentioned, and paying such marked respect to Cortés and to all of us, they were fairly astounded and the Caciques said to one another that we must be Teules for Montezuma had fear of us, and had sent us presents of gold. If we already had reputation for valour, from this time forth it was greatly increased. But I must leave off here and go on to say what the fat Cacique and his friends were about.

CHAPTER XLIX.

How the fat Cacique and other chieftains came to complain to Cortés, that in a fortified town named Cingapacinga,[1] there was a garrison of Mexicans which did them much damage, and what was done about it.

As soon as the Mexican messengers had departed, the fat Cacique with many other friendly chieftains, came to beg Cortés to go at once to a town named Cingapacinga, two days' journey from Cempoala (that is about eight or nine leagues)—as there were many warriors of the Culuas, or Mexicans, assembled there, who were destroying their crops and plantations, and were waylaying and ill-treating their vassals, and doing other injuries. Cortés believed the story as they told it so earnestly. He had promised that he would help them, and would destroy the Culuas and other Indians who might annoy them, and noting with what importunity they pressed their complaints, he did not know what to answer them, unless it were to say that he would willingly go, or send some soldiers under one of us, to turn these Mexicans out. As he stood there thinking the matter over, he said laughingly to some of us companions who were with him: "Do you know, gentlemen, that it seems to me that we have already gained a great reputation for valour throughout this country and that from what they saw us do in the matter of Montezuma's tax-gatherers, the people here take us for gods or beings like their idols. I am thinking that so as to make them believe that one of us is enough to defeat those Indian warriors, their enemies, who they say are occupying the town with the fortress, that we will send Heredia against

[1] Not marked on the modern maps. Orozco y Berra (vol. iv, p. 163) says that it no longer exists, but that he found it marked in a MS. map of Patiño under the name of Tizapanecingo, eight or nine leagues N.W. of Cempoala.

them." Now, this old man was a Biscayan musketeer who had a bad twitch in his face, a big beard, a face covered with scars, and was blind of one eye and lame of one leg.

Cortés sent for him and said: "Go with these Caciques to the river which is a quarter of a league distant, and when you get there, stop to drink and wash your hands, and fire a shot from your musket, and then I will send to call you back. I want this to be done because the people here think that we are gods, or at least they have given us that name and reputation, and as you are ugly enough, they will believe that you are an idol." Heredia did what he was told, for he was an intelligent and clever man who had been a soldier in Italy, and Cortés sent for the fat Cacique and the other chieftains, who were waiting for his help and assistance, and said to them: "I am sending this brother of mine with you to kill or expel all the Culuas from this town you speak of, and to bring me here as prisoners all who refuse to leave." The Caciques were surprised when they heard this and did not know whether to believe it or not, but seeing that Cortés never changed his face, they believed that what he told them was true. So old Heredia shouldered his musket and set out with them, and he fired shots into the air as he went through the forest so that the Indians might see and hear him. And the Caciques sent word to the other towns that they were bringing along a Teule to kill all the Mexicans who were in Cingapacinga. I tell this story here merely as a laughable incident, and to show the wiles of Cortés. When Cortés knew that Heredia had reached the river that he had been told about, he sent in haste to call him back, and when old Heredia and the Caciques had returned, he told them that on account of the good will he bore them that he, Cortés himself, would go in person with some of his brethren to afford them the help they needed and visit the country and fortresses; and he ordered them

at once to bring one hundred Indian carriers to transport the *tepusques*, that is, the cannon, and they came early the next morning, and we set out that same day with four hundred men and fourteen horsemen, and crossbowmen and musketeers who were all ready. Certain soldiers belonging to the party of Diego Velásquez refused to go and told Cortés that he could set out with those who were willing, but that they wished to go back to Cuba.

What was done about this I will tell in the next chapter.

CHAPTER L.

How certain soldiers, partisans of Diego Velásquez, seeing that we positively intended to make settlements, and establish peace in the towns, said that they did not want to go on any expedition, but wished to return to the Island of Cuba.

YOU have already heard me tell in the preceding chapter how Cortés had undertaken to go to a town named Cingapacinga, and take with him four hundred soldiers and fourteen horsemen and musketeers and crossbowmen, and we took good care to make certain soldiers of the party of Diego Velásquez go with us. When the officers went to warn them to get their arms ready, and those who had them to bring their horses, they answered haughtily that they did not want to go on any expedition but back to their farms and estates in Cuba; that they had already lost enough through Cortés having enticed them from their homes, and that he had promised them on the sand dunes that whosoever might wish to leave, that he would give them permission to do so and a ship and stores for the voyage; and for that reason there were now seven soldiers all ready to return to Cuba. When Cortés heard this he sent to summon these men before him, and when he asked them why they were doing such a mean thing they replied

somewhat indignantly and said that they wondered at his honour, with so few soldiers under his command, wishing to settle in a place where there were reported to be such thousands of Indians and such great towns; that as for themselves, they were invalids and could hardly crawl from one place to another and that they wished to return to their homes and estates in Cuba, and they asked him to grant them leave to depart as he had promised that he would do. Cortés answered them gently that it was true that he had promised it, but that they were not doing their duty in deserting from their captain's flag. And then he ordered them to embark at once without any delay and assigned a ship to them and ordered them to be furnished with cassava bread and a jar of oil and such other supplies as we possessed.

One of these soldiers, a certain Moron, a native of the town of Bayamo, owned a good dappled (gray) horse, with stockinged fore-feet, and he sold it a good bargain to Juan Ruano in exchange for some property which Juan Ruano had left in Cuba.

When these people were ready to set sail, all of us comrades, and the Alcaldes and Regidores of our town of Villa Rica, went and begged Cortés on no account to allow anyone to leave the country, for, in the interest of the service of our Lord God and His Majesty, any person asking for such permission should be considered as deserving the punishment of death, in accordance with military law, as a deserter from his captain and his flag in time of war and peril, especially in this case when, as they had stated, we were surrounded by such a great number of towns peopled by Indian warriors.

Cortés acted as though he wished to give them leave to depart, but in the end he revoked the permission and they remained baffled, and even ashamed of themselves; however Moron had sold his horse and Juan Ruano, who

had possession of it, did not want to give it back again; but Cortés arranged all this and we set out on our expedition to Cingapacinga.

CHAPTER LI.

What happened to us at Cingapacinga, and how, on our return by way of Cempoala, we demolished the idols; and other things that happened.

As soon as the seven men who wished to return to Cuba had calmed down, we set out with the force of horsemen and foot soldiers already mentioned, and slept that night at the town of Cempoala. Two thousand Indian warriors divided into four commands, were all ready to accompany us, and on the first day we marched five leagues in good order. The next day, a little after dusk[1] we arrived at some farms near to the town of Cingapacinga, and the natives of the town heard the news of our coming. When we had already begun the ascent to the fortress and houses which stood amid great cliffs and crags, eight Indian chieftains and priests came out to meet us peacefully and asked Cortés with tears, why he wished to kill and destroy them when they had done nothing to deserve it; that we had the reputation of doing good to all and of relieving those who had been robbed, and we had imprisoned the tax gatherers of Montezuma; that these Cempoala Indians who accompanied us were hostile to them on account of old enmities over the land claims and boundaries, and under our protection they had come to kill and rob them. It was true, they said, that there was formerly a Mexican garrison in the town, but that they had left for their own country a few days earlier when they heard that we had

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[1] A poco mas de Visperas.

taken the other tax gatherers prisoners, and they prayed us not to let the matter go any further, but to grant them protection. When Cortés thoroughly understood what they had said through our interpreters, Doña Marina and Aguilar, without delay he ordered Captain Pedro de Alvarado, and the quartermaster Cristovól de Olid, and all of us comrades who were with him, to restrain the Indians of Cempoala and prevent them from advancing; and this we did. But although we made haste to stop them, they had already begun to loot the farms. This made Cortés very angry and he sent for the captains who had command of the Cempoala warriors, and with angry words and serious threats, he ordered them to bring the Indian men and women and cloths and poultry that they had stolen from the farms, and forbade any Cempoala Indian to enter the town, and said that for having lied and for having come under our protection merely to rob and sacrifice their neighbours, they were deserving of death, and that our Lord and King, whose servants we were, had not sent us to these countries to commit such indignities, and that they should keep their eyes wide open in order that such a thing did not happen again, otherwise he would not leave one of them alive. Then the Caciques and captains of the Cempoalans brought to Cortés everything they had seized, both Indian men and women and poultry, and he gave them all back to their owners and with a face full of wrath he turned [to the Cempoalans] and ordered them to retire and sleep in the fields—and this they did.

When the caciques and priests[1] of that town saw how just we were [in our dealings] and heard the affectionate words that Cortés spoke to them through our interpreters, including matters concerning our holy religion which it was always our custom to explain, and his advice to them

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[1] Papas.

to give up human sacrifices and robbing one another, and the filthy practice of sodomy, and the worship of their cursed Idols, and much other good counsel which he gave them, they showed such good will towards us that they at once sent to call together the people of the neighbouring towns, and all gave their fealty to his Majesty.

They soon began to utter many complaints against Montezuma, just as the people of Cempoala had done when we were at the town of Quiahuitztlan. On the next morning Cortés sent to summon the captains and caciques of Cempoala, who were waiting in the fields to know what we should order them to do, and still in terror of Cortés on account of the lies they had told him. When they came before him he made them make friends with the people of the town, a pact which was never broken by any of them.

Then we set out for Cempoala by another road and passed through two towns friendly to Cingapacinga, where we rested, for the sun was very hot and we were wearied with carrying our arms on our backs. A soldier, (a something) de Mora, a native of Ciudad-Rodrigo, took two chickens from an Indian house in one of the towns, and Cortés who happened to see it, was so enraged at that soldier for stealing chickens in a friendly town before his very eyes, that he immediately ordered a halter to be put around his neck, and he would have been hanged there if Pedro de Alvarado, who chanced to be near Cortés, had not cut the halter with his sword when the poor soldier was half dead. I call this story to mind here to show my curious readers, and even the priests who nowadays have charge of administering the holy sacraments and teaching the doctrine to the natives of the country, that because the poor soldier stole two fowls in a friendly town, it nearly cost him his life, so that they can see how one ought to act towards the Indians, and not seize their

property. This same soldier was killed later on in a battle fought on a rocky height in the province of Guatemala.

To go on with my story—when we had left those towns in peace and continued our march towards Cempoala, we met the fat cacique and other chiefs waiting for us in some huts with food, for although they were Indians, they saw and understood that justice is good and sacred, and that the words Cortés had spoken to them, that we had come to right wrongs and abolish tyranny, were in conformity with what had happened on that expedition, and they were better affected towards us than ever before.

We slept the night in those huts, and all the caciques bore us company all the way to our quarters in their town. They were really anxious that we should not leave their country, as they were fearful that Montezuma would send his warriors against them, and they said to Cortés that as we were already their friends, they would like to have us for brothers, and that it would be well that we should take from their daughters, so as to have children by them ; and to cement our friendship, they brought eight damsels, all of them daughters of caciques, and gave one of these cacicas, who was the niece of the fat cacique, to Cortés ; and one, who was the daughter of another great cacique, (called Cuesco in their language,) was given to Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero. All eight of them were clothed in the rich garments of the country, beautifully ornamented as is their custom. Each one of them had a golden collar around her neck and golden ear-rings in her ears, and they came accompanied by other Indian girls who were to serve as their maids. When the fat cacique presented them, he said to Cortés : "Tecle, (which in their language means Lord)—these seven women are for your captains, and this one, who is my niece, is for you, and she is the señora of towns and vassals." Cortés received them with a cheerful countenance and thanked the caciques for the gift, but he

said that before we could accept them and become brothers, they must get rid of those idols which they believed in and worshipped, and which kept them in darkness, and must no longer offer sacrifices to them, and that when he could see those cursed things thrown to the ground and an end put to sacrifices that then our bonds of brotherhood would be most firmly tied. He added that these damsels must become Christians before we could receive them, and the people must free themselves from sodomy, for there were boys dressed like women who went about for gain by that cursed practice, and every day we saw sacrificed before us three, four or five Indians whose hearts were offered to the idols and their blood plastered on the walls, and the feet, arms and legs of the victims were cut off and eaten, just as in our country we eat beef brought from the butchers. I even believe that they sell it by retail in the *tianguez*[1] as they call their markets. Cortés told them that if they gave up these evil deeds and no longer practiced them, not only would we be their friends, but we would make them lords over other provinces. All the caciques, priests, and chiefs replied that it did not seem to them good to give up their idols and sacrifices and that these gods of theirs gave them health and good harvests and everything of which they had need; and that as for sodomy, measures would be taken to put a stop to it so that it should no longer be practiced.

When Cortés and all of us who had seen so many cruelties and infamies which I have mentioned heard that disrespectful answer, we could not stand it, and Cortés spoke to us about it and reminded us of certain good and holy doctrines and said: "How can we ever accomplish anything worth doing if for the honour of God we do not first abolish these sacrifices made to idols?" and he told us

[1] Tianguiz or Tianguiztli.

to be all ready to fight should the Indians try to prevent us ; but even if it cost us our lives the idols must come to the ground that very day. We were all armed ready for a fight as it was ever our custom to be so, and Cortés told the caciques that the idols must be overthrown. When they saw that we were in earnest, the fat cacique and his captains told all the warriors to get ready to defend their idols, and when they saw that we intended to ascend a lofty *cue*—which was their temple—which stood high and was approached by many steps,—I cannot remember how many (steps there were)—the fat cacique and the other chieftains were beside themselves with fury and called out to Cortés to know why he wanted to destroy their idols, for if we dishonoured them and overthrew them, that they would all perish and we along with them. Cortés answered them in an angry tone, that he had already told them that they should offer no more sacrifices to those evil images ; that our reason for removing them was that they should no longer be deluded, and that either they, themselves, must remove the idols at once, or we should throw them out and roll them down the steps, and he added that we were no longer their friends but their mortal enemies, for he had given them good advice which they would not believe ; besides he had seen their companies come armed for battle and he was angry with them and would make them pay for it by taking their lives.

When the Indians saw Cortés uttering these threats, and our interpreter Doña Marina knew well how to make them understood, and even threatened them with the power of Montezuma which might fall on them any day, out of fear of all this they replied that they were not worthy to approach their gods, and that if we wished to overthrow them it was not with their consent, but that we could overthrow them and do what we chose.

The words were hardly out of their mouths before more

than fifty of us soldiers had clambered up [to the temple] and had thrown down their idols which came rolling down the steps shattered to pieces. The idols looked like fearsome dragons, as big as calves, and there were other figures half men and half great dogs of hideous appearance. When they saw their idols broken to pieces the caciques and priests who were with them wept and covered their eyes, and in the Totonac tongue they prayed their gods to pardon them, saying that the matter was no longer in their hands and they were not to blame, but these Teules who had overthrown them, and that they did not attack us on account of the fear of the Mexicans.

When this was over the captains of the Indian warriors who, as I have said, had come ready to attack us, began to prepare to shoot arrows at us, and when we saw this, we laid our hands on the fat cacique and the six priests and some other chiefs, and Cortés cried out that on the least sign of hostility they would all be killed. Then the fat cacique commanded his men to retire from our front and not attempt to fight, and when Cortés saw them calmed, he made them a speech which I will record later on, and thus they were all pacified.

This affair of Cingapacinga was the first expedition made by Cortés in New Spain, and it was very successful, and we did not, as the historian Gómara says, kill and capture and destroy thousands of men in this affair at Cingapacinga, and he who reads this can see how far one story differs from the other, and however good the style of his history may be, nothing is set down as it really happened.

CHAPTER LII.

How Cortés had an altar made and set up an image of Our Lady and a Cross, and how mass was said and the eight Indian damsels were baptized.

WHEN the Caciques, priests and chieftains were silenced, Cortés ordered all the idols which we had overthrown and broken to pieces to be taken out of sight and burned. Then eight priests who had charge of the idols came out of a chamber and carried them back to the house whence they had come, and burned them. These priests wore black cloaks like cassocks and long gowns reaching to their feet, and some had hoods like those worn by canons, and others had smaller hoods like those worn by Dominicans, and they wore their hair very long, down to the waist, with some even reaching down to the feet, covered with blood and so matted together that it could not be separated, and their ears were cut to pieces by way of sacrifice, and they stank like sulphur, and they had another bad smell like carrion, and as they said, and we learnt that it was true, these priests were the sons of chiefs and they abstained from women, but they indulged in the cursed practice of sodomy, and they fasted on certain days, and what I saw them eat was the pith or seeds of cotton when the cotton was being cleaned, but they may have eaten other things which I did not see.

Let us leave the priests and go back to Cortés who made them a good speech through our interpreters, Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, and told them that now we would treat them as brothers and would help them all we could against Montezuma and his Mexicans, and we had already sent to tell him not to make war on them or levy tribute, and that as now they were not to have any more idols in their lofty temples he wished to leave with them

a great lady who was the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ whom we believe in and worship, and that they too should hold her for Lady and intercessor, and about this matter and others which were mentioned he made them an excellent discourse, so concisely reasoned, considering the time at his disposal, that there was nothing left to be said. He told them many things about our holy religion as well stated as only a priest could do it nowadays, so that it was listened to with good will. Then he ordered all the Indian masons in the town to bring plenty of lime so as to clean the place and he told them to clear away the blood which encrusted the cues and to clean them thoroughly. The next day when they were whitewashed, an altar was set up with very good altar cloths and he told the Indians to bring many of the roses which grew in the country and are very sweet-scented, and branches of flowers, and told the people to adorn the altar with garlands and always keep the place swept and clean. He then ordered four of the priests to have their hair shorn, for, as I have already said, they wore it long, and to change their garments and clothe themselves in white, and always keep themselves clean, and he placed them in charge of the altar and of that sacred image of our Lady, with orders to keep the place swept clean and decked with flowers. So that it should be well looked after, he left there as hermit one of our soldiers named Juan de Torres de Córdoba, who was old and lame. He ordered our carpenters, whose names I have already given, to make a cross and place it on a stone support which we had already built and plastered over.

The next morning, mass was celebrated at the altar by Padre Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, and then an order was given to fumigate the holy image of Our Lady and the sacred cross with the incense of the country, and we showed them how to make candles of the native wax and ordered these candles always to be kept burning on the altar, for

up to that time they did not know how to use the wax. The most important chieftains of that town and of others who had come together, were present at the Mass.

At the same time the eight Indian damsels were brought to be made Christians, for they were still in the charge of their parents and uncles and they were given to understand that they must not offer more sacrifices, nor worship idols, but believe in our Lord God. And they were admonished about many things touching our holy religion and were then baptized. The niece of the fat Cacique was named Doña Catalina, and she was very ugly; she was led by the hand and given to Cortés who received her and tried to look pleased. The daughter of the great Cacique, Cuesco, was named Doña Francisca, she was very beautiful for an Indian, and Cortés gave her to Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero. I cannot now recall to mind the names of the other six, but I know that Cortés gave them to different soldiers. When this had been done, we took leave of all the Caciques and chieftains who from that time forward always showed us good will, especially when they saw that Cortés received their daughters and that we took them away with us, and after Cortés had repeated his promises of assistance [against their enemies] we set out for our town of Villa Rica.

What happened there I will speak of later on. This, however, is the true account of what took place in the town of Cempoala, and differs from the stories told by Gómara and the other historians which are all stuff and nonsense.

CHAPTER LIII.

How we returned to Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and what happened there.

AFTER we had finished our expedition and the people of Cempoala and Cingapacinga had been reconciled to one another, and the other neighbouring towns had given their fealty to His Majesty, and the idols had been overturned and the image of Our Lady and the Holy Cross set up in their place, and the old soldier placed in charge as hermit, and all the other things that I have told about had happened, we returned to our settlement and took with us certain chieftains from Cempoala. On the day of our arrival there came into port a ship from the Island of Cuba, under the command of Francisco de Saucedo, whom we called *El Pulido*.[1] We called him this from his excessive pride in his good looks and elegance. They say that he was a native of Medina Rio Seco, and had been *Maestresala*[2] to the Admiral of Castille.

At the same time there arrived Luis Marin (a man of great merit who was afterwards a captain in the expedition against Mexico) and ten soldiers. Saucedo brought a horse, and Luis Marin a mare; and they brought from Cuba the news that the decree had reached Diego Velásquez from Spain giving him authority to trade and found settlements, at which his friends were greatly rejoiced, all the more when they learned that he had received his commission appointing him Adelantado of Cuba.

Being in that town without any plans beyond finishing the fort, for we were still at work on it, most of us soldiers suggested to Cortés to let the fort stand as it was, for a

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[1] The elegant.

[2] *Maestresala*, the chief waiter at a nobleman's table.

memorial, (it was just ready to be roofed), for we had already been over three months in the country and it seemed to us better to go and see what this great Montezuma might be like and to earn an honest living and make our fortune ; but that before we started on our journey we should send our salutations to His Majesty, the Emperor, and give him an account of all that had happened since we left the Island of Cuba. It also began to be debated whether we should send to His Majesty all the gold that we had received, both what we had got from barter, as well as the presents that Montezuma had sent us. Cortés replied that it was a very wise decision and that he had already talked to some of the gentlemen about it, and that as perchance in this matter of the gold there might be some soldiers who wished to keep their shares, and if it were divided up there would be very little to send, that for this reason he had appointed Diego de Ordás and Francisco de Montejo who were good men of business, to go from soldier to soldier among those whom it was suspected would demand their share of the gold, and say these words: "Sirs, you already know that we wish to send His Majesty a present of the gold which we have obtained here, and as it is the first [treasure] that we are sending from this land it ought to be much greater; it seems to us that we should all place at his service the portions that fall to our share. We gentlemen and soldiers who have here written our names have signed as not wishing to take anything, but to give it all voluntarily to His Majesty, so that he may bestow favours on us. If anyone wishes for his share it will not be refused him, but whoever renounces it let him do as we have all done, and sign here."

In this way they all signed to a man. When this was settled, Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero and Francisco de Montejo were chosen as proctors to go to Spain, for Cortés had already given them over two thousand dollars to keep

them in his interest. The best ship in the fleet was got ready, and two pilots were appointed, one of them being Anton de Alaminos, who knew the passage through the Bahama Channel, for he was the first man to sail through it, and fifteen sailors were told off, and a full supply of ship's stores given to them. When everything was ready, we agreed to write to tell His Majesty all that had happened. Cortés wrote on his own account, so he told us, an accurate narrative of the events, but we did not see his letter.

The Cabildo[1] wrote a letter jointly with ten of the soldiers from among those who wished to settle in the land and had appointed Cortés as their general, and the letter was drawn up with great accuracy so that nothing was omitted, and I put my signature to it; and besides these letters and narratives, all the captains and soldiers together wrote another letter and narrative, and what was contained in the letter which we wrote is as follows:

CHAPTER LIV.

The narrative and letter which we sent to His Majesty by our proctors, Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, which letter was signed by a number of the Captains and soldiers.

AFTER beginning with the expressions of well deserved respect which were due from us to the great Majesty of the Emperor our Lord, for such his Catholic Christian Royal Majesty was, and after adding other matters which it was appropriate to state in a narrative and account of our doings and voyage, each chapter by itself, there followed this, which I will here briefly recapitulate. How we sailed from

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[1] Cabildo—Municipality, the alguaciles, etc., already mentioned.

the Island of Cuba with Hernando Cortés; and the proclamations which were made; how we intended coming to settle, but that Diego Velásquez was secretly minded to trade and not to settle. How Cortés wished to return with certain gold gained by barter in accordance with the instructions that he brought from Diego Velásquez which we have submitted to His Majesty. How we insisted on Cortés forming a settlement, and chose him as Captain General and Chief Justice, until His Majesty might please to order otherwise. How we promised him [Cortés] the fifth of what should be obtained, after the Royal fifth had been deducted. How we arrived at Cozumel and by what chance Jerónimo de Aguilar happened to be at Cape Catoche, and about the way he said that he got there, he and a certain Gonzalo Guerrero, who remained with the Indians because he was married and had children and had already become like an Indian. How we arrived at Tabasco, and of the war they waged against us, and the battle we fought with them, and how we brought them to peace. How that wherever we went excellent discourses were addressed to them [the Indians] to induce them to abandon their Idols, and matters concerning our Holy faith were explained to them. How they gave their fealty to His Royal Majesty, and became the first vassals that he has in these parts. How they [the Indians] brought a present of women, and among them a Cacica, for an Indian a woman of great importance, who knew the Mexican language, which is the language used throughout the country and that with her and Aguilar we possessed reliable interpreters. How we landed at San Juan de Ulúa, and about the speeches of the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, and who the Great Montezuma was and what was said about his greatness, and about the present that they brought. How we went to Cempoala, which is a large town, and thence to another town named Quiahuitztlan, which is fortified, and how in

that town an alliance and confederation was made with us and more than thirty towns withdrew their obedience from Montezuma, and all gave their fealty to His Majesty and are now part of his Royal possessions. The expedition to Cingapacinga, how we made a fortress, and that we are now on the road to the interior of the country to see Montezuma himself. How this country is very large with many cities and thickly peopled and the natives are great warriors. How there is a great diversity of languages among them and they make war one against the other. How they are idolators and kill and sacrifice many men, women and children, and eat human flesh and practice other iniquities. How the first discoverer was Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and Juan de Grijalva came soon after and that now at the present time we offer him [His Majesty] the gold that we have gained, that is, the golden sun and silver moon and a helmet full of gold in grains as they take it from the mines, many different kinds of golden articles shaped in various ways, and cotton cloths much embroidered with feathers, of great excellence, and many other golden objects such as fly whisks and shields, and other things which, as so many years have already gone by, I cannot now call to mind. We also present four Indians whom we liberated in Cempoala whom they had kept in wooden cages to fatten, so that when they were fat they might be sacrificed and eaten. After giving the report of this and other things, we gave an account and narration of how we, four hundred and fifty soldiers in these his Majesty's dominions, were placed in very great danger among such a great number of towns, and such quarrelsome people and such great warriors, in order to serve God and His Royal Crown, and we begged him to show us favour in all that we might need, and that he would not grant the government of these countries or crown offices to any person whatever, for they are of such quality

and so rich with such great towns and cities, that they are suitable for an *Infante* or Great Lord, and we are thinking that as Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, is President of the Council and rules all the Indies, that he will give it [the government] to some relation of his own or to some friend, especially to one Diego Velásquez who is governor of the Island of Cuba, and the reason why he will give him the government or any other office, is that he [Diego Velásquez] is always giving him presents of gold and has set apart for him in this same island, townships of Indians to get out the gold from the mines, and from among these he ought first of all to have given the best to the Royal Crown, but he did not set aside one of them, and on this account he is not worthy to receive favours. As in all things, we are his [Majesty's] most loyal servants, and are ready to lay down our lives in his service, we inform him of this so that he may know all about it and we are determined that until he has deigned to permit our proctors, whom we are sending, to kiss his feet, and has seen our letter, and until we see his Royal signature (when prostrate we may obey his Royal commands), that should the Bishop of Burgos on his own authority send us any one soever to govern us or be our captain, then, before obeying him, we would bring it to His Majesty's personal knowledge wherever he may be, and that whatever he should order, that would we obey as we are bound to do, as the command of our King and Lord.

Besides these narratives, we begged him, until he be pleased to order otherwise, to grant the government to Hernando Cortés, and we praised him so highly as his most obedient servant, as to raise him to the clouds, and after having written all these narratives with the greatest respect and humility as well as we were able and as was proper, explaining every event, how and when and

in what manner they happened, in the form of a letter intended for our King and not in the style that is here set down in my story, we captains and soldiers who were on the side of Cortés, all of us signed it. Two copies were made of the letter, and Cortés begged us to show them to him, and when he saw such a true narrative, and the great praise which we gave to him, he was very pleased and said that he would remember it to our credit and made us great promises, but he did not wish us to mention or allude to the fifth of the gold that we had promised him, nor to say who were the first discoverers, because, as we understood, he gave no account in his letter of Francisco Hernández de Córdova nor of Grijalva, but attributed the discovery, and the honour and glory of it all, to himself alone, and he said that now at this time it would be better to write thus, and not to report it to His Majesty. There were not wanting those who said to him that to our King and Lord nothing that had happened should be left untold. When these letters had been written and given to our proctors, we impressed on them strongly, that on no account should they enter Havana or go to a farm which one of them, Francisco de Montejo, owned there, which was called *El Marien* and was a harbour for ships, lest Diego Velásquez should get to know what was happening. They did not do as they were told as I shall show later on. When everything was ready for them to embark, the Padre de la Merced said Mass, commending them to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

On the 26th July 1519 they left San Juan de Ulúa and with good weather, arrived at Havana, and Francisco de Montejo with the greatest importunity allured and induced the pilot Alaminos to steer to his farm, saying that he was going to obtain supplies of pigs and cassava, until he got him to do what he wanted which was to drop anchor at his farm, for Puertocarrero was very ill and he (Montejo) paid

no attention to him, and on the very night they arrived they despatched a sailor from the ship by land with letters and information for Diego Velásquez, and we know that Montejo sent the man who went with the letters, and this sailor went post haste through the Island of Cuba, from town to town making known all that I have here told, until Diego Velásquez himself knew it, and what he did about it I will tell later on.

CHAPTER LV.

How Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, learned for certain from letters, that we were sending proctors with an embassy and presents to our King and Lord, and what he did about it.

As Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba learnt the news both from the letters which were secretly sent him, (rumour said by Montejo) as well as from the sailor, who had been present during all that I have related in the last chapter, and who swam ashore to carry the letters to him, and when he understood about the great present of gold that we were sending to His Majesty, and knew who were the Ambassadors and proctors, he was taken with cold sweats as of death and uttered most lamentable words and curses against Cortés, and against his own secretary Duero, and the accountant Amador de Lares who had advised him to make Cortés a general, and he promptly ordered two ships of small burden which were fast sailors, to be armed with all the artillery and soldiers that could be provided and two captains, one named Gabriel de Rojas, and the other so and so de Guzman, to go in them and he ordered them to go as far as the Havana, and thence to the Bahama Channel and in any case to capture and bring the ship in which our proctors were sailing and all the gold that they were carrying. With all haste, in compliance with his commands, they arrived after some days of sailing at the

Bahama Channel, and asked of some of the vessels which were crossing the sea with cargo if they had seen a ship of large size go by and all gave news of her and said that she would already have passed out of the Bahama Channel, for they had had continuous good weather. So after beating about with those two ships between the Bahama Channel and the Havana and finding no news of what they came to seek they returned to Santiago de Cuba, and if Diego Velásquez was upset before he despatched the vessels, he was far more afflicted when he saw them return in this way, and his friends promptly advised him to send to Spain and complain to the Bishop of Burgos who was President of the Council of the Indies, and was doing much for him. He also sent his complaints to the Island of Santo Domingo to the Royal *Audiencia* which resided there and to the Jeronimite friars who were governors of the Island, named Fray Luis de Figuerea and Fray Alonzo de Santo Domingo and Fray Bernadino de Manzanedo, and these ecclesiastics were wont to stay and reside in the Mejorada Monastery two miles distant from Medina del Campo, and he sent a ship post haste to them to make many complaints against Cortés and all of us. When they came to know about our great services, the answer that the Jeronimite fathers gave him was that no blame could be laid on Cortés and those who went with him, for on all matters we turned to our King and Master, and we had sent him so great a present, such as had not been seen for a long time past in our Spain, and they said this because at that time and season no Peru existed nor any thought of it. They also sent to tell him that on the contrary we were worthy to receive the greatest favours from His Majesty; at the same time they sent to Cuba a Licentiate named Zuazo to take the *residencia*[1] of Diego

[1] Residencia—that is the examination and formal account demanded of a person holding public office.

Velásquez, or at least he arrived at the Island a few months later, and this same Licentiate made his report to the Jeronimite Friars. When that reply was brought to Diego Velásquez he was more dismayed than ever, and whereas before he was very stout he at this time became thin. With the greatest energy he at once ordered all the ships that could be found in the Island of Cuba to be searched out and soldiers and Captains to be got ready, and he took steps to send a powerful fleet to take Cortés and all of us prisoners, and he showed such personal energy, going from town to town and from one estate to the other, writing to all parts of the Island where he was not able to go himself, and entreating his friends to go on that expedition, that within eleven months or a year he got together eighteen sail, great and small, and over thirteen hundred soldiers including captains and seamen, for as they saw that he was so zealous and prompt, all the principal inhabitants of Cuba, his relations as well as those who possessed Indians, got ready to serve him. He sent as Captain General of the Fleet a gentleman named Pánfilo de Narvaez, a man tall of stature and robust, whose voice sounded hollow as if from a vault; he was a native of Valladolid and married in the Island of Cuba a lady who was already a widow, named Maria de Valenzuela and he owned good towns of Indians and was very rich.

Here I will now leave him, forming and preparing his fleet, and will go back to our proctors and their good voyage, and as three or four things happened at the same time I must leave the story and subject which I was discussing, so as to be able to speak of that which is more material, and for this reason they must not blame me because I set out and depart from the regular course of events in order to speak of what happened later on.

CHAPTER LVI.

How our Proctors passed through the Bahama Channel in good weather and in a short time arrived in Castille, and what happened to them at Court.

I HAVE already said that our Proctors left the port of San Juan de Ulúa on the 6th July, 1519, and after a good passage they arrived at Havana and they soon passed through the Bahama Channel, and it is said that this was the first time that it was navigated, and in a short time they reach the Islands of Tercera[1] and thence went to Seville. They journeyed post haste to the court which was at Valladolid and to the President of the Royal Council of the Indies, Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos (who styled himself Archbishop of Rosano), and ruled all the Court because our Lord the Emperor was absent in Flanders.[2] When our proctors quite cheerfully, expecting that he would show them favour, went to kiss the hands of the President, and to give him our letters and narrative and deliver all the gold and jewels, and begged him to send a messenger at once to His Majesty to hand over to him the present and letters, with whom they themselves would go to kiss the Royal feet, he received them with such an evil frown and such ill will, and even spoke to them contemptuously because they had thus addressed him, that our ambassadors were about to retort. However, they restrained themselves and replied that his Lordship should consider the great services that Cortés and his companions were rendering to His Majesty and they again begged him at once to send all those golden jewels and the letters and narratives to His Majesty that he might know what had happened, and that they

[1] Terceira in the Azores.

[2] This is an error; Charles V was in Catalonia.

would go to him. He retorted very haughtily and even ordered that they should not have charge of it [the letters and jewels]; that he himself would write to say what was really happening, and not what they reported, for they had risen in rebellion against Diego Velásquez; and many other bitter words passed between them.

At this time Benito Martin, Chaplain to Diego Velásquez, who has been already mentioned by me, arrived at Court, and made many complaints against Cortés and all of us, which still more incensed the Bishop against us. As Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero was a gentleman and cousin of the Count de Medellin (for Montejo held back and did not dare to displease the President), he said to the Bishop that he appealed to him most earnestly to listen to them without passion, and not to utter such words as he had spoken, and at once to despatch those presents as they were brought for His Majesty; that we were most faithful servants of the Royal Crown, and worthy of favours and not of insults and rude words. When the Bishop heard that, he ordered him to be arrested, for he was told that three years before, he [Alonzo Puertocarrero] had seized a woman of Medellin and carried her off to the Indies. So all our merits and presents of gold were in the position that I have here related, and our Ambassadors decided to hold their tongues until the right time and place should occur.

The Bishop wrote to Flanders to his Majesty in favour of his favourite and friend Diego Velásquez and very evil words against Cortés and against all of us, and he made no report of the letters that we were bringing him, but merely said that Hernando Cortés had risen in rebellion against Diego Velásquez, and such-like things.

Let me go back to say that Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero and Francisco de Montejo and even Martin Cortés the father of Cortés and a certain Nuñez, a licentiate and a

Reporter of His Majesty's Royal Council and a near relation of Cortés, who worked on his behalf, decided to send a messenger to Flanders with other letters, the same as those they had given to the Bishop, for duplicates had been sent by our Proctors, and they wrote to His Majesty an account of all that was happening, and a memorandum of the golden jewels of the present, and made complaint of the Bishop and disclosed his business connection with Diego Velásquez. There were even other gentlemen who favoured them, those who did not stand well with Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, for it was rumoured that he was generally disliked on account of the great injustice and arrogance he displayed in the high offices that he held. As our great services were for God our Lord and for His Majesty, and we always put our full strength into them, it pleased God that His Majesty arrived at a clear knowledge of the affair and when he saw and understood it he and the Duke, Marquises, Counts and other gentlemen who were at his royal Court, showed such great satisfaction that they talked of nothing else but of Cortés and all of us who were helping him in the conquests for several days, and of the riches we were sending him from these lands. As for the letters of comment which the Bishop of Burgos had written to him about the matter, when His Majesty saw that it was all contrary to the truth, from then onwards he took a particular dislike to the Bishop, especially because he had not sent all the articles of gold but had kept back a great number of them. The Bishop got to know all this when it was written to him from Flanders, and he was very angry about it, and if the Bishop had spoken much that was evil of Cortés and all of us before our letters had come before His Majesty, from that time forward he openly called us traitors, but it pleased God that he lost his fury and vigour, and within two years he was defied and even shamed and dishonoured and we were reputed as very

loyal subjects, as I shall relate further on when occasion arises. His Majesty wrote to say that he was soon coming to Castille and would take notice of the matters concerning us, and would grant us favours. As I shall later on narrate more fully, how and in what manner this happened, I will leave the matter here, with our Proctors awaiting the arrival of His Majesty.

Before I go on any further I wish to speak with regard to what certain gentlemen who are curious in the matter have asked me, and they have a right to know about it, how it is that I am able to write down in this narrative things that I did not see, as at the time when our Proctors delivered the letters, messages, and presents of gold which they were carrying for His Majesty and had these disputes with the Bishop of Burgos, I was engaged in the conquest of New Spain. I say this, that our Proctors wrote to us the true *conquistadores*, word for word in Chapters, all that was happening, both about the Bishop of Burgos, as well as what His Majesty was pleased to promise in our favour, and how it all happened; and Cortés sent us to the towns where we were living at the time, other letters that he had received from our Proctors that we might see how well they negotiated with His Majesty and how hostile the Bishop was to us. This I give as an answer to what I have been asked. Let us leave this subject and tell in another chapter what happened in our camp.

CHAPTER LVII.

What was done in camp and the judgment which Cortés delivered after our ambassadors had departed to go to His Majesty with all the gold and letters and narratives.

WITHIN four days of the departure of our proctors to present themselves before our Lord the Emperor, as I have already narrated, (as it seems that men's hearts are of many kinds and are swayed by different thoughts,) some of the friends and dependents of Diego Velásquez, named Pedro Escudero, Juan Cermeño, and Gonzalo de Umbria a pilot, and Bernaldino de Coria, who was afterwards a settler in Chiapas, the father of a certain Centeno and a priest named Juan Diaz, and certain sailors who called themselves Peñates[1], natives of Gibraltar[2], who bore Cortés ill will, some of them because he had not given them leave to return to Cuba when he had promised to do so, others because they had not received their shares of the gold which had been sent to Spain, and the Peñates on account of the flogging they had received in Cozumel for stealing salt pork from a soldier named Barrio, as I have already related. These men determined to seize a small ship and sail in her to Cuba to give notice to Diego Velásquez and advise him how at Havana he might be able to seize our proctors on the estate of Francisco de Montejo, with all the gold and the messages, for it appears that they [the conspirators] had been advised by other persons in our camp that they [the proctors] would go to that estate and they [the other persons] had even written to Diego Velásquez that he would have an opportunity of capturing them. Thus, these men, whom I have named, had already got their stores in the ship, such as cassava bread, oil, fish, water, and made other preparations, and the time being past midnight, were ready to embark, when

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[1] Peñates = rockmen. [2] Gibraleon in the text.

one of them (it was a certain Bernaldino de Coria) seems to have repented of his wish to return to Cuba, and went to report the matter to Cortés. When Cortés heard of it and learned how many there were and why they wished to get away, and who had given counsel and held the threads of the plot, he ordered the sails, compass and rudder to be removed at once from the ship, and had the men arrested, and their confessions taken down. They all told the truth, and their confessions involved in their guilt others who were remaining with us, but Cortés kept this quiet at the time as there was no other course open to him. The sentence which Cortés delivered was that Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño should be hanged; that the pilot Gonzalo de Umbria, should have his feet cut off, and the sailors, Peñates, should receive two hundred lashes each, and Father Juan Diaz, but for the honour of the church, would have been punished as well; as it was he gave him a great fright. I remember that when Cortés signed that sentence, he said with great grief and sighs: "Would that I did not know how to write, so as not to have to sign away men's lives!"—and it seems to me that that saying is common among judges who have to sentence men to death, and is a quotation taken from that cruel Nero at the time when he showed signs of being a good Emperor.

As soon as the sentence was carried out,[1] Cortés rode off at break-neck speed for Cempoala which was five leagues distant, and ordered two hundred of us soldiers, and all the horsemen to follow him; and I remember that Pedro de Alvarado, who three days before had been sent by Cortés with two hundred soldiers to the hill towns so as to get enough to eat, for in our town there was a great scarcity of supplies, was also ordered to go to Cempoala,

[1] As the signature of Juan Cermeño is attached to the letter written by the army in 1520, it looks as though the sentence was not executed.

so that orders could be there issued for our journey to Mexico. So Pedro de Alvarado was not present when, as I have described, justice was executed.

The orders which were issued when we came together in Cempoala, I will relate fully further on.

CHAPTER LVIII.

How we settled to go to Mexico and to destroy all the ships before starting, and what else happened, and how the plan of destroying the ships was done by advice and decision of all of us who were friends with Cortés.

BEING in Cempoala, as I have stated, and discussing with Cortés questions of warfare, and our advance into the country, and going on from one thing to another, we, who were his friends, counselled him, although others opposed it, not to leave a single ship in the port, but to destroy them all at once, so as to leave no source of trouble behind, lest, when we were inland, others of our people should rebel like the last; besides, we should gain much additional strength from the masters, pilots and sailors who numbered nearly one hundred men, and they would be better employed helping us to watch and fight than remaining in port.

As far as I can make out, this matter of destroying the ships which we suggested to Cortés during our conversation, had already been decided on by him, but he wished it to appear as though it came from us, so that if any one should ask him to pay for the ships, he could say that he had acted on our advice and we would all be concerned in their payment. Then he sent Juan de Escalante (who was chief alguacil and a person of distinguished bravery and a great friend of Cortés, and an enemy of Diego Velásquez, because he had not given him good Indians in the Island of Cuba) to Villa Rica with orders to bring on shore all

the anchors, cables, sails, and everything else on board which might prove useful, and then to destroy the ships and preserve nothing but the boats, and that the pilots, sailing masters and sailors, who were old and no use for war, should stay at the town, and with the two nets they possessed should undertake the fishing, for there was always fish in that harbour, although they were not very plentiful. Juan de Escalante did all that he was told to do, and soon after arrived at Cempoala with a company of sailors, whom he had brought from the ships, and some of them turned out to be very good soldiers.

When this was done, Cortés sent to summon all the Caciques of the hill towns who were allied to us and in rebellion against Montezuma, and told them how they must give their service to the Spaniards who remained in Villa Rica, to finish building the church, fortress and houses, and Cortés took Juan de Escalante by the hand before them all, and said to them: "This is my brother," and told them to do whatever he should order them, and that should they need protection or assistance against the Mexicans, they should go to him and he would come in person to their assistance.

All the Caciques willingly promised to do what might be asked of them, and I remember that they at once fumigated Juan de Escalante with incense, although he did not wish it done. I have already said that he was a man well qualified for any post and a great friend of Cortés, so he could place him in command of the town and harbour with confidence, so that if Diego Velásquez should send an expedition there, it would meet with resistance. I must leave him here and go on with my story.

It is here that the historian Gomara says that when Cortés ordered the ships to be scuttled that he did not dare to let the soldiers know that he wished to go to Mexico in search of the great Montezuma. It was not as

he states, for what sort of Spaniards should we be not to wish to go ahead, but to linger in places where there was neither profit nor fighting? This same Gomara also says that Pedro de Ircio remained as captain in Vera Cruz; he was misinformed. I repeat that it was Juan de Escalante who remained there as Captain and chief Alguacil of New Spain, and that so far, Pedro de Ircio had not been given any position whatever—not even charge of a company.

CHAPTER LIX.

About a discourse which Cortés made to us after the ships had been destroyed, and how we hastened our departure for Mexico.

WHEN the ships had been destroyed, with our full knowledge, and not [secretly] as is said by the historian Gomara, one morning after we had heard mass, when all the captains and soldiers were assembled and were talking to Cortés about military matters, he begged us to listen to him, and argued with us as follows:—

"We all understood what was the work that lay before us, and that with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ we must conquer in all battles and encounters [that fell to our lot], and must be as ready for them as was befitting, for if we were anywhere defeated, which pray God would not happen, we could not raise our heads again, as we were so few in numbers, and we could look for no help or assistance, but that which came from God, for we no longer possessed ships in which to return to Cuba, but must rely on our own good swords and stout hearts,"—and he went on to draw many comparisons and relate the heroic deeds of the Romans. One and all we answered him that we would obey his orders, that the die was cast for good fortune, as Cæsar said when he crossed the Rubicon, and that we

were all of us ready to serve God and the King. After this excellent speech, which was delivered with more honied words and greater eloquence than I can express here, he [Cortés] at once sent for the fat Cacique and reminded him that he should treat the church and cross with great reverence and keep them clean; and he also told him that he meant to depart at once for Mexico to order Montezuma not to rob or offer human sacrifices, and that he now had need of two hundred Indian carriers to transport his artillery, for as I have already said these Indians can carry two arrobas[1] on their backs and march five leagues with it. He also asked fifty of the leading warriors to go with us. Just as we were ready to set out, a soldier, whom Cortés had sent to Villa Rica with orders for some of the men remaining there to join him, returned from the town bearing a letter from Juan de Escalante, saying that there was a ship sailing along the coast, and that he had made smoke signals and others, and had raised some white cloths as banners, and had galloped along on horseback waving a scarlet cape so that those on shipboard might see it, and he believed that they had seen his signals, banners, horse and cape, but that they did not wish to come into the harbour, and that he had sent some Spaniards to watch to what place the ships should go, and they had reported that the ship had dropped anchor near the mouth of a river distant about three leagues, and that he wished to know what he should do.

When Cortés had read the letter he at once ordered Pedro de Alvarado to take charge of all his army at Cempoala and with him Gonzalo de Sandoval who was already giving proofs of being a very valorous man, as he always remained. This was the first time that Sandoval was given a command, and because he was appointed

[1] Two arrobas = 50 lbs.

to this command, and Alonzo de Ávila was passed over, there arose certain irritation between Alonzo de Ávila and Sandoval.

Then Cortés rode off at once in company with four horsemen, leaving orders for fifty of the most active soldiers to follow him, and he named those of us who were to form this company and that same night we arrived at Villa Rica. What happened there, I will tell further on.

CHAPTER LX.

How Cortés went to where the ship was anchored and how we captured six of the soldiers and mariners who belonged to the ship, and what happened about it.

WHEN, as I have related, we reached Villa Rica, Juan de Escalante came to speak to Cortés and said that it would be as well to go to the ship that night, lest she should set sail and depart, and that he would go and do this with twenty soldiers while Cortés rested himself. Cortés replied that he could not rest, that "a lame goat must not nap," that he would go in person with the soldiers he had brought with him. So before we could get a mouthful of food we started to march along the coast and on the road we came on four Spaniards who had come to take possession of the land in the name of Francisco de Garay the governor of Jamaica. These men had been sent by a captain named Alonzo Álvarez de Pineda or Pinedo, who a few days before had made a settlement on the Rio Panuco.[1] These four Spaniards whom we captured were named Guillen de la Loa, who had come as notary, and the witnesses he had brought with him to take possession

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[1] Pinedo had brought his ships right around the Gulf of Mexico from the coast of Florida. See *Orozco y Berra*, vol. iv, p. 176.

of the country were Andrés Nuñez, who was a boat builder, another named Master Pedro, he of the harp[1] from Valencia, and another whose name I cannot now remember.

When Cortés clearly understood that they had come to take possession of the country in the name of Francisco de Garay, and knew that he was staying behind in Jamaica and sending captains to do the work, Cortés asked them by what right and title those captains came. The four men replied that in the year 1518 as the fame of the lands we had discovered by the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and Juan de Grijalva and of the twenty thousand golden dollars which we had taken to Cuba for Diego Velásquez had spread throughout the Islands, that then Garay had information from the pilot, Anton de Alaminos, and the other pilot who had accompanied us, that he could beg from His Majesty the right to all the country he could discover from the Rio San Pedro and San Pablo towards the north.

As Garay had friends at Court who could support his petition, namely, the Bishop of Burgos, the lawyer Zapata, and the secretary Conchillos, he hoped to obtain their assistance, and he sent his Mayordomo, named Torralva, to negotiate the matter, and this man brought back a commission for him as Adelantado and Governor of all [the land] he could discover [north] of the Rio San Pedro and San Pablo. Under this commission he at once despatched three ships with about two hundred and seventy soldiers and supplies and horses under the captain whom I have already mentioned named Alonzo Álvarez Pineda or Pinedo, who was settling on the Rio Panuco, about seventy leagues away; and these Spaniards said that they

[1] Maestre Pedro, el de la Arpa:—another named the shipmaster (or mate) Pedro, he of the harp (probably a musician).

were merely doing what their captain told them to do, and were in no way to blame.

When Cortés had learned their business he cajoled them with many flattering speeches and asked them whether we could capture the ship. Guillen de la Loa, who was the leader of the four men, answered that they would wave to the ship and do what they could, but although they shouted and waved their cloaks and made signals, they would not come near, for, as those men said, their captain knew that the soldiers of Cortés were in the neighbourhood and had warned them to keep clear of us.

When we saw that they would not send a boat, we understood that they must have seen us from the ship as we came along the coast, and that unless we could trick them they would not send the boat ashore again. Cortés asked the four men to take off their clothes so that four of our men could put them on, and when this was done we returned along the coast the way we had come, so that our return could be seen from the ship and those on board might think that we had really gone away. Four of our soldiers remained behind wearing the other men's clothes, and we remained hidden in the wood with Cortés until past midnight, and then when the moon set it was dark enough to return to the mouth of the creek, but we kept well hidden so that only the four soldiers could be seen. When the dawn broke the four soldiers began to wave their cloaks to the ship, and six sailors put off from her in a boat. Two of the sailors jumped ashore to fill two jugs with water and we who were with Cortés kept in hiding waiting for the other sailors to land; but they stayed where they were and our four soldiers who were wearing the clothes of Garay's people pretended that they were washing their hands and kept their faces hidden. The men in the boat cried out: "Come on board, what are you doing? Why don't you come?" One of our men answered:

"Come on shore for a minute and you will see." As they did not know his voice, they pushed off with their boat, and although we shouted to them they would answer nothing. We wanted to shoot at them with muskets and cross bows, but Cortés would not allow it, and said: "Let them go in peace and report to their captain."

So six soldiers from that ship remained in our company, the four we had first captured, and the two sailors who had come ashore. And we returned to Villa Rica without having had anything to eat since we first started.

This is really what happened and not what the historian Gomara relates, for he says that Garay came at this time; but it was not so, for before he himself came he first sent three captains with ships, and later on I will explain at what time they came and what happened to them, and I will tell, as well, about the coming of Garay. But we must get on now and I will relate how we settled to go to Mexico.

THE MARCH FROM CEMPOALA TO TLAXCALA.

Introductory Note to Chapter LXI.

THE Spaniards left Cempoala on the 16th August and crossed the frontier into Tlaxcalan territory on the 31st August.

Bernal Díaz says that they reached Jalapa on the first day, but that is not probable. Between Jalapa and Ixtacmaxtitlan there is no name given by Bernal Díaz or Cortés which coincides with a name on the modern map, although the Socochima of the narrative is undoubtedly Xico Viejo, a few miles from the modern village of Xico. The ruins of Xico Viejo were recently visited by Dr. J. W. Fewkes, who says that "the last half mile of the road is practically impassable for horses, and must be made on foot, justifying the statements of Gomara regarding the difficulties the horsemen of Cortés encountered in reaching the pueblo." (Twenty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1903-4.)

The Theuhixuacan mentioned by Gomara must be the Ixuacan of the modern map.

The Spaniards passed to the south of the great mountain mass of the Cofre de Perote (13,403 ft.) between that mountain and the

snowcapped volcano of Orizaba (17,365 ft.) to the tableland of Tlaxcala.

There is a considerable rise between Cempoala and Jalapa, which stands at an elevation of 4608 ft.

I am unable to ascertain the height of the pass between Perote and Orizaba, but it probably exceeds 10,000 ft., followed by a descent of about 3000 ft. to the plains of Tlaxcala and Puebla, which are 7000 ft. to 8000 ft. above sea level.

According to Bernal Díaz, the most difficult pass (Puerto de Nombre de Dios) was crossed before reaching the main divide.

After the passage between the mountains the Spaniards came to the salt lakes, marshes, and inhospitable stretches of sand and volcanic ash which extend along the western slope of the Cofre de Perote.

It is impossible to locate the exact route between the mountain pass and Zocotlan, as no names are given and part of the country is uninhabitable. Zocotlan itself was in all probability the Zautla of the modern map, but we are not on secure ground until the Spaniards reach Ixtacmaxtitlan, near the Tlaxcalan frontier. This frontier is still marked by the ruins of the wall built by the Tlaxcalans as a defence against their enemies, but the ruins are not marked on the Government map. However, the natural line of travel would be up stream from Ixtacmaxtitlan, and this would bring us to a place marked on the map Altlatlaya (no doubt *Atalaya*, which means *a watch tower*), and I have taken this to be the spot where the Spaniards passed the wall, and have so marked it on the map which accompanies this volume.

The march from Jalapa to Zocotlan must have been a most arduous one, and all the more difficult from the fact that it was undertaken in the middle of the rainy season. There is a much easier, although somewhat longer, route passing round the north of Cofre de Perote, but this was probably avoided by the Cempoalans as passing through too much of the enemies' country.

Appended is an Itinerary, with dates compiled from the writings of Bernal Díaz[1], Cortés,[2] Gomara[3], and Andrés de Tápia,[4] with the modern spelling of some of the names taken from Padre Agustin Rivera.[5]

August

16. Leave Cempoala.

17.

18. Jalapa.

19. Xico (modern map), Cocochima (B. D.), Sienchimalen (C.), Sienchimatl (G.), Xicochimilco (R.)

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[1] (B. D.) [2] (C.) [3] (G.) [4] (T.) [5] (R.)

20. A high pass and Tejutla (B. D.), Puerto de Nombre de Dios and Ceyconacan (C.), Theuhixuacan (G.), Ceycoccnacan, now Ishuacan de los Reyes (note to Cortés' letter in Rivadeneyra Edition), Ixuacan, modern map.
21. Finish ascent of Mountain (B. D.), Despoblado—uninhabited country.
22. Despoblado. Lakes of salt water and Salitrales (T.), Salitrales (G.)
23. Despoblado. Puerto de la Leña. March 2 leagues to
24. Çocotlan (B. D.), Zaclotan (G.), Xocotla (R.), valley called Caltanmi (C.), Zacatami (G.). Spaniards called it Castil Blanco. Probably the Zautla of modern maps.
25. Xocotlan.
26. Xocotlan.
27. Xocotlan. March 2 leagues up the valley to
28. Iztacmastitan (C.), Iztacmixtlitan (G.), Ixtamaxtitlan (R.), Ixtacamastitlan (modern map).
    Xalacingo of Bernal Díaz (evidently an error.)
29. Ixtacmaxtitlan.
30. Ixtacmaxtitlan.
31. Cross the frontier into Tlaxcala at the great wall. March 4 leagues, skirmish with force of Tlaxcalans and Otomies.

September.

2. First battle with the Tlaxcalan army under Xicotenga.
5. Second battle.
23. Spaniards enter the city of Tlaxcala.

CHAPTER LXI.

How we settled to go to the City of Mexico and on the advice of the Cacique we went by way of Tlaxcala, and what happened to us in our warlike engagements and other matters.

WHEN our departure for Mexico had received full consideration, we sought advice as to the road we should take, and the chieftains of Cempoala were agreed that the best and most convenient road for us to take was through the province of Tlaxcala, for they [the Tlaxcalans] were their allies and mortal enemies of the Mexicans.

Forty chieftains, all warriors, were already prepared to accompany us and were of great assistance to us on that journey; and they provided us as well with two

hundred carriers to transport our artillery. We poor soldiers had no need of help, for at that time we had nothing to carry except our arms, lances, muskets, cross-bows, shields and the like, with which we both marched and slept, and we were shod with hempen shoes, and as I have often said, were always prepared for a fight.

In the middle of August, 1519, we set out from Cempoala, keeping always in good formation, with scouts and some of the most active soldiers in advance.

The first day we marched to a town named Jalapa, and thence to Socochima, a strong place with a difficult approach, and inside there were many vines of the grapes of the country[1] on trellises. In both these towns, through our interpreters, Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, all matters touching our holy religion were explained to the people, and that we were the vassals of the Emperor Don Carlos, who had sent us to put an end to human sacrifices and robbery, and they were told other things which it was advantageous to state. As they were friends of the Cempoalans and did not pay tribute to Montezuma, we found them very well disposed towards us, and they provided us with food. A cross was erected in each town and its meaning was explained to them and they were told to hold it in great reverence.

Beyond Socochima we crossed some high mountain ranges by a pass, and arrived at another town named Texutla, where we were also well received, for like the others they paid no tribute to Mexico. On leaving that town we finished the ascent of the mountains and entered an uninhabited country, and it was very cold and hail and rain fell that night. There was a great scarcity of food and a wind came down from the snowy hills on one side of us which made us shiver with cold. As we had come from

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[1] These were probably grenadillas, the fruit of passion flowers.

the Island of Cuba and from Villa Rica, where the whole coast is very hot, and had entered a cold country and had nothing with which to cover ourselves, only our armour, we suffered from the frost, for we were not accustomed to a different temperature.

Then we entered another pass where there were some hamlets and large temples with idols, which I have already said are called *Cues*, and they had great piles of firewood for the service of the idols which were kept in those temples; but still there was nothing to eat, and the cold was intense.

We next entered into the land belonging to the town of Xocotlan, and we sent two Cempoala Indians to advise the Cacique how we were faring so that the people might receive us favourably. This town was subject to Mexico, so we always marched on the alert and in good order for we could see that we were already in a different sort of country, and when we saw the white gleam of the roof tops and the houses of the Caciques and the cues and numerous oratories, which were very lofty and covered with white plaster, they looked very pleasing like a town in our own Spain, so we called the place Castilblanco, for some Portuguese soldiers said that it reminded them of Castilblanco in Portugal, and so it is called to this day. And when, through our messengers, they knew in this town that we were approaching, the Cacique and other chieftains came out to meet us close by their houses. The name of the Cacique was Olintecle, and he conducted us to some lodgings and gave us food, but there was very little of it and it was given with ill will.

As soon as we had eaten, Cortés asked through our interpreters about their Lord Montezuma. The chief told us of his great strength in warriors, which he kept in all the provinces under his sway, without counting many other armies which were posted on the frontiers and in neighbouring provinces, and he [the chief] then spoke of the

great fortress of Mexico, and how the houses were built in the water, and how one can only pass from one house to another by means of bridges which they have made, or canoes; and how all the houses have flat roofs, which, by raising breastworks when they are needed, can be turned into fortresses. That the city is entered by three causeways, each causeway having four or five openings in it through which the water can flow from one part to another, and each opening has a wooden bridge over it so that when any one of those bridges is raised no one can enter the city of Mexico. Then the chief told us of the great store of gold and silver, and chalchihuite stones and other riches which Montezuma, his lord, possessed, and he never ceased telling us how great a lord he was, so that Cortés and all of us marvelled at hearing him. The more he told us about the great fortress and bridges, of such stuff are we Spanish soldiers made, the more we wanted to try our luck against them, although it seemed a hopeless enterprise, judging from what Olintecle explained and told us. In reality Mexico was much stronger and had better munitions and defences than anything he told us about, for it is one thing to have seen the place itself and its strength, and quite another thing to describe it as I do. He added that Montezuma was so great a prince that he placed anything he chose under his rule, and that he did not know if he would be pleased when he heard of our stay in that town, and that we had been given lodgings and food without his permission.

Cortés replied through our interpreters :—" I would have you know that we have come from distant lands at the order of our lord and King, the Emperor Don Carlos, who has many and great princes as his vassals, and he sends us to command your great Prince Montezuma not to sacrifice or kill any more Indians, or to rob his vassals, or to seize any more lands, but to give his fealty to our lord the King.

And now I say the same to you, Olintecle, and to all the other Caciques who are with you, desist from your sacrifices, and no longer eat the flesh of your own relations, and cease to commit sodomy, and the other evil customs which you practice, for such is the will of our Lord God, whom we believe in and worship, the giver of life and death who will take us up to heaven."

He told them many other things concerning our holy religion, to all of which things they made no reply.

Cortés said to the soldiers who were present around him: "It seems to me, gentlemen, that there remains nothing for us to do but to set up a cross." But Padre Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo replied:—"It seems to me, sir, that the time has not yet come to leave crosses in the charge of these people for they are somewhat shameless and without fear, and as they are vassals of Montezuma they may burn the crosses or do some other evil thing, and what you have said to them is enough until they know something more of our holy religion." So the matter was settled and no cross was set up. Let us leave this subject and that of the holy warnings which we gave them, and I will go on to say that we had with us a very large lurcher which belonged to Francisco de Lugo, which barked much of a night, and it seems that the Caciques of the town asked our friends whom we had brought from Cempoala, whether it was a tiger or a lion, or an animal with which to kill Indians, and they answered them: "They take it with them to kill anyone who annoys them."

They also asked what we did with the artillery we had brought with us, and the Cempoalans replied that with some stones which we put inside them we could kill anyone we wished to kill, and that the horses ran like deer and they would catch anyone we told them to run after. Then Olintecle said to the other chiefs: "Surely they must be Teules!" I have already said that Teule is the name they

give to their gods or idols and such like evil things. Our Indian friends replied: "So at last you have found it out! Take care not to do anything to annoy them, for they will know it at once; they even know one's thoughts. These Teules are those who captured the tax gatherers of your great Montezuma and decreed that no more tribute should be paid throughout the sierras nor in our town of Cempoala; and they are the same who turned our Teules out of their temples and replaced them with their own gods and who have conquered the people of Tabasco and Chanpoton, and they are so good that they have made friendship between us and the people of Cingapacinga. In addition to this you have seen how the great Montezuma, notwithstanding all his power, has sent them gold and cloth, and now they have come to your town and we see that you have given them nothing;—run at once and bring them a present!"

It seems that we had brought good advocates with us, for the townspeople soon brought us four pendants, and three necklaces, and some lizards, all made of gold, but all the gold was of poor quality; and they brought us four Indian women who were good for grinding maize for bread, and one load of cloth. Cortés received these things with a cheerful good will and with many expressions of thanks.

I remember that in the plaza where some of their oratories stood, there were piles of human skulls so regularly arranged that one could count them, and I estimated them at more than a hundred thousand. I repeat again that there were more than one hundred thousand of them. And in another part of the plaza there were so many piles of dead men's thigh bones that one could not count them; there was also a large number of skulls strung between beams of wood, and three priests who had charge of these bones and skulls were guarding them. We had occasion to see many such things later on as we penetrated into the

country for the same custom was observed in all the towns, including those of Tlaxcala.

After all that I have related had happened, we determined to set out on the road to Tlaxcala which our friends told us was very near, and that the boundary was close by where some boundary stones were placed to mark it. So we asked the Cacique Olintecle, which was the best and most level road to Mexico, and he replied the road which passed by the large town named Cholula, and the Cempoalans said to Cortés :—" Sir, do not go by Cholula for the people there are treacherous, and Montezuma always keeps a large garrison of warriors in that town ; "—and they advised us to go by way of Tlaxcala where the people were their friends and enemies of the Mexicans. So we agreed to take the advice of the Cempoalans, trusting that God would direct us.

Cortés demanded of Olintecle twenty warrior chiefs to go with us, and he gave them at once. The next morning we set out for Tlaxcala and arrived at a little town belonging to the people of Xalacingo. From this place we sent two of the Cempoala chieftains as messengers, choosing two who had said much in praise of the Tlaxcalans and had declared that they were their friends, and by them we sent a letter to the Tlaxcalans, although we knew that they could not read it; and also a red fluffy Flemish hat, such as was then worn.

What happened I will relate further on.

Introductory Note.

BETWEEN the 31st August when the Spaniards crossed the Tlaxcalan frontier and fought a skirmish with some Otomi-Tlaxcalan troops, and the 23rd September when they entered the Capital of Tlaxcala, only two dates are mentioned by Bernal Díaz. He gives the 2nd September (Gomara says the 1st September) as the date of the first great battle against the Tlaxcalan army under Xicotenca (Xicotencatl), and the name of the battlefield as Tehuacingo or Tehuacacingo, which cannot now be identified.

After the battle the Spaniards took shelter in a village with a temple on a hill; this hill is still pointed out by the natives as the site of Cortés' camp. Here the Spaniards formed a fortified camp, which continued to be their headquarters until the war was over, and they marched to the Capital of Tlaxcala.

Bernal Díaz tells us that this camp was near Cunpanzingo, probably the Tzompantzingo of the modern maps.

Bernal Díaz gives the 5th September as the date of the second great battle, which was fought close by the camp.

Although the accounts of the war in Tlaxcala given by Bernal Díaz and Cortés agree in the main points, they do not always give the events in the same order. It seems probable that Bernal Díaz places the night attack too early, and that it took place after Xicotenga had sent the spies to the Spanish camp.

The boundaries of the so-called Republic of Tlaxcala appear to have been almost identical with those of the modern state of the same name.

It has become a commonplace to describe the Tlaxcalans as hardy mountaineers and their form of Government as Republican, but such discrimination is misleading. Their country was no more mountainous than that of the Mexicans, and their form of Government was much the same as that of other Nahuá communities; but as they had achieved no foreign conquests, they were compelled to be self-supporting, and in that differed from the Mexicans, who were becoming a military caste, supported to a great extent by tribute from conquered tribes. Their country was fertile, and there must have been a large agricultural population, and all the men were inured to hardship and continual border warfare.

According to Andrés de Tápia, the existence of the Tlaxcalans as an independent nation was owing to the forbearance of the Mexicans themselves, for when he asked why they had not been conquered, Montezuma himself answered: "We could easily do so, but then there would be nowhere for the young men to exercise themselves without going a long way off, and besides we always like to have people to sacrifice to our Gods."

BOOK IV.

THE WAR IN TLAXCALA.

CHAPTER LXII.

How we decided to go by way of Tlaxcala, and how we sent messengers to induce the Tlaxcalans to agree to our passage through their country, how the messengers were taken prisoners, and what else happened.

SO we set out from Castilblanco and began our march with the scouts in advance, constantly on the alert, and the musketeers and crossbowmen in good order, as was necessary, and the horsemen in even closer order, and we all carrying our arms, as was always our custom. I will say nothing more about this, for it is no use wasting words over it, for we were always so much on the alert both by day and night that if an alarm had been given ten times over we should have been found ready every time.

In such order we arrived at a little town of Xalacingo, where they gave us a golden necklace and some cloth and two Indian women, and from that town we sent two Cempoalan chieftains as messengers to Tlaxcala, with a letter, and a fluffy red Flemish hat, such as was then worn. We well knew that the Tlaxcalans could not read

the letter, but we thought that when they saw paper different from their own, they would understand that it contained a message; and what we sent to tell them was that we were coming to their town, and hoped they would receive us well, as we came, not to do them harm, but to make them our friends. We did this because in this little town they assured us that the whole of Tlaxcala was up in arms against us, for it appears that they had already received news of our approach and that we were accompanied by many friends, both from Cempoala and Zocotlan, and other towns through which we had passed. As all these towns usually paid tribute to Montezuma, the Tlaxcalans took it for granted that we were coming to attack Tlaxcala, as their country had often been entered by craft and cunning and then laid waste, and they thought that this was another attempt to do so. So as soon as our two messengers arrived with the letter and the hat and began to deliver their message, they were seized as prisoners before their story was finished, and we waited all that day and the next for an answer and none arrived.

Then Cortés addressed the chiefs of the town [where we had halted] and repeated all he was accustomed to tell the Indians about our holy religion and how we were vassals of our Lord and King who had sent us to these parts to put an end to human sacrifices, and the eating of human flesh, and the other evils which they were used to practise, and he told them many other things which we usually repeated in most of the towns we passed through, and after making them many promises of assistance, he asked for twenty Indian warriors of quality to accompany us on our march, and they were given us most willingly.

After commending ourselves to God, with a happy confidence we set out on the following day for Tlaxcala, and as we were marching along, we met our two messengers who had been taken prisoners. It seems that the Indians

who guarded them were perplexed by the warlike preparations and had been careless of their charge, and in fact, had let them out of prison. They arrived in such a state of terror at what they had seen and heard that they could hardly succeed in expressing themselves.

According to their account, when they were prisoners the Tlaxcalans had threatened them, saying: "Now we are going to kill those whom you call Teules, and eat their flesh, and we will see whether they are as valiant as you announce; and we shall eat your flesh too, you who come here with treasons and lies from that traitor Montezuma!" and for all that the messengers could say, that we were against the Mexicans, and wished to be brothers to the Tlaxcalans, they could not persuade them of its truth.

When Cortés and all of us heard those haughty words, and learned how they were prepared for war, although it gave us matter for serious thought, we all cried:—"If this is so, forward—and good luck to us!" We commended ourselves to God and marched on, the Alferez, Corral, unfurling our banner and carrying it before us, for the people of the little town where we had slept, as well as the Cempoalans assured us that the Tlaxcalans would come out to meet us and resist our entry into their country.

Marching along as I have described, we discussed how the horsemen—in parties of three so as to help one another—should charge and return at a hand gallop with their lances held rather short, and when they broke through the hostile ranks should hold their lances before their faces and not stop to give thrusts, so that the Indians should not be able to seize hold of their lances; and if by chance a lance were seized, the horseman should use all his strength and put spurs to his horse, so that helped by the leverage of the lance held beneath his arm, the furious rush of the horse might enable him to wrench it from the grasp of the Indian, or should drag him along with

it. It will be said to-day—what was the use of all this preparation when there were no hostile warriors in sight to attack us? I answer this by repeating the words of Cortés:—"Gentlemen and comrades, seeing how few of us there are, it behoves us to be always as well prepared and as much on the alert as though we saw the enemy approaching to attack us, and not only saw them approaching, but we should behave as though we were already fighting them; and, as it often happens that they seize the lances with their hands, we have to be prepared for such an emergency as well as for anything else that may happen to a soldier. I have fully understood that, when fighting, there should be no need of directions, for I know, and am very willing to acknowledge it, that you behave much more courageously [without them]."

In this way we marched about two leagues, when we came upon a fortress strongly built of stone and lime and some other cement, so strong that with iron pickaxes it was difficult to demolish it and it was constructed in such a way both for offence and defence, that it would be very difficult to capture. We halted to examine it, and Cortés asked the Indians from Zocotlan for what purpose the fortress had been built in such a way. They replied that, as war was always going on between the people of Tlaxcala and their lord, Montezuma, the Tlaxcalans had built this fort so strong the better to defend their towns, for we were already in their territory. We rested awhile and this, our entry into the land of Tlaxcala and the fortress, gave us plenty to think about. Cortés said: "Sirs, let us follow our banner which bears the sign of the holy cross, and through it we shall conquer!" Then one and all we answered him: "May good fortune attend our advance, for in God lies the true strength." So we began our march again in the order I have already noted.

We had not gone far when our scouts observed about

thirty Indians who were spying. These carried two-handed swords, shields, lances and plumes of feathers. The swords are made with stones which cut worse than knives, so cleverly arranged, that one can neither break nor pull out the blades; they are as long as broadswords; and as I have already said, these spies wore devices and feather head-dresses, and when our scouts observed them they came back to give us notice. Cortés then ordered the same scouts to follow the spies, and to try and capture one of them without hurting them; and then he sent five more mounted men as a support, in case there should be an ambush. Then all our army hastened on in good order and with quick step, for our Indian friends who were with us said that there was sure to be a large body of warriors waiting in ambush.

When the thirty Indian spies saw the horsemen coming towards them, and beckoning to them with their hands, they would not wait for them to come up and capture one of them; furthermore, they defended themselves so well, that with their swords and lances they wounded some of the horses.

When our men saw how fiercely the Indians fought and that their horses were wounded, they were obliged to kill five of the Indians. As soon as this happened, a squadron of Tlaxcalans,[1] more than three thousand strong, which was lying in ambush, fell on them all of a sudden, with great fury and began to shower arrows on our horsemen who were now all together; and they made a good fight with their arrows and fire-hardened darts, and did wonders with their two-handed swords. At this moment we came up with our artillery, muskets and crossbows, and

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[1] Probably Otomís from the Otomí town of Tecoac. Cortés says the chiefs of Tlaxcala sent messengers to say that the attack was made by communities (of Otomís?) without their knowledge.

little by little the Indians gave way, but they had kept their ranks and fought well for a considerable time.

In this encounter they wounded four of our men and I think that one of them died of his wounds a few days later.

As it was now late the Tlaxcalans beat a retreat and we did not pursue them ; they left about seventeen dead on the field, not counting many wounded. Where these skirmishes took place the ground was level and there were many houses and plantations of maize and magueys, which is the plant from which they make their wine.

We slept near a stream, and with the grease from a fat Indian whom we had killed and cut open, we dressed our wounds, for we had no oil, and we supped very well on some dogs which the Indians breed [for food] for all the houses were abandoned and the provisions carried off, and they had even taken the dogs with them, but these came back to their homes in the night, and there we captured them, and they proved good enough food.

All night we were on the alert with watches and patrols and scouts, and the horses bitted and saddled, in fear lest the Indians would attack us.

I will leave off here and go on to tell of the war they waged against us.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Of the war which was waged and the perilous battles which we fought against the Tlaxcalans, and what else happened.

THE next day, after commending ourselves to God, we set out with all our ranks in good order, the horsemen well instructed in the way they should charge through the enemy and return to us, and to see that the enemy should not be permitted to break our ranks and separate us one

from the other. As we thus marched on, two armies of warriors approached to give us battle. They numbered six thousand men [and they came on us] with loud shouts and the din of drums and trumpets, as they shot their arrows and hurled their darts and acted like brave warriors. Cortés ordered us to halt, and sent forward the three prisoners whom we had captured the day before, to tell them not to make war on us as we wished to treat them as brothers. He also told one of our soldiers, named Diego de Godoy, who was a royal notary, to watch what took place so that he could bear witness if it should be necessary, so that at some future time we should not have to answer for the deaths and damages which were likely to take place, for we begged them to keep the peace.

When the three prisoners whom we had sent forward began to speak to the Indians, it only increased their fury and they made such an attack on us that we could not endure it. Then Cortés shouted:—" Santiago—and at them!" and we attacked them with such impetuosity that we killed and wounded many of them with our fire and among them three captains. They then began to retire towards some ravines, where over forty thousand warriors and their captain general, named Xicotenga, were lying in ambush, all wearing a red and white device for that was the badge and livery of Xicotenga.

As there was broken ground there we could make no use of the horses, but by careful manœuvring we got past it, but the passage was very perilous for they made play with their good archery and with their lances and broadswords did us much hurt, and the hail of stones from their slings was even more damaging. When we reached the level ground with our horsemen and artillery, we paid them back and slew many of them, but we did not dare to break our formation, for any soldier who left the ranks to follow some of the Indian captains and swordsmen was at once

wounded and ran great danger. As the battle went on they surrounded us on all sides and we could do little or nothing. We dared not charge them, unless we charged all together, lest they should break up our formation ; and if we did charge them, as I have said, there were twenty squadrons ready to resist us, and our lives were in great danger for they were so numerous they could have blinded us with handfuls of earth, if God in his great mercy had not succoured us.

While we found ourselves in this conflict among these great warriors and their fearful broad swords, we noticed that many of the strongest among them crowded together to lay hands on a horse. They set to work with a furious attack, laying hands on a good mare known to be very handy either for sport or for charging. The rider, Pedro de Moron, was a very good horseman, and as he charged with three other horsemen into the ranks of the enemy (they were ordered thus to charge together, so as to help one another) the Indians seized hold of his lance and he was not able to drag it away, and others gave him cuts with their broadswords and wounded him badly, and then they slashed at the mare, and cut her head off at the neck so that it hung by the skin, and she fell dead. If his mounted companions had not come at once to his rescue they would also have finished killing Pedro de Moron. We might possibly have helped him with our whole battalion, but I repeat again that we hardly dared to move from one place to another for fear that they would finally rout us, and we could not move one way or another; it was all we could do to hold our own and prevent ourselves from being defeated. However, we rushed to the conflict around the mare and managed to save Moron from the hands of the enemy who were already dragging him off half dead and we cut the mare's girths so as not to leave the saddle behind. In that act of rescue, ten of our men

were wounded and I remember that at the same time we killed four of the (Indian) captains, for we were advancing in close order and we did great execution with our swords. When this had happened, the enemy began to retire, carrying the mare with them, and they cut her in pieces to exhibit in all the towns of Tlaxcala, and we learnt afterwards that they made an offering to their idols of the horseshoes, of the Flemish felt hat, and the two letters which we had sent them offering peace.

The mare that was killed belonged to Juan Sedeño and it was because Sedeño had received three wounds the day before that he had given her to Moron who was a good horseman. I did not see Moron again for he died of his wounds two days later.

To return to our battle: we were a full hour fighting in the fray, and our shots must have done the enemy much damage for they were so numerous and in such close formation, that each shot must have hit many of them. Horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen, swordsmen, and those who used lance and shield, one and all, we fought like men to save our lives and to do our duty, for we were certainly in the greatest danger in which we had ever found ourselves. Later on they told us that we killed many Indians in this battle, and among them eight of their leading captains, sons of the old Caciques who lived in their principal town, and for this reason they drew off in good order. We did not attempt to follow them, and we were not sorry for it as we were so tired out we could hardly stand, and we stayed where we were in that little town. All the country round was thickly peopled, and they even have some houses underground like caves in which many of the Indians live.

The place where this battle took place is called Tehuacingo or Tehuacacingo and it was fought on the 2nd day of the month of September in the year 1519. When we

saw that victory was ours we gave thanks to God who had delivered us from such great danger.

From the field of battle we withdrew the whole force to some Cues which were strong and lofty like a fortress. We dressed the wounded men, who numbered fifteen, with the fat of the Indian I mentioned before. One man died of his wounds. We also doctored four or five horses which had received wounds, and we rested and supped very well that night, for we found a good supply of poultry and little dogs in the houses. And taking every precaution by posting spies, patrols and scouts, we rested until the next morning.

In that battle we captured fifteen Indians, two of them chieftains. There was one peculiarity that the Tlaxcalans showed in this and all the other battles—that was to carry off any Indian as soon as he was wounded so that we should not be able to see their dead.

CHAPTER LXIV.

How we pitched our camp in some towns and hamlets called Teoaçingo or Tevaçingo and what we did there.

As we felt weary after the battles we had fought, and many of the soldiers and horses were wounded and some died there, and it was necessary to repair the crossbows and replenish our stock of darts, we passed one day without doing anything worthy of mention. The following morning Cortés said that it would be as well for all the horsemen who were fit for work to scour the country, so that the Tlaxcalans should not think that we had given up fighting on account of the last battle, and that they should see that we meant to follow them up; for on the previous day we had halted without sallying forth to look for them, and it was better for us to go out and attack them than for them

to come and attack us and thus find out our weakness. As the country was level and thickly populated, we set out with seven horsemen and a few musketeers and crossbowmen and about two hundred soldiers and our Indian allies, leaving the camp as well guarded as was possible. In the houses and towns through which we passed, we captured about twenty Indian men and women without doing them any hurt, but our allies, who are a cruel people, burnt many of the houses and carried off much poultry and many dogs for food. When we returned to the camp which was not far off, Cortés set the prisoners free, after giving them something to eat, and Doña Marina and Aguilar spoke kindly to them and gave them beads and told them not to be so mad any longer, but to make peace with us, as we wished to help them and treat them as brothers. Then we also released the two prisoners who were chieftains and they were given another letter, and were to tell the high Caciques who lived in the town—which was the capital of all the towns of the province—that we had not come to do them any harm or to annoy them, but to pass through their country on our way to Mexico to speak to Montezuma. The two messengers went to Xicotenga's camp which was distant about two leagues among some towns and houses which I think they called Cuadçinpacingo, and when they gave him the letter and our message the reply that their captain Xicotenga gave them was, that we might go to his town where his father was living; that there peace would be made by satiating themselves on our flesh, and honour paid to his gods with our hearts and blood, and that we should see his answer the very next day.

When Cortés and all of us heard that haughty message, as we were already tired out with the battles and encounters we had passed through, we certainly did not think that things looked well. So Cortés flattered the messengers with soft words for it seemed that they had lost all fear,

and ordered them to be given some strings of beads, as he wished to send them back as messengers of peace.

Cortés then learned from them more fully all about the Captain Xicotenga, and what forces he had with him. They told him that Xicotenga had many more men with him now than he had when he attacked us before for he had five captains with him and each captain had brought ten thousand warriors. This was the way in which the count was made: Of the followers of Xicotenga who was blind from age—the father of the captain of the same name—ten thousand; of the followers of another great chief named Mase Escasi,[1] another ten thousand; of the followers of another great chief named Chichimecatecle,[2] the same number; of another great Cacique, lord of Topeyanco, named Tecapacaneca, another ten thousand; and of another great chief named Guaxoban, another ten thousand; so that there were in all fifty thousand. That their banner and standard had been brought out, which was a white bird with the appearance of an ostrich, with wings outstretched, as though it wished to fly, and that each company had its device and uniform, for each Cacique had a different one, as do our dukes and counts in our own Castile.

All that I have here said we accepted as perfectly true, for certain Indians among those whom we had captured and who were released that day, related it very clearly, although they were not then believed. When we knew this, as we were but human and feared death, many of us, indeed the majority of us, confessed to the Padre de la Merced and to the priest, Juan Díaz, who were occupied all night in hearing our repentance and commending us to God and praying that He would pardon us and save us

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[1] Maxixcatzin.

[2] Chichimecatecuhtli.

from defeat. In this way the time passed until the next day, and the attack which they made on us I will now describe.

CHAPTER LXV.

Concerning the great battle which we fought against the forces of Tlaxcala, in which it pleased our Lord God to give us the victory, and what else happened.

THE next morning, the 5th of September, 1519, we mustered the horses. There was not one of the wounded men who did not come forward to join the ranks and give as much help as he could. The crossbowmen were warned to use the store of darts very cautiously, some of them loading while the others were shooting, and the musketeers were to act in the same way, and the men with sword and shield were instructed to aim their cuts and thrusts at the bowels [of their enemies] so that they would not dare to come as close to us as they did before. The artillery was all ready for action, and the horsemen had already been instructed to aid one another and to hold their lances short, and not to stop to spear anyone except in the face and eyes—charging and returning at a hand gallop and no soldier was on any account to break away from the ranks. With our banner unfurled, and four of our comrades guarding the standard-bearer, Corral, we set out from our camp. We had not marched half a quarter of a league before we began to see the fields crowded with warriors with great feather crests and distinguishing devices, and to hear the blare of horns and trumpets.

Here would be a great opportunity to write down in proper order what happened to us in this most perilous and doubtful battle, for so many warriors surrounded us on all sides that [the situation] might be compared to a

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great plain, two leagues long and about the same breadth, and in its midst, four hundred men. Thus all the plain was swarming with warriors and we stood four hundred men in number, and of those many sick and wounded. And we knew for certain that this time our foe came with the determination to leave none of us alive excepting those who would be sacrificed to their idols.

To go back to our battle: How they began to charge on us! What a hail of stones sped from their slings! As for their bowmen, the javelins lay like corn on the threshing floor; all of them barbed and fire-hardened, which would pierce any armour and would reach the vitals where there is no protection; the men with swords and shields and other arms larger than swords, such as broadswords, and lances, how they pressed on us and with what valour and what mighty shouts and yells they charged upon us! The steady bearing of our artillery, musketeers and crossbowmen, was indeed a help to us, and we did the enemy much damage, and those of them who came close to us with their swords and broadswords met with such sword play from us that they were forced back and they did not close in on us so often as in the last battle. The horsemen were so skilful and bore themselves so valiantly that, after God who protected us, they were our bulwark. However, I saw that our troops were in considerable confusion, so that neither the shouts of Cortés nor the other captains availed to make them close up their ranks, and so many Indians charged down on us that it was only by a miracle of sword play that we could make them give way so that our ranks could be reformed. One thing only saved our lives, and that was that the enemy were so numerous and so crowded one on another that the shots wrought havoc among them, and in addition to this they were not well commanded, for all the captains with their forces could not come into action, and from what we knew, since the

last battle had been fought, there had been disputes and quarrels between the Captain Xicotenga and another captain the son of Chichimecatecle, over what the one had said to the other, that he had not fought well in the previous battle; to this the son of Chichimecatecle replied that he had fought better [than Xicotenga] and was ready to prove it by personal combat. So in this battle Chichimecatecle and his men would not help Xicotenga, and we knew for a certainty that he had also called on the company of Huexotzinco to abstain from fighting. Besides this, ever since the last battle they were afraid of the horses and the musketry, and the swords and crossbows, and our hard fighting; above all was the mercy of God which gave us strength to endure. So Xicotenga was not obeyed by two of the commanders, and we were doing great damage to his men, for we were killing many of them, and this they tried to conceal; for as they were so numerous, whenever one of their men was wounded, they immediately bound him up and carried him off on their shoulders, so that in this battle, as in the last, we never saw a dead man.

The enemy were already losing heart, and knowing that the followers of the other two captains whom I have already named, would not come to their assistance, they began to give way. It seems that in that battle we had killed one very important captain, not to mention others, and the enemy began to retreat in good order, our horsemen following them at a hand gallop for a short distance, for they could not sit their horses for fatigue, and when we found ourselves free from that multitude of warriors, we gave thanks to God.

In this engagement, one soldier was killed, and sixty were wounded, and all the horses were wounded as well. They gave me two wounds, one in the head with a stone, and one in the thigh with an arrow; but this did not prevent me from fighting, and keeping watch, and helping our

soldiers, and all the soldiers who were wounded did the same; for if the wounds were not very dangerous, we had to fight and keep guard, wounded as we were, for few of us remained unwounded.

Then we returned to our camp, well contented, and giving thanks to God. We buried the dead in one of those houses which the Indians had built underground, so that the enemy should not see that we were mortals, but should believe that, as they said, we were Teules. We threw much earth over the top of the house, so that they should not smell the bodies, then we doctored all the wounded with the fat of the Indian, as I have related before. It was cold comfort to be even without salt or oil with which to cure the wounded. There was another want from which we suffered, and it was a severe one—and that was clothes with which to cover ourselves, for such a cold wind came from the snow mountains, that it made us shiver, for our lances and muskets and crossbows made a poor covering. That night we slept with more tranquillity than on the night before, when we had so much duty to do, with scouting, spies, watchmen and patrols.

I will leave off here and relate what we did on the next day. In this battle we captured three Indian chieftains.

CHAPTER LXVI.

How next day we sent messengers to the Caciques of Tlaxcala, begging them to make peace, and what they did about it.

AFTER the battle which I have described was over, in which we had captured three Indian chieftains, our Captain Cortés sent them at once in company with the two others who were in our camp and who had already been sent as messengers, and ordered them to go to the Caciques of Tlaxcala and tell them that we begged them to make peace

and to grant us a passage through their country on our way to Mexico, as we had already sent to request them, and to say that if they did not now come to terms, we would slay all their people, but that as we were well disposed towards them and wished to treat them as brothers, we had no desire to annoy them, unless they gave us reason to do so; and he said many flattering things to them so as to make friends of them, and the messengers then set out eagerly for the capital of Tlaxcala and gave their message to all the Caciques already mentioned by me, whom they found gathered in council with many other elders and priests. They were very sorrowful both over the want of success in the war and at the death of those captains, their sons and relations, who had fallen in battle. As they were not very willing to listen to the message, they decided to summon all the soothsayers, priests, and those others called *Tacal naguas* (who are like wizards and foretell fortunes), and they told them to find out from their witchcraft, charms, and lots what people we were, and if by giving us battle day and night without ceasing we could be conquered, and to say if we were Teules, (which, as I have already said many times, are evil beings, like devils,) as the people of Cempoala asserted, and to tell them what things we ate, and ordered them to look into all these matters with the greatest care.

When the soothsayers and wizards and many priests had got together and made their prophecies and forecasts, and performed all the other rites according to their use, it seems that they said that by their divinations they had found out we were men of flesh and blood and ate poultry and dogs and bread and fruit when we had them, and that we did not eat the flesh nor the hearts of the Indians whom we killed. It seems that our Indian friends whom we had brought from Cempoala had made them believe that we were Teules, and that we ate the

hearts of Indians, and that the cannon shot forth lightning, such as falls from heaven, and that the Lurcher, which was a sort of lion or tiger, and the horses, were used to catch Indians when we wanted to kill them, and much more nonsense of the same sort.

The worst of all that the priests and wizards told the Caciques was, that it was not during the day, but only at night that we could be defeated, for as night fell, all our strength left us. Furthermore, their wizards told them that by day we were very valiant, and all this strength lasted throughout the day up to sunset, but that as soon as night came on we had no strength whatever. When the Caciques heard this, and they were quite convinced of it, they sent to tell their captain general Xicotenga that as soon as it was possible he should come and attack us in great force by night. On receiving this order Xicotenga assembled ten thousand of the bravest of his Indians and came to our camp, and from three sides they began alternately to shoot arrows and throw single pointed javelins from their spear throwers, and from the fourth side the swordsmen and those armed with macanas and broadswords approached so suddenly, that they felt sure that they would carry some of us off to be sacrificed. Our Lord God provided otherwise, for secretly as they approached, they found us well on the alert, and as soon as our outposts and spies perceived the great noise of their movement, they ran at breakneck speed to give the alarm, and as we were all accustomed to sleep ready shod, with our arms on us and our horses bitted and saddled, and with all our arms ready for use, we defended ourselves with guns, crossbows and sword play so that they soon turned their backs. As the ground was level and there was a moon the horsemen followed them a little way, and in the morning we found lying on the plain about twenty of them dead and wounded. So they went back with great loss and sorely repenting

this night expedition, and I have heard it said, that as what the priests and wizards had advised did not turn out well they sacrificed two of them.

That night, one of our Indian friends from Cempoala was killed and two of our soldiers were wounded and one horse, and we captured four of the enemy. When we found that we had escaped from that impetuous attack we gave thanks to God, and we buried our Cempoala friend and tended the wounded and the horse, and slept the rest of the night after taking every precaution to protect the camp as was our custom.

When we awoke and saw how all of us were wounded, even with two or three wounds, and how weary we were and how others were sick and clothed in rags, and knew that Xicotenga was always after us, and already over forty-five of our soldiers had been killed in battle, or succumbed to disease and chills, and another dozen of them were ill, and our Captain Cortés himself was suffering from fever as well as the Padre de la Merced, and what with our labours and the weight of our arms which we always carried on our backs, and other hardships from chills and the want of salt, for we could never find any to eat, we began to wonder what would be the outcome of all this fighting, and what we should do and where we should go when it was finished. To march into Mexico we thought too arduous an undertaking because of its great armies, and we said to one another that if those Tlaxcalans, which our Cempoalan friends had led us to believe were peacefully disposed, could reduce us to these straits, what would happen when we found ourselves at war with the great forces of Montezuma? In addition to this we had heard nothing from the Spaniards whom we had left settled in Villa Rica, nor they of us. As there were among us very excellent gentlemen and soldiers, steady and valiant men of good counsel, Cortés never said or did anything [important] without first asking

well considered advice, and acting in concert with us. Although the historian Gomara says Cortés did this and that, and came here and went there, and says many other things without reason, even if Cortés were made of iron, as Gomara in his history says he was, he could not be everywhere at once. Suffice it to say that he bore himself like a good commander. This I say, for after all the great mercies which our Lord granted us in all our doings, and in the late victories, and in everything else, it seems that God gave us soldiers grace and good counsel to advise Cortés how to do all things in the right way.

Let us cease praising and cease speaking of past praises, for they do not add much to our history, and let me relate how one and all we put heart into Cortés, and told him that he must get well again and reckon upon us, and that as with the help of God we had escaped from such perilous battles, our Lord Jesus Christ must have preserved us for some good end; that he [Cortés] should at once set our prisoners free and send them to the head Caciques already named by me, so as to bring them to peace, when all that had taken place would be pardoned, including the death of the mare.

Let us leave this and say how Doña Marina who, although a native woman, possessed such manly valour that, although she had heard every day how the Indians were going to kill us and eat our flesh with chili, and had seen us surrounded in the late battles, and knew that all of us were wounded and sick, yet never allowed us to see any sign of fear in her, only a courage passing that of woman. So Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar spoke to the messengers whom we were now sending and told them that they must come and make peace at once, and that if it was not concluded within two days we should go and kill them all and destroy their country and would come to seek them in their city, and with these brave words they were dispatched

to the capital where Xicotenga the elder and Mase Escasi were [residing].

Let us leave this, and I will mention another thing that I have noticed, that the historian Gomara does not mention or make any record in his history of the fact that any of us were killed or wounded, or underwent any hardships, or suffered, but writes about it all as though we were going to a wedding, and it is thus that we find it recorded. Oh!—how badly those men advised him when they told him to put such things in his history! It has made all of us conquerors reflect upon what he wrote down, which not being true, he ought to have remembered, that as soon as we saw his history we must out with the truth!

Let us forget Gomara and say that our messengers went to the capital of Tlaxcala with our message, and I think that they carried a letter, for although we knew they could not understand it, yet they would look on it as an order, and with it was sent an arrow, and they found the two chief Caciques who were in conference with the other chieftains, and what they answered I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER LXVII.

How we again sent messengers to the Caciques of Tlaxcala to bring them to peace, and what they did about it and decided.

WHEN the messengers whom we had sent to treat for peace arrived at Tlaxcala, they found the two principal Caciques in consultation, namely: Mase Escasi and Xicotenga, the elder (the father of the Captain General Xicotenga, so often mentioned by me, who bore the same name). When they had heard the embassy, they were undecided and kept silence for a few moments, and it pleased God to guide their thoughts towards making peace

with us; and they sent at once to summon all the other Caciques and captains who were in their towns, and those of a neighbouring province called Huexotzingo who were their friends and allies, and when all had come together to the town where they were, which was their capital, Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder, who were very wise men, made them a speech, as we afterwards learned, to the following effect, if not exactly in these words:

"Brothers and friends, you have already seen how many times these Teules who are in this country expecting to be attacked, have sent us messengers asking us to make peace, saying that they come to assist us and adopt us as brothers; and you have also seen how many times they have taken prisoners numbers of our vassals to whom they do no harm, and whom they quickly set free. You well know how we have three times attacked them with all our forces, both by day and by night, and have failed to conquer them, and that they have killed during the attacks we made on them, many of our people, and of our sons, relations and captains. Now, again, they have sent to ask us to make peace and the people of Cempoala whom they are bringing in their company say that they are the enemies of Montezuma and his Mexicans, and have ordered the towns of the Totonac sierra and those of Cempoala no longer to pay tribute to Montezuma. You will remember well enough that the Mexicans make war on us every year, and have done so for more than a hundred years, and you can readily see that we are hemmed in in our own lands, so that we do not dare to go outside even to seek for salt, so that we have none to eat, and we have no cotton, and bring in very little cotton cloth, and if some of our people go out or have gone out to seek for it, few of them return alive, for those traitorous Mexicans and their allies kill them or make slaves of them. Our wizards[1] and sooth-

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[1] Tacal naguas.

sayers and priests have told us what they think about the persons of these Teules, and that they are very valiant. It seems to me that we should seek to be friends with them, and in either case, whether they be men or Teules, that we should make them welcome, and that four of our chieftains should set out at once and take them plenty to eat, and should offer them friendship and peace, so that they should assist us and defend us against our enemies, and let us bring them here to us, and give them women, so that we may have relationship with their offspring, for the ambassadors whom they have sent to treat for peace, tell us that they have some women with them."

When they had listened tó this discourse, all the Caciques and chiefs approved of it and said that it was a wise decision and that peace should be made at once, and that notice should be sent to the Captain Xicotenga and the other captains who were with him to return at once and not to attack again, and that they should be told that peace was already made, and messengers were immediately sent off to announce it. However, the Captain Xicotenga the younger would not listen to the four chiefs, and got very angry and used abusive language against them, and said he was not for peace, for he had already killed many of the Teules and a mare, and that he wished to attack us again by night and completely conquer us and slay us.

When his father, Xicotenga the elder, and Mase Escasi and the other Caciques heard this reply they were very angry, and sent orders at once to the captains and to all the army that they should not join Xicotenga in attacking us again, and should not obey him in anything that he ordered unless it was in making peace. And even so he would not obey, and when they [the Caciques] saw the disobedience of their captain, they at once sent the same four chieftains whom they had sent before, to bring food to our camp and treat for peace in the name of all

Tlaxcala and Huexotzingo, but, from fear of Xicotenga the younger, the four old men did not come at that time, and as two or three things happened at the same moment, both in our camp and in the treating for peace, and as I must take in hand that which seems most convenient, I will cease speaking about the four Indian chieftains who were sent to treat for peace but did not dare to come for fear of Xicotenga, for at this time we went with Cortés to a town near our camp, and what happened I will tell in the next chapter.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

How we agreed to go to a town which was near to our camp, and what we did about it.

As two days had passed without our doing anything worthy of record, we suggested to Cortés, and it was agreed to, that as there was a town about one league distant from our camp which had sent no reply when summoned to make peace, that we should march against it by night and take it by surprise, not with intent to do it any harm, I mean not to kill or wound its inhabitants, or take them prisoners, but to carry off food and to frighten or talk them into making peace, according to the way they might act.

This town was called Tzumpantzingo,[1] and was the capital of many other small towns, and the township where our camp was placed, which was called Tecoadçunpançingo, was subject to it, and all round about it was thickly peopled.

So one night, long before the approach of dawn, we rose early to go to that town with six of the best horsemen and

[1] Çunpanzingo in the original.

the healthiest of the soldiers and ten crossbowmen and eight musketeers, with Cortés as our captain, although he was suffering from tertian fever, and we left the camp as well guarded as was possible. We started on our march two hours before dawn came, and there was such a cold wind that morning blowing down from the snowy mountains that it made us shiver and shake, and the horses we had with us felt it keenly, for two of them were seized with colic and were trembling all over, which worried us a good deal as we feared that they would die. Cortés ordered their owners to take them back to the camp and try to cure them.

As the town was not far off we arrived there before daylight, and when the natives perceived our approach, they fled from their houses shouting to one another to look out for the Teules who were coming to kill them, and the parents, in their panic, did not even wait to look after their children. When we saw what was happening, we halted in a court until it was daylight, so as not to do the people any harm. As soon as the priests who were in the temples, the elders of the town and some of the old chieftains saw that we stood there without doing any harm, they came to Cortés and asked his pardon for not coming to our camp peacefully and bringing food when we had summoned them to do so, the reason being that the captain Xicotenga, who was in the neighbourhood, had sent to them to say that they should not give us any, because his camp was supplied from that town and from many others, and he had with him as warriors the sons of the people of that town and from all the territory of Tlaxcala. Cortés told them through our interpreters, Doña Marina and Aguilar, who always went with us on every expedition—even when it took place at night—to have no fear, but to go at once to the Caciques at the capital and tell them to come and make peace, for the war was disastrous to them,

and he [Cortés] sent those [same] priests [as messengers], for, by the other messengers whom we had sent we had so far received no reply whatever. Concerning the circumstance I have mentioned of the Caciques of Tlaxcala sending four chieftains to treat for peace, up to that time these had not arrived.

These priests of the town quickly searched for more than forty cocks and hens and two women to grind tortillas, and brought them to us, and Cortés thanked them for it, and ordered them at once to send twenty Indians to our camp, and they came with the food without any fear whatever and stayed in the camp until the afternoon, and they were given little beads with which they returned well contented to their homes, and in all the small hamlets in our neighbourhood they spread word that we were good because we caused them no annoyance, and the priests and elders sent notice to the captain Xicotenga and told him how they had given us the food and the women, and he rated them severely, and they went at once to the capital to make it known to the old Caciques. As soon as they heard that we had not done the people any harm, although we might have killed many of them that night, and that we were sending them to treat for peace, they were greatly pleased, and ordered that we should be supplied every day with all that we needed; and they again ordered the four Caciques, whom they had before charged with the mission of peace, to depart instantly for our camp, and carry with them all the food that had been prepared. We then returned to our camp with our supplies of food and the Indian women, all of us well contented.

I must leave off here and relate what passed in the camp while we were gone away to that town.

CHAPTER LXIX.

How when we returned with Cortés from Tzumpantzingo[1] with supplies, we found certain discussions being carried on in our camp, and what Cortés replied to them.

WHEN we returned from Tzumpantzingo,[2] as the town is called, with our supplies of food, very contented at leaving the place pacified, we found that in camp there had been meetings and discussions about the very great danger we were running day by day during this war, and on our arrival the discussion grew most lively. Those who talked most and were most persistent, were those who had left houses and assignments of Indians behind them in Cuba, and as many as seven of these men (whose names I will not mention so as to save their honour) met together and went to the hut where Cortés was lodging, and one of them who spoke for all, for he was very fluent of speech and knew very well what they had come to propose, said, as though he were giving advice to Cortés, that he should take heed of the condition we were in, wounded and thin and half-hearted, and the great hardships that we endured by night as sentinels and spies, or patrols and scouts, and both by day and night in fighting. According to the accounts he had made up, since leaving Cuba we had lost over fifty-five of our comrades, and knew nothing about those whom we had left as settlers at Villa Rica; and although God had given us victory in the battles and skirmishes since we came from Cuba to this province and by His great pity had sustained us, we ought not to tempt Him so many times, and might it not turn out worse than Pedro Carbonero[3]; that he [Cortés] had got us into an

[1] Çinpançingo in the original. [2] Çunpanzingo in the original.
[3] Spoken proverbially of Pedro Carbonero, who penetrated into the land of the Moors, but failed to return, and perished there with all his followers.

unexpected situation, and that some day or other we should be sacrificed to the idols, which please God would not happen; but that it would be a good thing to return to our town and the fortress which we had built, and stay among the towns of our friends the Totonacs until we could build a ship which should be dispatched to Diego Velásquez and to other parts and islands to ask them to send us help and assistance; and that now the ships which we sunk would have been useful to us, and we might have left at least two of them in case of necessity arising, but without consulting them about this, or about anything else, by the advice of those who did not know how to provide for changes of fortune, he [Cortés] had ordered them all to be sunk, and please God that he and those who had given him such advice would not repent of it; that we were no longer able to support the burden much less the many overburdens [which we were carrying] and that we were going along worse than beasts of burden; for when a beast has done its day's work its packsaddle is taken off and it is given food and rest; but we went booted and loaded down with our arms both by day and night; and they told Cortés besides that he could see in any history that neither the Romans nor Alexander, nor any other of the most famous captains whom the world had known, had dared to destroy their ships and with such a small force throw themselves against such a great population with so many warriors as he had done, and that it would be the cause of his own death and that of all his followers; that he should wish to preserve his life and the lives of us all, and that we should at once return to Villa Rica as the country there was at peace; that they had not said all this before, as there had been no time to do so on account of the many warriors who were opposed to us every day, both in front and on our flanks; and although they had not returned to the attack they believed that they

would do so, and since Xicotenga with his great power had not been to look for us during the last three days, that he must be collecting his forces and we ought not to await another battle like the last; and they said more to the same effect.

Cortés noticing that they spoke somewhat haughtily, considering that their words took the form of unasked advice, answered them very gently and said that he was aware of many of the things that they had mentioned, and that from what he had seen and believed, there was not in the whole world another [company of] Spaniards who were hardier, or who had fought with greater courage, or had endured such excessive hardships as we had, and that if we had not marched with arms continually on our backs, and kept watch, and gone on patrol, and suffered cold, and if we had not done all this we should already have perished, and that it was to save our lives that we had to endure those hardships and even greater ones, and he said: "Why, sirs, should we talk about deeds of valour when in truth our Lord is pleased to help us? When I remember seeing us surrounded by so many companies of the enemy and watching the play of their broadswords so close to us, it even now terrifies me, especially when they killed the mare with a single sword cut; we indeed seemed to be defeated and lost, and then I appreciated your great courage more than ever. As God then freed us from such great danger, so I have trust in Him that He will do the same in the future; and I will say more—that in all such dangers you will find no slackness on my part when I share them with you." He had good reason to say so for in all the battles he was to be found in the front. "I wish you, sirs, to bear in mind, that as our Lord has been pleased to help us, we have hope that so it may be in the future, for ever since we have penetrated into this country, in all the towns we have passed through, we have preached

the holy doctrine as well as we were able, and have induced the Indians to destroy their idols. As we already see that neither Xicotenga nor his captains put in an appearance and that they are afraid to return, for we must have done them great damage in the late battles, and that they are not able to assemble their followers, as they have already been defeated three times"; for these reasons he had confidence in God and his advocate, San Pedro, who prays for us, that the war in this province is ended. "Now, as you have seen, the people of Cinpancingo are bringing food and have made peace and so have our neighbours here who have returned to live in their houses." As for the destruction of the ships, it was very well advised, and that if some of them were not consulted in the matter, as the other gentlemen were, it was because he [Cortés] resented what happened on the beach, which he did not now wish to call to mind; that the opinion and advice which they now gave him was on a par with that which they gave on that occasion; that they could see that there were many other gentlemen in the camp who strongly opposed what they were now asking and advising, and that it would be better to trust all matters to God and to follow them up in His holy service. "As to what you say, sirs, that the most renowned Roman captains have never done such great deeds as we have—you tell the truth. And from now onwards, God helping us, they will say in the histories that record these events far more than they may have said about those that happened before; so, as I have already said, all our labours are devoted to the service of God and our great Emperor Don Carlos, and under his true justice and Christianity will be aided by the mercy of our Lord, and He will support us as we go from good to better. So, gentlemen, it is clearly no good to go back a single step, for if these people and those whom we leave behind in peace were to see us in retreat, the very stones would rise up

against us. As at the present time they take us for gods and idols, and so call us, they would then look on us as cowards and weaklings."

"As for what you say about staying among the friendly Totonacs, our allies, if they should see us return without going to Mexico, they would rise against us, and the reason for this would be that, as we stopped them from paying tribute to Montezuma, he would send his Mexican forces against them to bring them again under tribute and make war on them and would order them to make war on us, and they, so as to escape destruction, for they greatly fear the Mexicans, would soon set to work; so that where we expected to have friends we would find enemies. Then as soon as the great Montezuma learned that we had retreated, what would he say? What would he think of our words, and of what we sent to tell him? That it was all a joke or child's play. So, gentlemen, if one way is bad, the other way is worse, and it is better to stay where we are, where there is open ground thickly inhabited, and our camp is well supplied with food, sometimes poultry, at others dogs, and thank God there is no lack of food. And I wish we had salt—which is our greatest want at present, and clothes to protect us from the cold. As to what you say, sirs, that we have lost fifty-five soldiers, since we left the Island of Cuba, from wounds, starvation, cold, illness and hardship, and that we are now few in number and all sick and wounded, God gives us the strength of a host; it is clearly a fact that wars use up men and horses, and that sometimes we feed well, but we did not come here to rest ourselves, but to fight when opportunity offered. Therefore, I pray you, sirs, have the goodness to act like gentlemen, as persons who are used to put courage into those you may see showing weakness, and from now on give up thinking of the Island of Cuba and what you left there, and try to do what you have hitherto always done—

your duty—as good soldiers; for after God, who is your aid and support, we must rely on our own strong arms."

When Cortés had given this reply, those soldiers renewed their argument. They admitted that all that Cortés had told them had been well said, but that when we left the town where we had made a settlement, our intention was, and now still is, to go to Mexico, which has such a great reputation on account of the strength of the city and its great number of warriors. The people of Cempoala said that the Tlaxcalans were a peaceful people, and they had no such reputation as those of Mexico, yet we had been in great danger of losing our lives, and if they should attack us next day in another battle such as those we had gone through, we were too exhausted to hold our own. If they did not attack us again, still the journey to Mexico seemed to them a very terrible thing, and that he should reconsider what he was saying and commanding.

Cortés answered half angrily that "It was better to die in a good cause, as the Psalms said, than to live dishonoured!" And in addition to this which Cortés told them, the greater number of the soldiers, those who had elected Cortés captain, and had given him counsel about destroying the ships, cried out loudly that he should not trouble himself about gossip or listen to such tales, for with the help of God, by acting well together, we should be ready to do the right thing, and so all the talk ended.

It is true enough that they grumbled at Cortés and cursed him, and even at us who had advised him, and at the Cempoalans who had brought us here, and said other unworthy things, but in such times they were overlooked. Finally all were fairly obedient, and I will leave off talking about this, and will relate how the aged Caciques again sent messengers from the capital of Tlaxcala to their captain general Xicotenga to say that without fail he should immediately visit us in peace and bring us food,

for so it was decreed by all the caciques and chieftains of their land and of Huexotzingo. They also sent to order the captains who were in Xicotenga's company, to refuse him all obedience if he did not go and make peace. This they sent to say three times, for they knew for certain that Xicotenga did not wish to obey them, but was determined once again to attack our camp by night, and for this purpose had assembled twenty thousand men, and being haughty and very stubborn, that now, as at other times, he would not obey.

What he did in the matter I will tell further on.

CHAPTER LXX.

How the Captain Xicotenga had got ready twenty thousand picked warriors to attack our camp and what was done about it.

WHEN Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder, and the greater number of the Caciques of the capital of Tlaxcala sent four times to tell their captain not to attack us but to go and treat for peace, he was very close to our camp, and they sent to the other captains who were with him and told them not to follow him unless it was to accompany him when he went to see us peacefully.

As Xicotenga was bad tempered and obstinate and proud, he decided to send forty Indians with food, poultry, bread and fruit and four miserable looking old Indian women, and much copal and many parrots' feathers. From their appearance we thought that the Indians who brought this present came with peaceful intentions, and when they reached our camp they fumigated Cortés with incense without doing him reverence, as was usually their custom. They said: "The Captain Xicotenga sends you all this so that you can eat. If you are savage Teules, as the Cempoalans say you are, and if you wish for a sacrifice,

take these four women and sacrifice them and you can eat their flesh and hearts, but as we do not know your manner of doing it, we have not sacrificed them now before you; but if you are men, eat the poultry and the bread and fruit, and if you are tame Teules we have brought you copal (which I have already said is a sort of incense) and parrots' feathers; make your sacrifice with that."

Cortés answered through our interpreters that he had already sent to them to say that he desired peace and had not come to make war, but had come to entreat them and make clear to them on behalf of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we believe in and worship, and of the Emperor Don Carlos, whose vassals we are, that they should not kill or sacrifice anyone as was their custom to do. That we were all men of bone and flesh just as they were, and not Teules but Christians, and that it was not our custom to kill anyone; that had we wished to kill people, many opportunities of perpetrating cruelties had occurred during the frequent attacks they had made on us, both by day and night. That for the food they had brought he gave them thanks, and that they were not to be as foolish as they had been, but should now make peace.

It seems that these Indians whom Xicotenga had sent with the food were spies sent to examine our huts and ranchos, and horses and artillery and [to report] how many of us there were in each hut, our comings and goings, and everything else that could be seen in the camp. They remained there that day and the following night, and some of them went with messages to Xicotenga and others arrived. Our friends whom we had brought with us from Cempoala looked on and bethought them that it was not a customary thing for our enemies to stay in the camp day and night without any purpose, and it was clear to them that they were spies, and they were the more suspicious of them in that when we went on the expedition to the little town of

Tzumpantzingo, two old men of that town had told the Cempoalans that Xicotenga was all ready with a large number of warriors to attack our camp by night, in such a way that their approach would not be detected, and the Cempoalans at that time took it for a joke or bravado, and not believing it they had said nothing to Cortés; but Doña Marina heard of it at once and she repeated it to Cortés.

So as to learn the truth, Cortés had two of the most honest looking of the Tlaxcalans taken apart from the others, and they confessed that they were spies; then two others were taken and they also confessed that they were spies from Xicotenga and the reason why they had come. Cortés ordered them to be released, and we took two more of them and they confessed that they were neither more nor less than spies, but added that their Captain Xicotenga was awaiting their report to attack us that night with all his companies. When Cortés heard this he let it be known throughout the camp that we were to keep on the alert, believing that they would attack as had been arranged. Then he had seventeen of those spies captured and cut off the hands of some and the thumbs of others and sent them to the Captain Xicotenga to tell him that he had had them thus punished for daring to come in such a way, and to tell him that he might come when he chose by day or by night, for we should await him here two days, and that if he did not come within those two days that we would go and look for him in his camp, and that we would already have gone to attack them and kill them, were it not for the liking we had for them, and that now they should quit their foolishness and make peace.

They say that it was at the very moment that those Indians set out with their hands and thumbs cut off, that Xicotenga wished to set out from his camp with all his forces to attack us by night as had been arranged; but when he saw his spies returning in this manner he wondered

greatly and asked the reason of it, and they told him all that had happened, and from this time forward he lost his courage and pride, and in addition to this one of his commanders with whom he had wrangles and disagreements during the battles which had been fought, had left the camp with all his men.

Let us get on with our story.

CHAPTER LXXI.

How the four chieftains who had been sent to treat for peace arrived in our camp and the speech they made, and what else happened.

WHILE we were in camp not knowing that they would come in peace, as we had so greatly desired, and were busy polishing our arms and making arrows, each one of us doing what was necessary to prepare for battle, at that moment one of our scouts came hurrying in to say that many Indian men and women with loads were coming along the high road from Tlaxcala, and without leaving the road were making for our camp, and that the other scout, his companion, who was on horseback, was watching to see which way they went; meanwhile the other scout, his companion, who was on horseback, arrived and said that the people were close by and coming straight in our direction, and every now and then were making short stops. Cortés and all of us were delighted at this news, for we believed that it meant peace, as in fact it did, and Cortés ordered us to make no display of alarm and not to show any concern, but to stay hidden in our huts. Then, from out of all those people who came bearing loads, the four chieftains advanced who were charged to treat for peace, according to the instructions given by the old caciques. Making signs of peace by bowing the head, they came straight to the hut where Cortés was lodging and

placed one hand on the ground and kissed the earth and three times made obeisance and burnt copal, and said that all the Caciques of Tlaxcala and their allies and vassals, friends and confederates, were come to place themselves under the friendship and peace of Cortés and of his brethren the Teules who accompanied him. They asked his pardon for not having met us peacefully, and for the war which they had waged on us, for they had believed and held for certain that we were friends of Montezuma and his Mexicans, who have been their mortal enemies from times long past, for they saw that many of his vassals who paid him tribute had come in our company, and they believed that they were endeavouring to gain an entry into their country by guile and treachery, as was their custom to do, so as to rob them of their women and children; and this was the reason why they did not believe the messengers whom we had sent to them. In addition to this they said that the Indians who had first gone forth to make war on us as we entered their country had done it without their orders or advice, but by that of the Chuntales[1] Estomies, who were wild people and very stupid, and that when they saw that we were so few in number, they thought to capture us and carry us off as prisoners to their lords and gain thanks for so doing; that now they came to beg pardon for their audacity, and had brought us food, and that every day they would bring more and trusted that we would receive it with the friendly feeling with which it was sent; that within two days the captain Xicotenga would come with other Caciques and give a

[1] "Chontal in the Mexican language means barbarous," *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. ii, p. 342; it here means the barbarous Otomís. The Otomis, according to Aztec tradition, were the earliest owners of the soil in Central Mexico; their headquarters were in what are now known as the States of Queretaro and Guanajuato, but there were Otomí communities living among other tribes in many parts of Central Mexico.

further account of the sincere wish of all Tlaxcala to enjoy our friendship.

As soon as they had finished their discourse they bowed their heads and placed their hands on the ground and kissed the earth. Then Cortés spoke to them through our interpreters very seriously, pretending he was angry, and said that there were reasons why we should not listen to them and should reject their friendship, for as soon as we had entered their country we sent to them offering peace and had told them that we wished to assist them against their enemies, the Mexicans, and they would not believe it and wished to kill our ambassadors; and not content with that, they had attacked us three times both by day and by night, and had spied on us and held us under observation; and in the attacks which they made on us we might have killed many of their vassals, but he would not, and he grieved for those who were killed; but it was their own fault and he had made up his mind to go to the place where the old chiefs were living and to attack them; but as they had now sought peace in the name of that province, he would receive them in the name of our lord the King and thank them for the food they had brought. He told them to go at once to their chieftains and tell them to come or send to treat for peace with fuller powers, and that if they did not come we would go to their town and attack them.

He ordered them to be given some blue beads to be handed to their Caciques as a sign of peace, and he warned them that when they came to our camp it should be by day and not by night, lest we should kill them.

Then those four messengers departed, and left in some Indian houses a little apart from our camp, the Indian women whom they had brought to make bread, some poultry, and all the necessaries for service, and twenty Indians to bring wood and water. From now on they

brought us plenty to eat, and when we saw this and believed that peace was a reality, we gave great thanks to God for it. It had come in the nick of time, for we were already lean and worn out and discontented with the war, not knowing or being able to forecast what would be the end of it.

In the past chapters the historian Gomara says that Cortés ascended some cliffs and saw the town of Tzumpantzingo. I repeat that it was close by our camp and that the soldier must have been very blind who wishing to see it could not see it and see it very clearly. He also says that the soldiers wanted to mutiny and rebel, and he says other things which I do not care to write down, as it is a waste of words. I say that never in the world was a captain obeyed with more respect and punctuality, as will be seen further on. No such thought entered into the head of a single soldier from the time we marched inland, unless it was on the one occasion of the sand dunes.

The words which were said in this last chapter were by way of advice and because it seemed to them that they were right and not for any other reason, for the men always followed him truly and loyally. Whoever sees Gomara's history will believe it to be true, as it is expressed with such eloquence, although it is quite the reverse of what really took place.

I will leave off here and will go on to tell what took place later, about some messengers sent by the great Montezuma.

CHAPTER LXXII.

How ambassadors from Montezuma, the great lord of Mexico, came to our camp, and of the present which they brought.

As our Lord God, through his great loving kindness, was pleased to give us victory in those battles in Tlaxcala, our fame spread throughout the surrounding country, and reached the ears of the great Montezuma in the great City of Mexico; and if hitherto they took us for Teules, which is the same as their idols, from now on they held us in even greater respect as valiant warriors, and terror fell on the whole country at learning how, being so few in number and the Tlaxcalans in such great force, we had conquered them and that they had sued us for peace. So that now Montezuma, the great Prince of Mexico, powerful as he was, was in fear of our going to his city, and sent five chieftains, men of much importance, to our camp at Tlaxcala to bid us welcome, and say that he was rejoiced at our great victory against so many squadrons of warriors, and he sent a present, a matter of a thousand dollars worth of gold, in very rich jewelled ornaments, worked in various shapes, and twenty loads of fine cotton cloth, and he sent word that he wished to become the vassal of our great Emperor, and that he was pleased that we were already near his city, on account of the good will that he bore Cortés and all his brothers, the Teules, who were with him (for so they called us) and that he [Cortés] should decide how much tribute he wished for every year for our great Emperor, and that he [Montezuma] would give it in gold and silver, cloth and chalchihuites, provided we would not come to Mexico. This was not because he would not receive us with the greatest willingness, but because the land was rough and sterile, and he would regret to see us undergo such hardships which perchance he might not

be able to alleviate as well as he could wish. Cortés answered by saying that he highly appreciated the good will shown us, and the present which had been sent, and the offer to pay tribute to his Majesty, and he begged the messengers not to depart until he went to the capital of Tlaxcala, as he would despatch them from that place, for they could then see how that war ended, and he did not wish to give them his reply at once, because he had purged himself the day before with some camomiles such as are found in the Island of Cuba, and are very good for one who knows how to take them. I will leave this subject and tell what else happened in our camp.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

How Xicotenga, the Captain General of Tlaxcala, came to treat for peace, and what he said and what he settled with us.

CORTÉS was talking to the ambassadors of Montezuma, as I have already said, and wanted to take some rest, for he was ill with fever and had purged himself the day before, when they came to tell him that the Captain Xicotenga was arriving with many other Caciques and Captains, all clothed in white and red cloaks, half of the cloak was white and the other half red, for this was the device and livery of Xicotenga, [who was approaching] in a very peaceful manner, and was bringing with him in his company about fifty chieftains.

When Xicotenga reached Cortés's quarters he paid him the greatest respect by his obeisance, and ordered much copal to be burned. Cortés, with the greatest show of affection, seated him by his side and Xicotenga said that he came on behalf of his father and of Mase Escasi and all the Caciques, and Commonwealth of Tlaxcala to pray Cortés

to admit them to our friendship, and that he came to render obedience to our King and Lord, and to ask pardon for having taken up arms and made war upon us. That this had been done because they did not know who we were, and they had taken it for certain that we had come on behalf of their enemy Montezuma, and as it frequently happened that craft and cunning was used to gain entrance to their country so as to rob and pillage it, they had believed that this was now the case, and for that reason had endeavoured to defend themselves and their country, and were obliged to show fight. He said that they were a very poor people who possessed neither gold, nor silver, nor precious stones, nor cotton cloth, nor even salt to eat, because Montezuma gave them no opportunity to go out and search for it, and that although their ancestors possessed some gold and precious stones, they had been given to Montezuma on former occasions when, to save themselves from destruction, they had made peace or a truce, and this had been in times long past; so that if they had nothing to give now, we must pardon them for it, for poverty and not the want of good will was the cause of it. He made many complaints of Montezuma and his allies who were all hostile to them and made war on them, but they had defended themselves very well. Now they had thought to do the same against us, but they could not do it although they had gathered against us three times with all their warriors, and we must be invincible, and when they found this out about our persons they wished to become friends with us and the vassals of the great prince the Emperor Don Carlos, for they felt sure that in our company they and their women and children would be guarded and protected, and would not live in dread of the Mexican traitors, and he said many other words placing themselves and their city at our disposal.

Xicotenga was tall, broad shouldered and well made;

his face was long, pockmarked and coarse, he was about thirty-five years old and of a dignified deportment.

Cortés thanked him very courteously, in a most flattering manner, and said that he would accept them as vassals of our King and Lord, and as our own friends. Then Xicotenga begged us to come to his city, for all the Caciques, elders and priests were waiting to receive us with great rejoicing. Cortés replied that he would go there promptly, and would start at once, were it not for some negotiations which he was carrying on with the great Montezuma, and that he would come after he had despatched the messengers. Then Cortés spoke somewhat more sharply and severely about the attacks they had made on us both by day and night, adding that as it could not now be mended he would pardon it. Let them see to it that the peace we now were granting them was an enduring one, without any change, for otherwise he would kill them and destroy their city and that he [Xicotenga] should not expect further talk about peace, but only of war.

When Xicotenga and all the chieftains who had come with him heard these words they answered one and all, that the peace would be firm and true, and that to prove it they would all remain with us as hostages.

There was further conversation between Cortés and Xicotenga and most of his chiefs, and they were given blue and green beads for Xicotenga's father, for himself, and for the other Caciques, and were told to report that Cortés would soon set out for their city.

The Mexican Ambassadors were present during all these discussions and heard all the promises that were made, and the conclusion of peace weighed on them heavily, for they fully understood that it boded them no good. And when Xicotenga had taken his leave these Ambassadors of Montezuma half laughingly asked Cortés whether he believed any of those promises which were made on behalf

of all Tlaxcala, [alleging] that it was all a trick which deserved no credence, and the words were those of traitors and deceivers; that their object was to attack and kill us as soon as they had us within their city in a place where they could do so in safety; that we should bear in mind how often they had put forth all their strength to destroy us and had failed to do so, and had lost many killed and wounded, and that now they offered a sham peace so as to avenge themselves. Cortés answered them, with a brave face, that their alleged belief that such was the case did not trouble him, for even if it were true he would be glad of it so as to punish them [the Tlaxcalans] by taking their lives, that it did not matter to him whether they attacked him by day or by night, in the city or in the open, he did not mind one way or the other, and it was for the purpose of seeing whether they were telling the truth that he was determined to go to their city.

The Ambassadors seeing that he had made up his mind begged him to wait six days in our camp as they wished to send two of their companions with a message to their Lord Montezuma, and said that they would return with a reply within six days. To this Cortés agreed, on the one hand because, as I have said he was suffering from fever, and on the other because, although when the Ambassadors had made these statements he had appeared to attach no importance to them, he thought that there was a chance of their being true, and that until there was greater certainty of peace, they were of a nature requiring much consideration.

As at the time that this peace was made the towns all along the road that we had traversed from our Villa Rica de Vera Cruz were allied to us and friendly, Cortés wrote to Juan de Escalante who, as I have said, remained in the town to finish building the fort, and had under his command the sixty old or sick soldiers who had been left behind.

In these letters he told them of the great mercies which our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed to us in the victories which we had gained in our battles and encounters since we had entered the province of Tlaxcala, which had now sued for peace with us, and asked that all of them would give thanks to God for it. He also told them to see to it that they always kept on good terms with our friends in the towns of the Totonacs, and he told him to send at once two jars of wine which had been left behind, buried in a certain marked place in his lodgings, and some sacred wafers for the Mass, which had been brought from the Island of Cuba, for those which we had brought on this expedition were already finished.

These letters were most welcome, and Escalante wrote in reply to say what had happened in the town, and all that was asked for arrived very quickly.

About this time we set up a tall and sumptuous cross in our camp, and Cortés ordered the Indians of Tzumpantzingo and those who dwelt in the houses near our camp to whitewash it, and it was beautifully finished.

I must cease writing about this and return to our new friends the Caciques of Tlaxcala, who when they saw that we did not go to their city, came themselves to our camp and brought poultry and tunas,[1] which were then in season, each one brought some of the food which he had in his house and gave it to us with the greatest good will without asking anything in return, and they always begged Cortés to come with them soon to their city. As we had promised to wait six days for the return of the Mexicans, Cortés put off the Tlaxcalans with fair speeches. When the time expired, according to their word, six chieftains, men of great importance, arrived from Mexico, and brought a rich present from the great Montezuma consisting of valuable

[1] Tuna=the prickly pear, the fruit of the Nopal Cactus (Opuntia).

gold jewels wrought in various shapes worth three thousand pesos in gold, and two hundred pieces of cloth, richly worked with feathers and other patterns. When they offered this present the Chieftains said to Cortés that their Lord Montezuma was delighted to hear of our success, but that he prayed him most earnestly on no account to go with the people of Tlaxcala to their town, nor to place any confidence in them, that they wished to get him there to rob him of his gold and cloth, for they were very poor, and did not possess a decent cotton cloak among them, and that the knowledge that Montezuma looked on us as friends, and was sending us gold and jewels and cloth, would still more induce the Tlaxcalans to rob us.

Cortés received the present with delight, and said that he thanked them for it and would repay their Lord Montezuma with good works, and if he should perceive that the Tlaxcalans had that in mind against which Montezuma had sent them to warn him, they would pay for it by having all their lives taken, but he felt sure they would be guilty of no such villainy, and he still meant to go and see what they would do.

While this discussion was proceeding, many other messengers from Tlaxcala came to tell Cortés that all the old Caciques from the Capital and from the whole province had arrived at our ranchos and huts, in order to see Cortés and all of us, and to take us to their city. When Cortés heard this he begged the Mexican Ambassadors to wait for three days for the reply to their prince, as he had at present to deliberate and decide about the past hostilities and the peace which was now offered, and the Ambassadors said that they would wait.

What the old Caciques said to Cortés I will now go on to relate.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

How the old Caciques of Tlaxcala came to our Camp to beg Cortés and all of us to go with them at once to their city, and what happened about it.

WHEN the old Caciques from all Tlaxcala saw that we did not come to their city, they decided to come to us, some in litters, others in hammocks or carried on men's backs, and others on foot. These were the Caciques already mentioned by me, named Mase Escasi, Xicotenga the elder, Guaxolocingo, Chichimecatecle, and Tecapaneca of Topeyanco.[1] They arrived at our camp with a great company of chieftains, and with every sign of respect made three obeisances to Cortés and to all of us, and they burnt copal and touched the ground with their hands and kissed it, and Xicotenga the elder began to address Cortés in the following words:—

"Malinche, Malinche,[2] we have sent many times to implore you to pardon us for having attacked you and to state our excuse, that we did it to defend ourselves from the hostility of Montezuma and his powerful forces, for we believed that you belonged to his party and were allied to him. If we had known what we now know, we should not only have gone out to receive you on the roads with supplies of food, but would even have had them swept for you, and we would even have gone to you to the sea where you keep your *acales* (which are the ships). Now that you have pardoned us, what I and all these Caciques have come to request is, that you will come at once with us to our City, where we will give you of all that we possess and will serve you with our persons and property. Look to it

[1] Padre Rivera gives the names of the four Caciques of Tlaxcala as Maxixcatzin, Xicotencatl, Tlehuexolotzin, and Citlalpopocatzin. (*Anales Mexicanos*, p. 98.)

[2] Sometimes spelt Malinchi, sometimes Malinche.

Malinche that you do not decide otherwise or we will leave you at once, for we fear that perchance these Mexicans may have told you some of the falsehoods and lies that they are used to tell about us. Do not believe them nor listen to them, for they are false in everything, and we well know that it is on their account that you have not wished to come to our City."

Cortés answered them with cheerful mien and said, that it was well known, many years before we had come to these countries, what a good people they were and that it was on this account that he wondered at their attacking us.

He said that the Mexicans who were there were [merely] awaiting a reply which he was sending to their Lord Montezuma.

He thanked them heartily for what they said about our going at once to their city and for the food which they were continally sending and for their other civilities, and he would repay them by good deeds. He said that he would already have set out for their City if he had had anyone to carry the *tepuzques* (that is the cannon). As soon as they heard these words the Tlaxcalans were so pleased that one could see it in their faces, and they said "So this is the reason why you have delayed, and never mentioned it." And in less than half an hour they provided over five hundred Indian carriers.

The next day early in the morning we began our march along the road to the Capital of Tlaxcala keeping in good formation, the artillery as well as the horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen and the rest, as it was always our custom to do.

The messengers of Montezuma had already begged Cortés that they might go with us to see how affairs were settled at Tlaxcala and that he would despatch them from there, and that they should be quartered in his own

lodgings so as not to receive any insults, for, as they said, they feared such from the Tlaxcalans.

Before going on any further I wish to say that in all the towns we had passed through, and in others where they had heard of us, Cortés was called Malinche, and so I will call him Malinche from now henceforth in all the accounts of conversations which were held with any of the Indians, both in this province as well as in the City of Mexico. And I will not call him Cortés except in such places as it may be befitting.

The reason why he was given this name is that Doña Marina, our interpreter, was always in his company, particularly when any Ambassadors arrived, and she spoke to them in the Mexican language. So that they gave Cortés the name of "Marina's Captain" and for short Malinche.

This name was also attached to a certain Juan Perez de Artiaga[1] (a settler at Puebla) because he always went with Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar in order to learn the language, and for this reason they called him Juan Perez Malinche, as a title of distinction to Artiago, as we learnt about two years later on.

I have liked to call some of these things to mind although there is no particular reason for it, excepting that it should be understood from now onwards that when Malinche is mentioned it means Cortés.

I also wish to say that from the time we entered the territory of Tlaxcala until we set out for the city, twenty

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[1] Written in the original Artiaga or Artiago. In the letter from the army of Cortés to the Emperor (Icazbalceta's Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México) the name is signed as what appears to be Juan Perez de Aquitiano, but the word Aquitiano is so imperfectly written that Icazbalceta has printed it in a different type as doubtful.

four days had elapsed, and we entered the city on the 23rd September, 1519. Now let us begin a fresh chapter and I will relate what happened to us there.

CHAPTER LXXV.

How we went to the City of Tlaxcala, and what the old Caciques did, about the present that they gave us, and how they brought their daughters and nieces, and what else happened.

WHEN the Caciques saw that our baggage was on the way to their city, they at once went on ahead to see that everything was ready for our reception and that our quarters were decked with garlands.

When we arrived within a quarter of a league of the city, these same Caciques who had gone on ahead came out to receive us, and brought with them their sons and nephews and many of the leading inhabitants, each group of kindred and clan and party by itself. There were four parties in Tlaxcala, without counting that of Tecapaneca the lord of Topeyanco which made five. Their followers also came from all parts of the country wearing their different liveries, and although they were made of henequen, for there was no cotton to be obtained, they were very fine and beautifully embroidered and painted. Then came the priests from all parts of the province, and they were very numerous on account of the great oratories which they possess, which I have said are called Cues by the people, and are the places where they keep their idols and offer sacrifices. These priests carried braziers with live coals and incense and fumigated all of us, and some of them were clothed in very long garments like fur cloaks and these were white, and they wore hoods over them which looked like those used by canons, as I have already said, and their hair was very long and tangled so that it could

not be parted unless it were cut, and it was clotted with blood which oozed from their ears, which on that day they had cut by way of sacrifice; and they lowered their heads as a sign of humility when they saw us.

The nails on their fingers were very long, and we heard it said that these priests were very pious and led good lives.

Many of the chieftains came near to Cortés and accompanied him, and when we entered the town there was not space in the streets and on the roofs for all the Indian men and women with happy faces who came out to see us. They brought us about twenty cones made of sweet scented native roses of various colours, and gave them to Cortés and to the other soldiers whom they thought were Captains, especially to the horsemen. When we arrived at some fine courts where our quarters were, Xicotenga the elder and Mase Escasi took Cortés by the hand and led him into his lodging. For each one of us had been prepared a bed of matting such as they use, and sheets of henequen. Our friends whom we had brought from Cempoala and Zocatlan were lodged near to us, and Cortés asked that the messengers from the great Montezuma might also be given quarters close to his lodging.

Although we could see clearly that we were in a land where they were well disposed towards us, and were quite at peace, we did not cease to be very much on the alert as was always our custom, and it appears that one captain whose duty it was to station the scouts and spies and watchmen said to Cortés, "It seems, sir, that the people are very peaceful and we do not need so many guards, nor to be so circumspect as we are accustomed to be." Cortés replied, "Well gentlemen, I can myself see all that you have brought to my notice, but it is a good custom always to be prepared, and although these may be very good people, we must not trust to their peacefulness, but must

be as alert as we should be if they intended to make war on us and we saw them coming on to the attack, for many captains have been defeated through overconfidence and carelessness. It is especially necessary for us always to be on the alert as we are so few in number, and whether it was done in good faith or bad, we must remember that the great Montezuma has sent to warn us." Let us stop talking about all the arrangements and order which we kept up in our watches and guards, and go on to say how Xicotenga the elder and Mase Escasi, who were the great Caciques, were greatly annoyed with Cortés and said to him through our interpreters, "Malinche, either you take us for enemies or you show signs in what we see you doing that you have no confidence in us or in the peace which you promised to us and we promised to you, and we say this to you because we see that you keep watch, and travelled along the road all ready for action in the same way as when you attacked our squadrons, and we believe that you, Malinche, do this on account of the treasons and abominations which the Mexicans have told you in secret so as to turn you against us. See to it that you do not believe them, for you are established here, and we will give you all that you desire, even ourselves and our children, and we are ready to die for you, so you can demand as hostages whatever you may wish."

Cortés and all of us marvelled at the courtesy and affection with which they spoke, and Cortés answered them that he had always believed them, and there was no need of hostages, it was enough to note their good will, and that as to being on the alert, it was always our custom, and they must not be offended at it. He thanked them for all they had offered us, and would repay them for their kindness in time to come. When this conversation was over, other chiefs arrived with a great supply of poultry and maize bread, and tunas and other fruits and vegetables which the

country produced, and supplied the camp very liberally, and during the twenty days that we stayed there there was always more than enough to eat.

We made our entry into the city, as I have said, on the 23rd September, 1519. I will leave off here, and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

How Mass was said in the presence of many of the Caciques, and about a present which the old Caciques brought us.

EARLY next day Cortés ordered an Altar to be put up and Mass to be said, for now we had both the wine and the sacred wafers.

It was the priest Juan Diaz who said the Mass, for the Padre de la Merced was ill with fever and very feeble. There were present Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder and other Caciques. When Mass was over Cortés entered his lodging with some of us soldiers who usually accompanied him, and the two old Caciques, and Xicotenga said to him that they wished to bring him a present, and Cortés showed much affection to them, and said that they should bring it whenever they wished, so some mats were at once spread out and covered with a cloth, and they brought six or seven trifles of gold, and some stones of small value, and some loads of henequen cloth; it was all very poor and not even worth twenty dollars and when it had been presented, those Caciques said, laughing, "Malinche, we know well enough that as what we have to give is so small you will not receive it with good grace. We have already sent to tell you that we are poor and that we own neither gold nor riches, and the reason of it is that these traitorous and evil Mexicans and Montezuma, who is now their Lord, have taken all that we once possessed, when we asked them

for peace or a truce, to prevent their making war on us, so do not consider the small value of the gift, but accept it with a good grace as the gift of friends and servants which we will be to you." Then they brought, separately, a large supply of food.

Cortés accepted it most cheerfully, and said to them that he valued it more as coming from their hands with the good will with which it was offered, than he would a house full of grains of gold brought by others, and it was in this spirit that he accepted it, and he displayed much affection towards them.

It appears that it had been arranged among all the Caciques to give us from among their daughters and nieces the most beautiful of the maidens who were ready for marriage, and Xicotenga the elder said "Malinche, so that you may know more clearly our good will towards you and our desire to content you in everything, we wish to give you our daughters, to be your wives, so that you may have children by them, for we wish to consider you as brothers as you are so good and valiant. I have a very beautiful daughter who has not been married, and I wish to give her to you," so also Mase Escasi and all the other Caciques said that they would bring their daughters, and that we should accept them as wives, and they made many other speeches and promises. Throughout the day Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder never left Cortés' immediate neighbourhood. As Xicotenga the elder was blind from old age, he felt Cortés all over his head and face and beard and over all his body.

Cortés replied to them that, as to the gift of the women, he and all of us were very grateful and would repay them with good deeds as time went on. The Padre de la Merced was present and Cortés said to him "Señor Padre, it seems to me that this would be a good time to make an attempt to induce these Caciques to give up their

Idols and their sacrifices, for they will do anything we tell them to do on account of the great fear they have of the Mexicans." The friar replied, "Sir, that is true, but let us leave the matter until they bring their daughters and then there will be material to work upon, and your honour can say that you do not wish to accept them until they give up sacrifices—if that succeeds, good, if not we shall do our duty."

So thus the matter rested until next day, and what was done I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

How they brought their daughters to present to Cortés and to all of us, and what was done about it.

THE next day the same old Caciques came and brought with them five beautiful Indian maidens, and for Indians they were very good looking and well adorned, and each of the Indian maidens brought another Indian girl as her servant, and all were the daughters of Caciques, and Xicotenga said to Cortés, "Malinche, this is my daughter who has never been married and is a maiden, take her for your own," and he gave her to him by the hand, "and let the others be given to the captains." Cortés expressed his thanks, and with every appearance of gratification said that he accepted them and took them as our own, but that for the present they should remain in the care of their parents. The Chiefs asked him why he would not take them now, and Cortés replied that he wished first to do the will of God our Lord, whom we believed in and worshipped, and that for which our Lord the King had sent us, which was to induce them to do away with their Idols, and no longer to kill and sacrifice human beings, and the other infamies they were wont to practise, and to lead them to

believe in that which we believed, that is in one true God, and he told them much more touching our holy faith, and in truth he expressed it very well, for Doña Marina and Aguilar, our interpreters, were already so expert at it that they explained it very clearly. He showed the Caciques an image of our Lady, with her precious Infant in her arms, and explained to them how that image was in the likeness of our Lady, who is called Santa Maria, who dwells in the high heavens and is the mother of our Lord, who is that Child Jesus whom she holds in her arms, whom she conceived by the grace of the Holy Spirit, being a virgin before His birth, and remaining a Virgin during His birth, and after His birth, and how that Great Lady prays for us to her precious Son who is our God and Lord, and he told them many other things which it was fitting to say about our holy faith. He also told them that if they wished to be our brothers and to have true friendship with us, so that we should willingly accept their daughters and take them, as they said, for our wives, that they should at once give up their evil Idols and believe in and worship our Lord God, who is He in whom we believe and whom we worship, and they would see how well things would go with them, for in addition to having good health and good seasons, other things would prosper with them, and when they died their souls would go to Heaven to enjoy glory everlasting; but that if they went on making sacrifices as they were accustomed to do to their Idols, which were devils, they would be led to Hell where they would burn for ever in live flames. And as in other discourses he had already said much about the giving up of their Idols, he said nothing more now and what they replied to it all is as follows:—

"Malinche, we have already understood from you before now, and we thoroughly believe that this God of yours and this great Lady are very good, but look you, you have only

just come to our homes, as time goes on we shall understand your beliefs much more clearly, and see what they are, and will do what is right. But how can you ask us to give up our Teules which for many years our ancestors have held to be gods and have made sacrifices to them and have worshipped them? Even if we, who are old men, might wish to do it to please you, what would our priests say, and all our neighbours, and the youths and children throughout the province? They would rise against us, especially as the priests have already consulted the greatest of our Teules, and he told them not to forget the sacrifice of men and all the rites they were used to practise, otherwise the gods would destroy the whole province with famine, pestilence and war." Thus they spoke and gave as their answer that we should not trouble to talk to them on that subject again for they were not going to leave off making sacrifices even if they were killed for it.

When we heard that reply which they gave so honestly and without fear, the Padre de la Merced, who was a wise man, and a theologian, said, "Sir, do not attempt to press them further on this subject, for it is not just to make them Christians by force, and I would not wish that you should do what we did in Cempoala, that is, destroy their Idols, until they have some knowledge of our Holy Faith. What good is it to take away now their Idols from one oratory or cue, if they carry them at once to another. It would be better that they should gradually feel the weight of our admonitions which are good and holy, so that later on they may realize the good advice which we are giving them." Furthermore three gentlemen, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, spoke to Cortés and said "The Padre is right in what he says, you have fulfilled your duty with what you have done, and do not touch again on this matter when speaking to these Caciques," and so the subject dropped. What we induced

the Caciques to do, by entreaty, was at once to clear out one of the cues, which was close by and had been recently built, and after removing the Idols, to clean it and white-wash it so that we could place a cross in it and the image of Our Lady, and this they promptly did. Then Mass was said there and the Cacicas were baptized. The daughter of the blind Xicotenga was given the name of Doña Luisa, and Cortés took her by the hand and gave her to Pedro de Alvarado, and said to Xicotenga that he to whom he gave her was his brother and his Captain, and that he should be pleased at it as she would be well treated by him, and Xicotenga was contented that it should be so. The daughter or niece of Mase Escasi was named Doña Elvira and she was very beautiful and it seems to me that she was given to Juan Velásquez de Leon. The others were given baptismal names, always with the title of nobility (doña), and Cortés gave them to Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Cristóbal de Olid and Alonzo de Ávila. When this had been done Cortés told them the reason why he put up two crosses, and that it was because their Idols were afraid of them, and that wherever we were encamped or wherever we slept they were placed in the roads; and at all this they were quite content.

Before I go on any further I wish to say about the Cacica the daughter of Xicotenga, who was named Doña Luisa and was given to Pedro de Alvarado, that when they gave her to him all the greater part of Tlascala paid reverence to her, and gave her presents, and looked on her as their mistress, and Pedro de Alvarado who was then a bachelor, had a son by her named Don Pedro, and a daughter named Doña Leonor who is now the wife of Don Francisco de la Cueva, a nobleman, and a cousin of the Duke of Alberquerque, who had by her four or five sons, very good gentlemen, and that lady Doña Leonor, is so very excellent a lady, as might be expected, being

the daughter of such a father, who was a commendador of [The Order of] Santiago, Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala, and the same who went to Peru with a great fleet, and through his relation to Xicotenga was a great Lord of Tlaxcala.

I must leave these stories and return to Cortés who questioned those Caciques and informed himself more completely about the affairs of Mexico. What they said about it is what I shall go on to relate.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

How Cortés questioned Mase Escasi and Xicotenga about things in Mexico, and what account they gave of them.

CORTÉS then took those Caciques aside and questioned them very fully about Mexican affairs. Xicotenga, as he was the best informed and a great chieftain, took the lead in talking, and from time to time he was helped by Mase Escasi who was also a great chief.

He said that Montezuma had such great strength in warriors that when he wished to capture a great city or make a raid on a province, he could place a hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, and this they knew well from the experience of the wars and hostilities they had had with them for more than a hundred years past.

Cortés asked them how it was that with so many warriors as they said came down on them they had never been entirely conquered. They answered that although the Mexicans sometimes defeated them and killed them, and carried off many of their vassals for sacrifice, many of the enemy were also left dead on the field and others were made prisoners, and that they never could come so secretly that they did not get some warning, and that when they knew of their approach they mustered all

their forces and with the help of the people of Huexotzingo they defended themselves and made counter attacks. That as all the provinces which had been raided by Montezuma and placed under his rule were ill disposed towards the Mexicans, and that as their inhabitants were carried off by force to the wars, they did not fight with good will; indeed, it was from these very men that they received warnings, and for this reason they had defended their country to the best of their ability.

The place from which the most continuous trouble came to them was a very great city a day's march distant, which is called Cholula, whose inhabitants are most treacherous. It was there that Montezuma secretly mustered his companies and, as it was near by, they made their raids by night. Moreover, Mase Escasi said that Montezuma kept garrisons of many warriors stationed in all the provinces in addition to the great force he could bring from the city, and that all the provinces paid tribute of gold and silver, feathers, stones, cloth and cotton, and Indian men and women for sacrifice and others for servants, that he [Montezuma] was such a great prince that he possessed everything he could desire, that the houses where he dwelt were full of riches and [precious] stones and chalchihuites which he had robbed and taken by force from those who would not give them willingly, and that all the wealth of the country was in his hands.

Then they told us about the great staff of servants in his house, and the story would never cease were I to attempt to describe it all here, and of the many women he possessed, and how he married off some of them; in fact they gave us an account of everything.

Then they spoke of the great fortifications of the city, and what the lake was like, and the depth of water, and about the causeways that gave access to the city, and the wooden bridges in each causeway, and how one can go in

and out [by water] through the opening that there is in each bridge, and how when the bridges are raised one can be cut off between bridge and bridge and not be able to reach the city. How the greater part of the city was built in the lake, and that one could not pass from house to house except by draw-bridges and canoes which they had ready. That all the houses were flat-roofed and all the roofs were provided with parapets so that they could fight from them.

They also told us about the way the city was provided with fresh water from a spring called Chapultepec distant about half a league from the city, and how the water enters by an aqueduct and reaches a place whence they can carry it in canoes to sell it in the streets. Then they told us about the arms that were used, such as two pronged javelins which they hurl with throwing sticks,[1] and will go through any sort of armour, and that there are many good archers, and others with lances with flint edges which have a fathom of cutting edge, so cleverly made that they cut better than knives, and they have shields, and cotton armour, and there are many slingers who sling rounded stones, and others with very good and long lances and stone edged two handed swords.

They brought us pictures of the battles they had fought with the Mexicans painted on large henequen cloths, showing their manner of fighting.

As our captain and all of us had already heard about all that these Caciques were telling us, we changed the subject, and started them on another more profound, which was, how was it that they came to inhabit that land, and from what direction had they come? and how was it that they differed so much from and were so hostile to the Mexicans, seeing that their countries were so close to one another.

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[1] Atlatls, or spear throwers.

They said that their ancestors had told them, that in times past there had lived among them men and women of giant size with huge bones, and because they were very bad people of evil manners that they had fought with them and killed them, and those of them who remained died off. So that we could see how huge and tall these people had been they brought us a leg bone of one of them which was very thick and the height of a man of ordinary stature, and that was the bone from the hip to the knee. I measured myself against it and it was as tall as I am although I am of fair size. They brought other pieces of bones like the first, but they were already eaten away and destroyed by the soil. We were all amazed at seeing those bones and felt sure that there must have been giants in this country, and our Captain Cortés said to us that it would be well to send that great bone to Castille so that His Majesty might see it, so we sent it with the first of our agents who went there.

These Caciques also told us that they had learnt from their forefathers that one of their Idols, to which they paid the greatest devotion, had told them that men would come from distant lands in the direction of the rising sun to subjugate them and govern them, and that if we were those men, they were rejoiced at it, as we were so good and brave, and that when they made peace with us they had borne in mind what their Idols had said, and for this reason they had given us their daughters so as to obtain relations who would defend them against the Mexicans.

When they had finished their discourse we were all astounded and said, can they possibly have spoken the truth? Then our Captain Cortés replied to them and said that certainly we came from the direction of the sunrise, and that our Lord the King had sent us for this very purpose that we should become as brothers to them; for

he had heard of them, and that he prayed God to give us grace, so that by our hands and our intercession they would be saved, and we all said Amen.

The gentlemen who read this will be weary of hearing the discussions and conversations between us and the Tlaxcalans and the Tlaxcalans and us, so I would wish to finish them, but I feel bound to dwell on one other thing which they discussed with us, and that is the volcano near Huexotzingo which at the time we were in Tlaxcala was throwing out much fire, much more than usual. Our Captain Cortés and all of us were greatly astonished as we had never seen such a thing before. One of our Captains named Diego de Ordás was very anxious to go and see what sort of a thing it was, and asked leave of the general to ascend the mountain, and leave was given,[1] and he even expressly ordered him to do it. He took with him two of our soldiers and certain Indian chiefs from Huexotzingo, and the chiefs that he took with him frightened him by saying that when one was half way up Popocatepetl, for so the volcano is called, one could not endure the shaking of the ground and the flames and stones and ashes which were thrown out of the mountain, and that they would not dare to ascend further than where stood the cues of the Idols which are called the Teules of Popocatepetl. Nevertheless Diego de Ordás and his two companions went on up until they reached the summit, and the Indians who had accompanied them remained below and did not dare to make the ascent. It appears from what Ordás and the two soldiers said afterwards, that, as they ascended, the volcano began to throw out great tongues of flame, and half burnt stones of little weight and a great quantity of ashes, and that the whole of the

[1] This account of the ascent of Popocatepetl appears to be given in the wrong place by Bernal Díaz: it probably took place when the Spaniards left Cholula. See Cortés' Second Letter.

mountain range where the volcano stands was shaken, and that they stopped still without taking a step in advance for more than an hour, when they thought that the outburst had passed and not so much smoke and ashes were being thrown out; then they climbed up to the mouth which was very wide and round, and opened to the width of a quarter of a league. From this summit could be seen the great city of Mexico, and the whole of the lake, and all the towns which were built in it. This volcano is distant twelve or thirteen leagues from Mexico.

Ordás was delighted and astonished at the sight of Mexico and its cities and after having had a good look at the view he returned to Tlaxcala with his companions, and the Indians of Huexotzingo and of Tlaxcala looked on it as a deed of great daring. When he told his story to Captain Cortés and all of us, we were greatly astonished at it, for at that time we had not seen nor heard of such things as we have to-day, when we know all about it, and many Spaniards and even some Franciscan friars have made the ascent to the crater.

When Diego de Ordás went to Castille he asked the King for it [the mountain] as his [coat of] arms and his nephew who lives at Puebla, now bears them.

Since we have been settled in this land we have never known the volcano to throw out so much fire or make such a noise as it did when we first arrived, and it has even remained some years without throwing out any fire, up to the year 1539 when it threw up great flames and stones and ashes.

Let us cease telling about the volcano, for now that we know what sort of a thing it is, and have seen other volcanoes such as those of Nicaragua and Guatemala, one might have been silent about those of Huexotzingo, and left them out of the story.

I must tell how in this town of Tlaxcala we found

wooden houses furnished with gratings, full of Indian men and women imprisoned in them, being fed up until they were fat enough to be sacrificed and eaten. These prisons we broke open and destroyed, and set free the prisoners who were in them, and these poor Indians did not dare to go in any direction, only to stay there with us and thus escape with their lives. From now on, in all the towns that we entered, the first thing our Captain ordered us to do was to break open these prisons and set free the prisoners.

These prisons are common throughout the land and when Cortés and all of us saw such great cruelty, he showed that he was very angry with the Caciques of Tlaxcala, and quarrelled with them very angrily about it, and they promised that from that time forth they would not kill and eat any more Indians in that way. I said [to myself] of what benefit were all those promises, for as soon as we turned our heads they would commit the same cruelties. Let us leave this subject, and I will relate how we arranged to go to Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

How our Captain Hernando Cortés decided that all of us Captains and soldiers should go to Mexico, and what happened about it.

WHEN our Captain remembered that we had already been resting in Tlaxcala for seventeen days, and that we had heard so much said about the great wealth of Montezuma and his flourishing city, he arranged to take counsel with all those among our captains and soldiers whom he could depend on as wishing to advance, and it was decided that our departure should take place without delay, but there was a good deal of dissent expressed in camp about this

decision, for some soldiers said that it was a very rash thing to go and enter into such a strong city, as we were so few in number, and they spoke of the very great strength of Montezuma. Our Captain Cortés replied that there was now no other course open to us, for we had constantly asserted and proclaimed that we were going to see Montezuma, so that other counsels were useless.

His opponents seeing with what determination Cortés expressed himself, and knowing that many of us soldiers were ready to help him by crying: "Forward and good luck to us," dropped all further opposition. The men opposed [to Cortés] in this discussion were those who owned property in Cuba. I and other poor soldiers had always dedicated our souls to God who created them, and our bodies to wounds and hardships, and even to death in the service of Our Lord God and of His Majesty.

When Xicotenga and Mase Escaci, the lords of Tlaxcala, saw that we were determined to go to Mexico, their spirits were weighed down, and they were constantly with Cortés advising him not to enter on such an undertaking, and not to trust Montezuma neither in great things nor in small, nor any other Mexican, and not to put faith in the great show of reverence he had made, nor in his words, however humble and courteous they might be, nor even in all the presents that had been sent to him, nor in any of his promises, for all was the work of traitors, who would turn on him and take back in an hour all that they had given, and that he must be on his guard against them both by day and by night, for they felt sure that when we were most off our guard they would attack us. They advised us when we fought with them [the Mexicans] to leave none alive that we were able to kill, neither the youths, so that they should never be able to carry arms, nor the old, lest they should give counsel; and they gave us much other advice.

Our captain said to them that he thanked the Caciques for their good counsel, and he showed them much affection, and made them many promises, and he gave as presents to Xicotenga the elder, and to Mase Escasi and most of the other Caciques a great part of the fine cloth which Montezuma had presented, and told them that it would be a good thing to make peace between them and the Mexicans, so that they should become friends and they could then obtain salt and cotton and other merchandise. Xicotenga replied that peace was useless, and that enmity was deeply rooted in their hearts, for such were the Mexicans that, under cover of peace, they would only be guilty of greater treachery, for they never told the truth in anything that they promised, and that he was not to trouble about saying more on the subject, and that they could only again implore us to take care not to fall into the hands of such bad people.

We went on to talk about the road which we should take to reach Mexico, for the ambassadors from Montezuma, who remained with us and were to be our guides, said that the most level and the best road was by the city of Cholula, where the people were vassals of Montezuma and there we should receive proper attention. To all of us this appeared to be good advice, that we should go by that city. When however the Caciques of Tlaxcala heard that we wished to go by a road which the Mexicans were choosing for us, they became very sorrowful, and begged us in any case to go by Huexotzingo, where the people were their relations and our friends, and not by way of Cholula, for in Cholula Montezuma always kept his double dealings concealed.

For all that they talked and advised us not to enter into that city, our Captain, (in accordance with our counsel which had been well talked over,) still determined to go by Cholula, on the one hand, because all agreed that it was a large town, and well furnished with towers, and fine and

tall cues, and situated on a beautiful plain—and indeed at that time it looked from a distance like our city of Valladolid in Old Castile,—and on the other hand, because it was almost surrounded by other considerable towns and could provide ample supplies, and our friends of Tlaxcala were near at hand. We intended to stay there until we could decide how to get to Mexico without having to fight for it, for the great power of the Mexicans was a thing to be feared, and unless God our Lord, by His Divine mercy which always helped us and gave us strength, should first of all so provide, we could not enter Mexico in any other manner.

After much discussion it was settled that we should take the road by Cholula, and Cortés at once sent messengers to ask the people of Cholula how it happened that being so near to us they had not come to visit us, and pay that respect which was due to us as the messengers of so great a prince as the King who had sent us to the country to tell them of their salvation. He then requested all the Caciques and priests of that city to come and see us and give their fealty to our Lord and King, and if they did not come he would look upon them as ill disposed towards us. While he was giving this message and saying other things about which it seemed right that they should be informed, someone came to tell Cortés that the great Montezuma had sent four Ambassadors with presents of gold, (for so far as we have seen they never send a message without a present of gold and cloth, as it is looked on as an affront to send a message without sending a present with it,) and what these messengers said I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER LXXX.

How the great Montezuma sent four Chieftains of great importance with a present of gold and cloth, and what they said to our Captain.

WHILE Cortés was talking to us all and to the Caciques of Tlaxcala about our departure and about warfare, they came to tell him that four Ambassadors, all four chieftains who were bringing presents, had arrived in the town.

Cortés ordered them to be called, and when they came before him they paid the greatest reverence to him and to all of us soldiers who were there with him, and presented their gift of rich jewels of gold of many sorts of workmanship, well worth two thousand dollars, and ten loads of cloth beautifully embroidered with feathers.

Cortés received them most graciously, and the Ambassadors said, on behalf of their Lord Montezuma, that he greatly wondered that we should stay so many days among a people who were so poor and so ill bred, who were so wicked, and such traitors and thieves that they were not fit even to be slaves, and that when either by day or by night we were most off our guard they would kill us in order to rob us. That he begged us to come at once to his city, and he would give us of all that he possessed, although it would not be as much as we deserved or he would like to give, and that although all the supplies had to be carried into the city, he would provide for us as well as he was able.

Montezuma did this so as to get us out of Tlaxcala, for he knew of the friendship we had made, which I have recorded in the chapter which treats of that subject, and how, to perfect it, they [the Tlaxcalans] had given their daughters to Malinche, and the Mexicans fully understood that our confederation could bring no good

to them. It was for this reason that they primed us with gold and presents, so as to induce us to go to their country or at least to get us out of Tlaxcala.

I must add regarding the ambassadors, that the people of Tlaxcala knew them well, and told our Captain that all of them were lords over towns and vassals, and men whom Montezuma employed to conduct affairs of the greatest importance.

Cortés thanked the messengers with many caressing expressions and signs of affection, and gave as his answer that he would go very soon to see their Lord Montezuma, and he begged them to remain a few days with us.

At that time Cortés decided that two of our Captains, men especially chosen, should go and see and speak to the great Montezuma, and see the great city of Mexico and its great armies and fortresses, and Pedro de Alvarado and Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia had already set out on the journey, accompanied by some of the ambassadors of the great Montezuma who were used to being with us, and the four ambassadors who had brought the present remained with us as hostages. As at that time Cortés had sent those gentlemen trusting to good luck, we dissuaded him from it, saying that as he was sending them to Mexico merely to see the city[1] and its strength, we did not think it well advised, and that he should send and tell them not to proceed any further, so he wrote to them telling them to return at once. Besides this Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia had already fallen ill of fever on the road, and as soon as they saw the letters they returned.

The ambassadors with whom they were travelling gave an account of their doings to Montezuma, and he asked them what sort of faces and general appearance had these two Teules who were coming to Mexico, and whether they

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[1] See note at end of chapter.

were Captains, and it seems that they replied that Pedro de Alvarado was of very perfect grace both in face and person, that he looked like the Sun, and that he was a Captain, and in addition to this they brought with them a picture of him with his face very naturally portrayed, and from that time forth they gave him the name of Tonatio, which means the Sun or the child of the Sun, and so they called him ever after. Of Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia, they said that he was a robust man, and of a very pleasant disposition, and that he also was a captain, and Montezuma was much disappointed that they had turned back again. Those ambassadors had reason for the description given to the Lord Montezuma both as to features and general appearance, for Pedro de Alvarado was very well made and active, and of good features and bearing, and both in appearance and in speech and in everything else he was so pleasing that he seemed always to be smiling. Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia was somewhat sturdy, but he had a good presence; when they returned to our camp, we joked with them and told them that it was not a very successful mission that Cortés had sent them on. Let us leave this subject, for it does not bear much on our story, and I will tell about the messengers whom Cortés sent to Cholula and the reply that they brought.

NOTE.—In the original MS. the following passage is scratched out: "To see the great city of Mexico and its great army and fortresses, and it seems to me that they were Pedro de Alvarado and Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia, and four of the ambassadors who brought the present remained as hostages, and the others went with them. As at that time I was very badly wounded and was fully occupied in trying to get well I did not know everything that was going on. I have already written to Mexico to three of my friends who were present throughout the conquest to send me an account [of what took place], so that the matter should not be in doubt. If I do not repeat here all that they say on the subject, I submit myself to the conquerors for correction, but I know without any doubt that Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia, when on the road had a bad fever and remained at a town

called * * * * , and that Pedro de Alvarado went towards Mexico and turned back on the road, and that it was then that those four chieftains whom he took with him gave him the name of Tonatio, which in the Mexican language means Sun, and so they called him from that time on. They gave him that name because he was of fine presence and active and of good features and bearing, so that both in face and in speech and in everything else he was so pleasing, that he appeared always to be smiling. I also know what I have stated that these said Captains never arrived at Mexico, for when they set out from our camp all the soldiers were distressed at their going, and we said to our Captain, 'why send two such excellent men when there is a chance that they may be killed'; so Cortés wrote to them at once to return. I am not quite sure about it, I leave it to the judgment of those who were present. Others of the Conquistadores have told me that as Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia was ill in one of the towns, that the messengers informed Montezuma of the fact, and he sent to say that neither he nor Pedro de Alvarado should proceed any further, for if they should go to Mexico there would not be a thing that would not be clearly known to all the soldiers."

CHAPTER LXXXI.

How the people of Cholula sent four Indians of little consequence to make their excuses for not having come to Tlaxcala, and what happened about it.

I HAVE already said in the last chapter how our Captain sent messengers to Cholula to tell the Caciques of that City to come and see us at Tlaxcala. When the Caciques understood what Cortés ordered them to do, they thought that it would be sufficient to send four unimportant Indians to make their excuses, and to say that because they were ill they had not come, and they brought neither food nor anything else, but merely stated that curt reply. The Caciques of Tlaxcala were present when these messengers arrived, and they said to our Captain, that the people of Cholula had sent those Indians to make a mock of him

and of all of us, for they were only commoners of no standing; so Cortés at once sent them back with four other Cempoala Indians to tell the people of Cholula that they must send some chieftains, and as the distance was only five leagues that they must arrive within three days, otherwise he should look on them as rebels; that when they came he wished to tell them some things necessary for the salvation of their souls and for the cleanliness of their well being, and to receive them as friends and brothers as he had received their neighbours the people of Tlaxcala, and that if they decided otherwise and did not wish for our friendship that we should take measures which would displease them and anger them.

When the Caciques of Cholula had listened to that embassy they answered that they were not coming to Tlaxcala, for the Tlaxcalans were their enemies, and they knew that they [the Tlaxcalans] had said many evil things about them and about their Lord Montezuma; that it was for us to come to their city and to leave the confines of Tlaxcala, and that then if they did not do what they ought to do we could treat them as such as we had sent to say they were.

When our Captain saw that the excuse that they made was a just one we resolved to go to Cholula, and as soon as the Caciques of Tlaxcala perceived that we were determined to go there, they said to Cortés, "So you wish to trust to the Mexicans and not to us who are your friends, we have already told you many times that you must beware of the people of Cholula and of the power of Mexico, and so that you can receive all the support possible from us, we have got ready ten thousand warriors to accompany you." Cortés thanked them very heartily for this, but after consultation with all of us it was agreed that it would not be advisable to take so many warriors to a country in which we were seeking friends, and that it

would be better to take only one thousand, and this number we asked of the Tlaxcalans and said that the rest should remain in their houses. Let us leave this discussion and I will tell about our march.

BOOK V.

THE MARCH TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

How we went to the City of Cholula,[1] and of the great reception which they gave us there.

ONE morning we started on our march to the city of Cholula and we took the greatest possible precautions, for, as I have often said, where we expected to encounter tumults or wars we were much more on the alert.

That day we went on to sleep at a river which runs within a short league of Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and there they put up for us some huts and ranchos. This same night the Caciques of Cholula sent some chieftains to bid us welcome to their country, and they brought supplies of poultry and maize bread, and said that in the morning all the Caciques and priests would come out to receive us, and they asked us to forgive their not having come sooner. Cortés told them

[1] Blotted out in the original "On the twelfth day of October in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen."—G. G.

through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—"Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome.

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat

them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

AFTER the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillasen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some were already posted within the houses, and all had their arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the *Azoteas* and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be turned against them.

Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed us very well for the first two days, and although we saw them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but remained some distance off, laughing at us as though mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and the old men who brought it said that there was no more maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

sent them to say that we were not to go to his city because he had nothing to give us to eat, and that they wished at once to return to Mexico with our reply. When Cortés saw that their speech was unfriendly, he replied to the Ambassadors in the blandest manner, that he marvelled how such a great Prince as Montezuma should be so vacillating, and he begged them not to return to Mexico, for he wished to start himself on the next day, to see their Prince, and act according to his orders, and I believe that he gave the Ambassadors some strings of beads and they agreed to stay.

When this had been done, our Captain called us together, and said to us—"I see that these people are very much disturbed, and it behoves us to keep on the alert, in case some trouble is brewing among them," and he at once sent for the principal Cacique, whose name I now forget, telling him either to come himself or to send some other chieftains. The Cacique replied that he was ill and could not come.

When our Captain heard this, he ordered us to bring before him, with kindly persuasion, two of the numerous priests who were in the great Cue near our quarters. We brought two of them, without doing them any disrespect, and Cortés ordered each of them to be given a chalchihuite, which are held by them to be as valuable as emeralds, and addressing them with friendly words he asked them what was the reason that the Cacique and chieftains and most of the priests were frightened, for he had sent to summon them and they did not want to come. It seems that one of these priests was a very important personage among them, who had charge of or command over all the Cues in the City, and was a sort of Bishop among the priests and was held in great respect. He replied that they, who were priests, had no fear of us, and if the Cacique and chieftain did not wish to come, he would go himself and summon them, and that if he spoke to them he

believed they would do as he told them and would come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Azoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

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[1] Sun-dried bricks.

"Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

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[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory.

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also

told us about the barricades which they had ordered to be made and the two thousand warriors that were to be given to us, and how it had already been agreed that twenty of us were to be kept to be sacrificed to the Idols of Cholula.

Cortés ordered these men to be given a present of richly embroidered cloth, and told them not to say anything [about the information they had given us] for, if they disclosed it, on our return from Mexico we would kill them. He also told them that we should start early the next morning, and he asked them to summon all the Caciques to come then so that he might speak to them.

That night Cortés took counsel of us as to what should be done, for he had very able men with him whose advice was worth having, but as in such cases frequently happens, some said that it would be advisable to change our course and go by Huexotzingo, others that we must manage to preserve the peace by every possible means and that it would be better to return to Tlaxcala, others of us gave our opinion that if we allowed such treachery to pass unpunished, wherever we went we should be treated to worse [treachery], and that being there in the town, with ample provisions, we ought to make an attack, for the Indians would feel the effect of it more in their own homes than they would in the open, and that we should at once warn the Tlaxcalans so that they might join in it. All thought well of this last advice. As Cortés had already told them that we were going to set out on the following day, for this reason we should make a show of tying together our baggage, which was little enough, and then in the large courts with high walls, where we were lodged, we should fall on the Indian warriors, who well deserved their fate. As regards the Ambassadors of Montezuma, we should dissemble and tell them that the evil-minded Cholulans had intended treachery and had attempted to put the blame for it on their Lord Montezuma, and on themselves

as his Ambassadors, but we did not believe Montezuma had given any such orders, and we begged them to stay in their apartments and not have any further converse with the people of the city, so that we should not have reason to think they were in league with them in their treachery, and we asked them to go with us as our guides to Mexico.

They replied that neither they themselves nor their Lord Montezuma knew anything about that which we were telling them. Although they did not like it, we placed guards over the Ambassadors, so that they could not go out without our permission, and Montezuma should not come to know that we were well aware how it was he who had ordered it to be done.

All that night we were on the alert and under arms with the horses saddled and bridled, and with many sentinels and patrols, although indeed it was always our custom to keep a good watch, for we thought that for certain all the companies of the Mexicans as well as the Cholulans would attack us during the night.

There was an old Indian woman, the wife of a Cacique, who knew all about the plot and trap which had been arranged, and she had come secretly to Doña Marina our interpreter, having noticed that she was young and good looking and rich, and advised her, if she wanted to escape with her life, to come with her to her house, for it was certain that on that night or during the next day we were all going to be killed, for the Great Montezuma had so arranged and commanded that the Mexicans and the people of the city were to join forces, and not one of us was to be left alive, except those who would be carried bound to Mexico. Because she knew of this, and on account of the compassion she felt for Doña Marina, she had come to tell her that she had better get all her possessions together and come with her to her house, and

she would there marry her to her son, the brother of a youth who was with another old woman who accompanied her.

When Doña Marina understood this (as she was always very shrewd) she said to her, "O mother, thank you much for this that you have told me, I would go with you at once but that I have no one here whom I can trust to carry my clothes and jewels of gold of which I have many, for goodness sake, mother, wait here a little while, you and your son, and to-night we will set out, for now, as you can see, these Teules are on the watch and will hear us."

The old woman believed what she said, and remained chatting with her, and Doña Marina asked her how they were going to kill us all, and how and when and where the plot was made. The old woman told her neither more nor less than what the two priests had already stated, and Doña Marina replied—"If this affair is such a secret, how is it that you came to know about it?" and the old woman replied that her husband had told her, for he was a captain of one of the parties in the city, and as captain he was now away with his warriors giving orders for them to join the squadrons of Montezuma in the barrancas, and she thought that they were already assembled waiting for us to set out, and that they would kill us there; as to the plot she had known about it for three days, for a gilded drum had been sent to her husband from Mexico, and rich cloaks and jewels of gold had been sent to three other captains to induce them to bring us bound to their Lord Montezuma.

When Doña Marina heard this she deceived the old woman and said—"How delighted I am to hear that your son to whom you wish to marry me is a man of distinction. We have already talked a good deal, and I do not want them to notice us, so Mother you wait here while I begin to bring my property, for I cannot bring it all at once, and you and your son, my brother, will take care of it, and then

we shall be able to go." The old woman believed all that was told her, and she and her son sat down to rest. Then Doña Marina went swiftly to the Captain and told him all that had passed with the Indian woman. Cortés at once ordered her to be brought before him, and questioned her about these treasons and plots, and she told him neither more nor less than the priests had already said, so he placed a guard over the woman so that she could not escape.

When dawn broke, it was a sight to see the haste with which the Caciques and priests brought in the warriors, laughing and contented as though they had already caught us in their traps and nets, and they brought more Indian warriors than we had asked for, and large as they are (for they still stand as a memorial of the past) the courtyards would not hold them all.

Early as it was when the Cholulans arrived with the warriors, we were already quite prepared for what had to be done. The soldiers with swords and shields were stationed at the gate of the great court so as not to let a single armed Indian pass out. Our Captain was mounted on horseback with many soldiers round him, as a guard, and when he saw how very early the Caciques and priests and warriors had arrived, he said—"How these traitors long to see us among the barrancas so as to gorge on our flesh, but Our Lord will do better for us." Then he asked for the two priests who had let out the secret, and they told him that they were at the gate of the courtyard with the other Caciques who wished to come in, and he sent our interpreter, Aguilar, to tell them to go to their houses, for he had no need of their presence now. This was in order that, as they had done us a good turn, they should not suffer for it, and should not get killed. Cortés was on horseback and Doña Marina near to him, and he asked the Caciques, why was it, as we had done them no harm what-

ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

us should be sacrificed before it, and that three nights ago they had sacrificed seven Indians to it so as to ensure victory, which was promised them; but as the Idol was both evil and false, it neither had, nor would have power against us, and all these evil and traitorous designs which they had planned and put into effect were about to recoil on themselves. Doña Marina told all this to them and made them understand it very clearly, and when the priests, Caciques, and captains had heard it, they said that what had been stated was true but that they were not to blame for it, for the Ambassadors of Montezuma had ordered it at the command of their Prince.

Then Cortés told them that the royal laws decreed that such treasons as those should not remain unpunished and that for their crime they must die. Then he ordered a musket to be fired, which was the signal that we had agreed upon for that purpose, and a blow was given to them which they will remember for ever, for we killed many of them,[1] so that they gained nothing from the promises of their false Idols.

Not two hours had passed before our allies, the Tlaxcalans, arrived, whom I have already said we had left out in the fields, and they had fought very fiercely in the streets where the Cholulans had posted other companies to defend the streets and prevent their being entered, but these were soon defeated. They [the Tlaxcalans] went about the city, plundering and making prisoners and we could not stop them, and the next day more companies from the Tlaxcalan towns arrived, and did great damage, for they were very hostile to the people of Cholula, and when we saw this, both Cortés and the captains and the soldiers, on account of the compassion that we had felt for them, restrained the Tlaxcalans from doing further damage, and

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[1] Blotted out: "and others were burned."—G. G.

Cortés ordered Cristóbal de Olid to bring him all the Tlaxcalan captains together so that he could speak to them, and they did not delay in coming; then he ordered them to gather together all their men and go and camp in the fields, and this they did, and only the men from Cempoala remained with us.

Just then certain Caciques and priests of Cholula who belonged to other districts of the town, and said that they were not concerned in the treasons against us (for it is a large city and they have parties and factions among themselves), asked Cortés and all of us to pardon the provocation of the treachery that had been plotted against us, for the traitors had already paid with their lives. Then there came the two priests who were our friends and had disclosed the secret to us, and the old woman, the wife of the captain, who wanted to be the mother-in-law of Doña Marina, as I have already related, and all prayed Cortés for pardon.

When they spoke to him, Cortés made a show of great anger and ordered the Ambassadors of Montezuma, who were detained in our company, to be summoned. He then said that the whole city deserved to be destroyed, but that out of respect for their Lord Montezuma, whose vassals they were, he would pardon them, and that from now on they must be well behaved, and let them beware of such affairs as the last happening again, lest they should die for it.

Then, he ordered the Chiefs of Tlaxcala, who were in the fields, to be summoned, and told them to return the men and women whom they had taken prisoners, for the damage they had done was sufficient. Giving up the prisoners went against the grain with them [the Tlaxcalans], and they said that the Cholulans had deserved far greater punishment for the many treacheries they had constantly received at their hands. Nevertheless as Cortés

ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to whitewash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

pened there, and say that the Squadrons sent by the Great Montezuma, which were already stationed in the ravines near Cholula and had, as was agreed, constructed barricades and narrow passages so that the horses could not gallop, as I have already related, as soon as they learned what had happened, returned, faster than at a walk, to Mexico and told Montezuma how it all happened. But fast as they went the news had already reached him, through the two Chieftains who had been with us and who went to him post-haste. We learned on good authority that when Montezuma heard the news he was greatly grieved and very angry, and at once sacrificed some Indians to his Idol Huichilobos, whom they looked on as the God of War, so that he might tell him what was to be the result of our going to Mexico, or if he would permit us to enter the city. We even knew that he was shut in at his devotions and sacrifices for two days in company with ten of the Chief Priests, and that a reply came from those Idols which was, that they advised him to send messengers to us to disclaim all blame for the Cholulan affair, and that with demonstrations of peace we should be allowed to enter into Mexico, and that when we were inside, by depriving us of food and water, or by raising some of the bridges, they would kill us; that one day only would suffice, if he attacked us, to leave none of us alive, and then he could offer his sacrifices to Huichilobos who had given this reply, and to Tescatepuca the god of Hell, and they could feast on our thighs and legs and arms, and the snakes and serpents and tigers which they kept in wooden cages, (as I shall tell later on at the proper time and place,) could gorge on our entrails and bodies and all that was left of us.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma felt and say how this affair and punishment at Cholula became known throughout the provinces of New Spain and if we had a

reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

they will find it to be very different the one from the other. I also wish to say that some good Franciscan monks, who were the first friars whom his Majesty sent to this New Spain after the Conquest of Mexico, as I shall relate further on, went to Cholula to inform themselves and find out how and in what way that punishment was carried out, and for what reason, and the enquiry that they made was from the same priests and elders of the city, and after fully informing themselves from these very men, they found it to be neither more nor less than what I have written down in this narrative, and not as the Bishop has related it. If perchance we had not inflicted that punishment, our lives would have been in great danger on account of the squadrons and companies of Mexican and Cholulan warriors who were there, and the barricades and breastworks, and if to our misfortune they had killed us there, this New Spain would not have been so speedily conquered, nor would another Armada have dared to have come, and if it did, it would have been under greater difficulty, for the Mexicans would have defended their ports, and they would still have continued in a state of Idolatry.

I have heard a Franciscan Friar called Fray Toribio Motolinea, who led a good life, say that it would have been better if that punishment could have been prevented, and they had not given cause for its being carried out; but, as it had been carried out, it was a good thing that all the Indians of the provinces of New Spain should see and understand that those Idols and all the rest of them were evil and lying, for it showed that all their promises turned out false, and they lost the adoration which the people had hitherto given them, and thenceforth they would not sacrifice to them, nor come on pilgrimages to them from other parts,, as they used to do. From that time they did not care for it [the principal Idol] and removed it from the lofty cue where it had stood, and either hid it or broke it up, so

that it never appeared again, and they have put up another Idol in its place. Let us leave this subject and I will relate what we went on to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

About certain messages and messengers that we sent to the Great Montezuma.

As fourteen days had already passed since we had come to Cholula we had nothing more to do there, for we saw that the city was again fully peopled, and that they held their markets, and we had established friendship between them and the people of Tlaxcala; and we had also set up a cross, and informed them about matters concerning our holy faith. But as we saw that the Great Montezuma was secretly sending spies to our camp to enquire and find out what our plans were and if we intended to go on to his city (for he came to know everything very thoroughly through the two Ambassadors who were in our company), our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers, whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it. It was agreed that we should send to tell the Great Montezuma, gently and amicably, that in order to carry out the purpose for which our Lord and King had sent us to these parts, (which was only to see him and tell him certain things which would be greatly to his benefit when he understood them), we had crossed many seas and distant lands, and that while we were marching towards his city, his ambassadors had guided us by way of Cholula, where they said the people were his vassals, and for the first two days after our arrival the people treated us very well, but on the next day they had

plotted a treason with the intention of killing us; and as we are men of such character that it would be impossible to hide any matter of double dealing, or treachery, or iniquity, which they might wish to enact against us without our knowing of it at once, for this reason we punished some of those who intended to carry out the plot. As he [our Captain] knew that they were his [Montezuma's] subjects, [it was only] out of respect for his person, and on account of our great friendship, that he refrained from destroying and killing all those who were concerned in the treason. However, the worst of it all is that the priests and Caciques say it was on his advice and command, and that of his ambassadors, that they intended to do it. This of course we never believed, that such a great prince as he is could issue such orders, especially as he had declared himself our friend, and we had inferred from his character that since his Idols had put such an evil thought as making war on us into his head, he would surely fight us in the open field; however, whether he fought in the open or in a town, by day or by night, we would kill those who thought of doing such a thing. But as we look upon him as our great friend and wish to see and speak to him, we are setting out at once for his city to give him a more complete account of what Our Lord the King had commanded us to do.

When Montezuma heard this message and learned through the people of Cholula that we did not lay all the blame on him, we heard it said that he returned again with his priests to fast and make sacrifices to his Idols, to know if they would again repeat their permission to allow us to enter into the city or no, and whether they would reiterate the commands they had already given him. The answer which they gave was the same as the first, that he should allow us to enter and that once inside the city he could kill us when he chose. His captains and

priests also advised him that if he should place obstacles in the way of our entry, we would make war on him through his subject towns, seeing that we had as our friends the Tlaxcalans, and all the Totonacs of the hills, and other towns which had accepted our alliance, and to avoid these evils the best and most sensible advice was that which Huichilobos had given.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma had decided, and I will relate what he did about it and how we agreed to set out for Mexico, and that when we were ready to start messengers arrived from Montezuma with a present, and what he sent to say.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

How the Great Montezuma sent a present of gold, and what he sent to say to us, and how we decided to set out for Mexico, and what else happened about it.

So the great Montezuma again took counsel with his Huichilobos, and his priests and captains, and all advised him to allow us to enter the city, as there he could kill us in safety. When he heard the message which we sent to him concerning our friendship and the other fearless remarks, (to the effect that we were men from whom no treason which was plotted against us could be hidden without our finding it out, and that as for fighting, nothing suited us better, either in the open fields or in the towns, either by night or by day or in any way whatever) and as he had heard about our war with Tlaxcala, and knew of the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and Cingapacinga, and now about that at Cholula, he was dazed and even afraid. After much deliberation he despatched six chieftains with a present of gold and jewels of a variety of shapes which were estimated to be worth over two thousand dollars,

and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully worked.

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said— "Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés.

Let us leave this subject and say that the Captain gave the Ambassadors a suitable and affectionate reply and ordered the messengers who had come with the present to remain with us as guides and the other three to return with the answer to their Prince, and to advise him that we were already on the road.

When the Chief Caciques of Tlaxcala, whom I have often mentioned before, named Xicotenga the elder and the blind, and Mase Escasi, understood that we were going, their souls were afflicted and they sent to say to Cortés that they had already warned him many times that he should be careful what he was about, and should refrain from entering such a strong city where there was so much war-like preparation and such a multitude of warriors, for one day or the other we would be attacked, and they feared that we would not escape alive, and on account of the good will that they bore us, they wished to send ten thousand men under brave captains to go with us and carry food for the journey.

Cortés thanked them heartily for their good wishes and told them that it was not just to enter into Mexico with such a host of warrors, especially when one party was so hostile to the other, that he only had need of one thousand men to carry the tepusques and the baggage, and to clear some of the roads, (I have already said that *tepusques* was the name they gave in these parts to the iron cannon which we carried with us) and they at once sent us the thousand Indians very well equipped.

Just as we were ready to set out, there came to Cortés, all the Caciques and all the principal warriors whom we had brought from Cempoala, who had marched in our company and served us well and loyally, and said that they wanted to go back to Cempoala and not to proceed beyond Cholula in the direction of Mexico, for they felt certain that if they went there it would be for them and for us to go to

our deaths. The Great Montezuma would order them to be killed because they were leading chiefs of Cempoala, and had broken their fealty by refusing to pay him tribute and by imprisoning his tax gatherers when the rebellion took place which I have already written about in the course of this story.

When Cortés observed the determination with which they demanded permission, he answered them through Doña Marina and Aguilar that they need not have the slighest fear that they would come to any harm, for, as they would go in our company, who would dare to annoy either them or us? and he begged them to change their minds and stay with us, and he promised to make them rich. Although Cortés pressed them to stay, and Doña Marina put it in the most warm-hearted manner, they never wished to stay, but only to return to their homes. When Cortés perceived this he said, "God forbid that these Indians who have served us so well should be forced to go," and he sent for many loads of rich mantles and divided them among them, and he also sent to our friend the fat Cacique who was Lord of Cempoala two loads of mantles for himself and for his nephew the other great Cacique named Cuesco. He also wrote to his lieutenant Juan de Escalante whom we had left there as Captain, and who at that time was Alguacil Mayor, and told him all that had happened to us, and how we were now on our way to Mexico, and he told him to look well after his neighbours, and to keep a good watch, and by day and night to be on the alert, and to finish building the fortress, and to help the natives of those towns against the Mexicans, and not to let any of the soldiers who were with him annoy the [friendly] natives in any way whatever. When this letter was written and the people of Cempoala had left us, we set out on our journey, keeping well on the alert.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

How we began our march to the City of Mexico, what happened to us on the road, and what Montezuma sent to say.

WE set out from Cholula in carefully arranged order as we were always accustomed to do, the mounted scouts examining the country ahead and some very active foot soldiers accompanying them, so that should they come to any bad ground or other obstacle they might help one another; then [followed] our cannon all ready for action, and the musketeers and crossbowmen, and then the horsemen in parties of three so that they could help one another, then all the rest of the soldiers in good order. I don't know why I call all this so clearly to mind, but when writing about war, one feels obliged to make mention of it, so that it can be seen how we marched always "with chin on shoulder." Marching in this way we arrived that day at some ranchos standing on a hill about four leagues from Cholula, they are peopled from Huexotzingo, and I think they are called the Ranchos of Yscalpan. To this place soon came the Caciques and priests of the towns of Huexotzingo which were near by, and they were friends and allies of the Tlaxcalans, and there also came people from other small towns, which stand on the slopes of the volcano near their boundary line, who brought us food and a present of golden jewels of small value, and they asked Cortés to accept them and not consider the insignificance of the gift but the good will with which it was offered. They advised him not to go to Mexico as it was a very strong city and full of warriors, where we should run much risk. They also told us to look out, if we had decided upon going, for when we had ascended to the pass we should find two broad roads, one leading to a town named Chalco, and the other to another

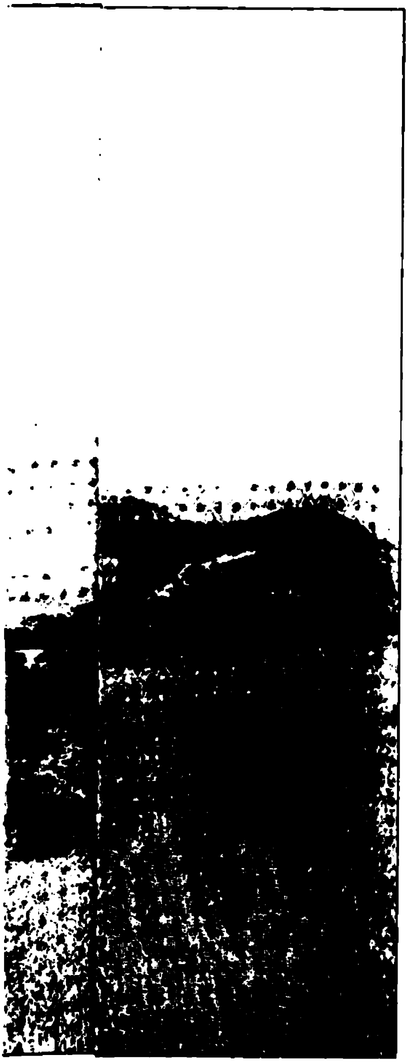

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

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town called Tlamanalco,[1] both of them subject to Mexico; that the one road was well swept and cleared so as to induce us to take it, and that the other road had been closed up and many great pines and other trees had been cut down so that horses could not use it and we could not march along it. That a little way down the side of the mountain along the road that had been cleared, the Mexicans (thinking that we must take that road) had cut away a piece of the hill side, and had made ditches and barricades, and that certain squadrons of Mexicans had waited at that point so as to kill us there. So they counselled us not to go by the road which was clear, but by the road where the felled trees were, saying that they would send many men with us to clear it, and as the Tlascalans were also with us, between them they would clear away the trees, and they said that that road came out at Tlamanalco.

Cortés received their present very kindly and told them that he thanked them for the counsel they had given him, and that with God's help he would not abandon his march but would go the way they advised him. Early the next morning we began our march, and it was nearly midday when we arrived at the ridge of the mountain where we found the roads just as the people of Huexotzingo had said. There we rested a little and began to think about the Mexican squadrons on the intrenched hillside where the earth works were that they had told us about.

Then Cortés ordered the Ambassadors of the great Montezuma who came in our company to be summoned, and he asked them how it was that those two roads were

[1] Bernal Díaz seems to have gone wrong in his topography. At the gap between the two volcanoes the roads probably divided, one (to the right) going by way of Tlamanalco to Chalco, the other (more direct) going to Amecameca. The Spaniards probably took the more direct (the blocked up) road to Amecameca, and did not go to Tlamanalco at all. Cortés, in his second letter, says that he went to Amecameca, and does not mention Tlamanalco.

in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

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[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).

[2] Amecameca according to Cortés.

[3] Ayotzingo.

and fifty pesos and they said:—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries.

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezumá and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember.

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to

see what ditches and ramparts there were there, and if there were any squadrons of warriors. But the Caciques answered him—"Malinche, there is no necessity to go and see, for it is now all levelled and put right, for you should know that six days ago there was a difficult pass there, for they had cut away the hill so that you could not get by, and many warriors of the Great Montezuma [were stationed there], but we have learnt that their Huichilobos, who is their god of War, advised them to allow you to pass, for when you have entered the city of Mexico there they will kill you. Therefore, we are of opinion that you should stay here with us, and we will give you what we possess, and that you should give up going to Mexico, as we know for certain it is very strong and full of warriors, and they will not spare your lives."

Cortés replied to them, with a cheerful mien, that we had no fear that the Mexicans, or any other nation, could destroy us, only our Lord God in whom we believe, and, so that they should understand, we were going to explain to Montezuma himself and all his Caciques and priests, what our God had commanded. As we wished to start at once, he asked them to give him twenty of their principal men to go in his company; and he would do much for them, and would have justice done to them as soon as he arrived in Mexico, so that neither Montezuma nor his tax gatherers should perpetrate the abuses nor use the violence which they said had been used towards them.

With cheerful faces the people from all these towns I have named gave satisfactory replies to this speech and they brought us the twenty Indians, and just as we were ready to set out, messengers arrived from the Great Montezuma, and what they said I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

How the great Montezuma again sent other Ambassadors to us with a present of gold and cloths, and what they said to Cortés and what he replied to them.

As we were starting on our march to Mexico there came before Cortés four Mexican chiefs sent by Montezuma who brought a present of gold and cloths. After they had made obeisance according to their custom, they said —"Malinche, our Lord the Great Montezuma sends you this present and says that he is greatly concerned for the hardships you have endured in coming from such a distant land in order to see him, and that he has already sent to tell you that he will give you much gold and silver and chalchihuites as tribute for your Emperor and for yourself and the other Teules in your company, provided you will not come to Mexico, and now again he begs as a favour, that you will not advance any further but return whence you have come, and he promises to send you to the port a great quantity of gold and silver and rich stones for that King of yours, and, as for you, he will give you four loads of gold and for each of your brothers one load, but as for going on to Mexico your entrance into it is forbidden, for all his vassals have risen in arms to prevent your entry, and besides this there is no road thither, only a very narrow one, and there is no food for you to eat." And he used many other arguments about the difficulties to the end that we should advance no further.

Cortés with much show of affection embraced the Ambassadors, although the message grieved him, and he accepted the present; I forget how much it was worth, but, as far as I could see and understand, Montezuma never omitted to send gold, little or much, when he sent messengers, as I have already related. To return to our

story, Cortés answered them that he marvelled how the Lord Montezuma, having given himself out as our friend, and being such a great Prince, should be so inconstant; that one time he says one thing and another time sends to order the contrary, and regarding what he says about giving gold to our Lord the Emperor and to ourselves, he is grateful to him for it, and what he sends him now he will pay for in good works as time goes on. How can he deem it befitting that being so near to his city, we should think it right to return on our road without carrying through what our Prince has commanded us to do? If the Lord Montezuma had sent his messengers and ambassadors to some great prince such as he is himself, and if, after nearly reaching his house, those messengers whom he sent should turn back without speaking to the Prince about that which they were sent to say, when they came back into his [Montezuma's] presence with such a story, what favour would he show them? He would merely treat them as cowards of little worth; and this is what our Emperor would do with us, so that in one way or another we were determined to enter his city, and from this time forth he must not send any more excuses on the subject, for he [Cortés] was bound to see him, and talk to him and explain the whole purpose for which we had come, and this he must do to him personally. Then after he understood it all, if our presence in the city did not seem good to him, we would return whence we had come. As for what he said about there being little or no food, not enough to support us, we were men who could get along even if we have but little to eat, and we were already on the way to his city, so let him take our coming in good part.

As soon as the messengers had been despatched, we set out for Mexico, and as the people of Huexotzingo and Chalco had told us that Montezuma had held consultations with his Idols and priests whether he should allow us to

enter Mexico, or whether he should attack us, and all the priests had answered that his Huichilobos had said he was to allow us to enter and that then he could kill us, as I have already related in the chapter that deals with the subject, and as we are but human and feared death, we never ceased thinking about it. As that country is very thickly peopled we made short marches, and commended ourselves to God and to Our Lady his blessed Mother, and talked about how and by what means we could enter [the City], and it put courage into our hearts to think that as our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed us protection through past dangers, he would likewise guard us from the power of the Mexicans.

We went to sleep at a town called Iztapalatengo[1] where half the houses are in the water and the other half on dry land, where there is a small mountain, (and now there is an Inn there) and there they gave us a good supper.

Let us leave this and return to the Great Montezuma who, when his messengers arrived and he heard the reply which Cortés had sent to him, at once determined to send his nephew named Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, with great pomp to bid welcome to Cortés and to all of us, and as we were always accustomed to post sentinels and scouts, one of the scouts came in to tell us that a large crowd of friendly Mexicans was coming along the road, and that to all appearance they were coming clad in rich mantles. It was very early in the morning when this happened, and we were ready to start, and Cortés ordered us to wait in our quarters until he could see what the matter was.

At that moment four chieftains arrived, who made deep obeisance to Cortés and said that close by there was approaching Cacamatzin, the great Lord of Texcoco, a

[1] This is clearly a mistake, the town was Ayotzingo.

nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them

and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma for all the favours which every day he was granting us.

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad Causeway,[3] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about.

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the

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[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mezquique,[2] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[2] Mexquic.

[3] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma. And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway. When we arrived where another small causeway branches off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

[1] Que venia cerca.

got down from his litter, and those great Caciques supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals [*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains who had come with him returned in his train. As they turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

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[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

fastened, Cortés thanked Montezuma through our interpreters, and Montezuma replied—"Malinche you and your brethren are in your own house, rest awhile," and then he went to his palaces which were not far away, and we divided our lodgings by companies, and placed the artillery pointing in a convenient direction, and the order which we had to keep was clearly explained to us, and that we were to be much on the alert, both the cavalry and all of us soldiers. A sumptuous dinner was provided for us according to their use and custom, and we ate it at once. So this was our lucky and daring entry into the great city of Tenochtitlan[1] Mexico on the 8th day of November the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1519.

Thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for it all. And if I have not said anything that I ought to have said, may your honours pardon me, for I do not know now even at the present time how better to express it.

Let us leave this talk and go back to our story of what else happened to us, which I will go on to relate.

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[1] Tenustitan in the text.

THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

Introductory Notes to Book VI.

THE Valley of Mexico is a level plain about 7424 feet above the sea, completely surrounded by mountains which leave no exit for the escape of the water from a fairly abundant rainfall, and as a consequence the whole valley at one period must have formed one vast lake, whose volume was limited only by soakage and the very rapid evaporation due to a tropical sun. At the time of the Conquest the area of the surface of the lakes was (very roughly) 442 square miles.

A red line on the map[1] marks the shape and size of this basin, taking as a limit the crests of the mountains and hills that surround it and the dividing line of the watershed; this includes about 3110 square miles.

The mountains surrounding the valley may be roughly divided into three ranges. To the East the Sierra Nevada, with the great peaks of Popocatepetl (17,887 ft.) and Ixtaccihuatl (17,342 ft.) capped with perpetual snow, and the three lower peaks to the North, Papayo, Telapon and Tlaloc; to the South lies the great volcanic barrier of Ajusco, to the West the range of Las Cruces, and to the North that of Pachuca. Towards the south part of the valley the intrusion of the low volcanic cones of Chimalhuacan, Santa Catarina, la Estrella and their neighbours, reduced the water surface between the lakes of Xochimilco and Texcoco to a narrow space, and, to the north of the valley, the northern end of the Sierra de Guadalupe and the volcano of Chiconahutla narrowed the water space between the lakes of Texcoco and Xaltocan. The rainfall appears to be more considerable on the western than on the eastern side of the lakes. The streams flowing into the lakes are of necessity short in their courses and mostly torrential, by far the most important being the Rio de Guatitlan on the North-west.

Although the lakes have received different names, the water surface must have been continuous until separated by the earthworks of the Indians. Starting from the North the lakes are named Zumpango, Xaltocan (the southern part was called San Cristóbal by the Spaniards), Texcoco, Xochimilco and Chalco.

Of this chain of lakes Texcoco lies lowest, and measurements made in recent years, after much of the water had been drained away, show the following heights above the level of Texcoco. To this list is also

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[1] Map No. 1.

appended the depths of the lakes as determined by the drainage commission of 1861.

Name.		Level above Texcoco in Metres.		Depth in Metres.
Texcoco ...	...	0.00	...	0.50
Zumpango	...	6.06	...	0.80
Xaltocan ...	...	3.47	...	0.40
San Cristóbal	...	3.60	...	0.60
Xochimilco	...	3.14	...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco ...	...	3.08	...	2.40
City of Mexico	...	1.90	...	—

Silt may have made a considerable difference to the level of the lakes during four hundred years, but no possible allowance for silt could alter the conclusion that at the time of the Conquest the lakes must have been very shallow.

The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two reed-covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated in much the same manner as were the *chinampas* or floating gardens at the time of the Conquest, or as the chinampas of Xochimilco are at the present day, and these two islands became respectively the sites of the towns of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, and the space between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches, were frequently chosen by the Indians tribes as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and the number of such sites in Mexico and Central America[1] still either occupied by towns or containing the ruins of ancient buildings are evidence of a continual state of intertribal walfare.

The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud from the lake on to wattles in order to form seed beds for flowers and vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased in size and became more compact from the growth of the interlacing roots of the willows and other water-loving plants until they may have supported a small hut for the owner and his family, and the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on the shallow margin of the lake. Two large groups of such gardens are shown on the map published in Clavigero's *History of Mexico* lying off

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[1] Cf. Mixquic, Tlahuac and Xochimilco in the lakes of Mexico, Tayasal in the lake of Peten, and the island homes of the Lacandones in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barrancas are Cuernavaca and Yacapistla in Mexico, and Utatlan and Iximché, etc., in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were not chosen for cities of the older culture such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

"This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

NATIVE HOUSES ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CITY OF MEXICO.

Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

"The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all. The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

NOTE ON THE DRAINAGE.

From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Netzahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martínez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

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[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico.*

[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.

[3] Text page 72.

excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplateo, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:—

"The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

"And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza."

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says: –

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Montezuma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses

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[1] Cortés' second letter.

[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.

[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.

[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

of poles and thatch of Indian tiibes, none of whom had risen above a state of barbarism. Much no doubt was due to the natural surroundings; the white City with its numerous teocallis was embowered in trees and surrounded by the blue waters of the lake sparkling under a tropical sun, a lake that was alive with a multitude of canoes passing and repassing to the other white cities on its shores, and in every direction the horizon was closed with a splendid panorama of forest-covered hills, while to the south-east the eye always rested with delight on the beautiful slopes and snow-covered peaks of the two great volcanoes. It is an enchanting scene to-day, in spite of the shrinkage of the lakes, the smoke from factory chimneys, and the somewhat squalid surroundings of a modern city, and but little effort of imagination is needed to appreciate the charm that it must have exercised in the days of Montezuma.

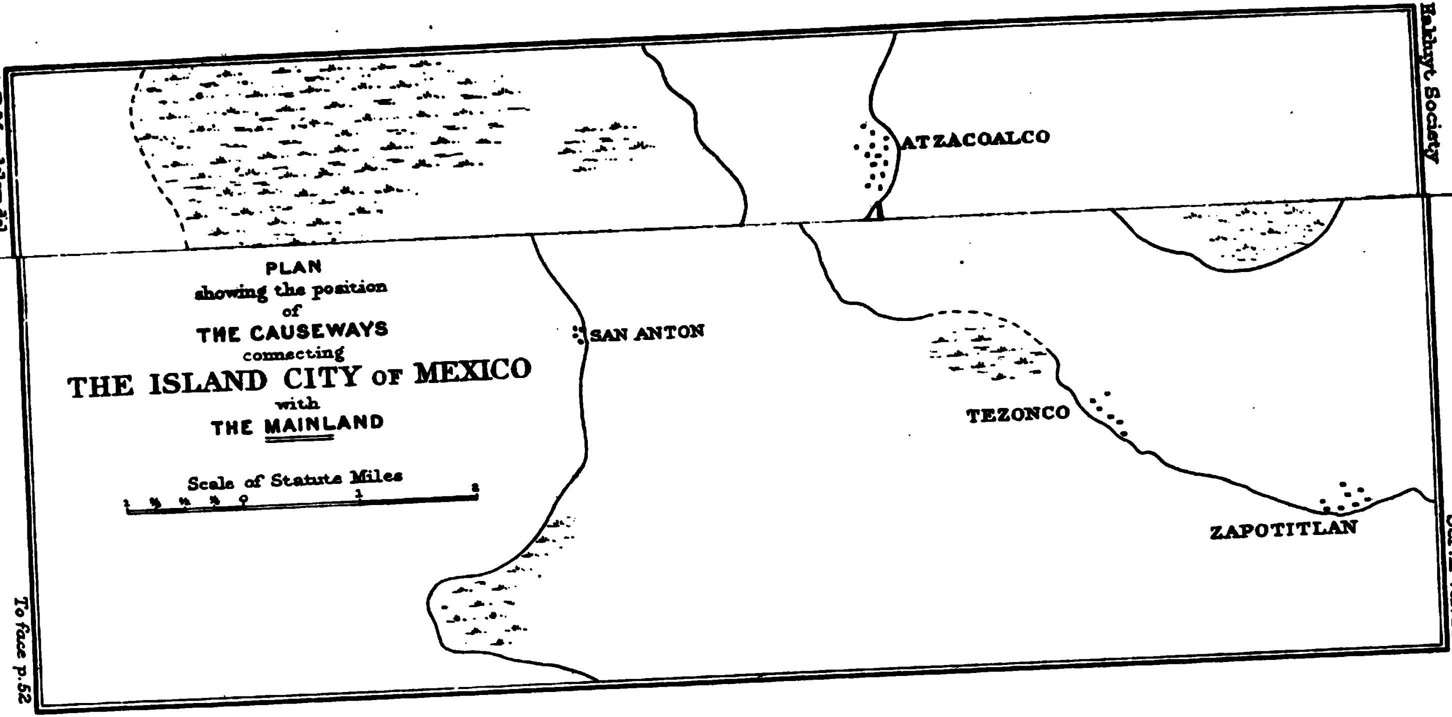
The Viga Canal still survives as a water-way by which produce is brought into Mexico from the market gardens or chinampas of Lake Zochimilco, and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the canal which ran from the Viga Canal along the south side of the great square past the convent of San Francisco was finally filled in. For many years the roadway beside it was known as the "Calle de Canoas," and the names Puente de la Leña (Fire wood bridge), Portal de las Flores, etc., still mark the localities where the different commodities were sold on the banks of the Canal. Indeed, the course of many an old water-way can still be traced in the modern City by the names which have clung to the localities since the days of the conquest and are now attached to the streets.

The Upsala map seems to show that there was an embankment or pallisade along the east side of the City, necessary as a protection against the wash of the waves from the lake, but on the other sides the entrance of the numerous canals was probably through tree-lined chinampas aud orchards, similar to the approach to Xochimilco at the present day. Gardens and groves were evidently numerous in the City itself; the Mexicans were distinguished for their love of flowers, and there is no climate where gardening is more remunerative than in these tropical highlands when water is plentiful. The flowering plants cultivated on the roofs of the houses must have added greatly to the picturesque aspect of the streets and canals.

Bernal Díaz tells us how clean the surroundings of the great temple were kept, where not a straw or a spot of dust could be seen (filth seems to have been confined to the temples themselves where the horrid rites of their religion were performed), and this cleanliness probably extended to the City itself, for it will be observed by any traveller in Mexico or Central America that the purely Indian villages of considerable size are almost always kept swept and tidy, while this is not the case in the towns and villages inhabited by the mixed race.

A. P. Maudslay del.

Hakluyt Society



To face p. 52

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BOOK VI.

THE STAY IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

How the Great Montezuma came to our quarters wtih many Caciques accompanying him, and the conversation that he had with our Captain.

WHEN the Great Montezuma had dined and he knew that some time had passed since our Captain and all of us had done the same, he came in the greatest state to our quarters with a numerous company of chieftains, all of them his kinsmen. When Cortés was told that he was approaching he came out to the middle of the Hall to receive him, and Montezuma took him by the hand, and they brought some seats, made according to their usage and very richly decorated and embroidered with gold in many designs, and Montezuma asked our Captain to be seated, and both of them sat down each on his chair. Then Montezuma began a very good speech, saying that he was greatly rejoiced to have in his house and his kingdom such valiant gentlemen as were Cortés and all of us. That two years ago he had received news of another Captain who came to

Chanpoton, and likewise last year they had brought him news of another Captain who came with four ships, and that each time he had wished to see them, and now that he had us with him he was at our service, and would give us of all that he possessed; that it must indeed be true that we were those of whom his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men, as we had fought so valiantly in the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and against the Tlaxcalans; for they had brought him pictures of the battles true to life.

Cortés answered him through our interpreters who always accompanied him, especially Doña Marina, and said to him that he and all of us did not know how to repay him the great favours we received from him every day. It was true that we came from where the sun rose, and were the vassals and servants of a great Prince called the Emperor Don Carlos, who held beneath his sway many and great princes, and that the Emperor having heard of him and what a great prince he was, had sent us to these parts to see him, and to beg them to become Christians, the same as our Emperor and all of us, so that his soul and those of all his vassals might be saved. Later on he would further explain how and in what manner this should be done, and how we worship one only true God, and who He is, and many other good things which he should listen to, such as he had already told to his ambassadors Tendile, and Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor when we were on the sand dunes. When this conference was over, the Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one

two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince. When these things had been distributed, he asked Cortés if we were all brethren and vassals of our great Emperor, and Cortés replied yes, we were brothers in affection and friendship, and persons of great distinction, and servants of our great King and Prince. Further polite speeches passed between Montezuma and Cortés, and as this was the first time he had come to visit us, and so as not to be wearisome, they ceased talking. Montezuma had ordered his stewards that, according to our own use and customs in all things, we should be provided with maize and [grinding] stones, and women to make bread, and fowls and fruit, and much fodder for the horses. Then Montezuma took leave of our Captain and all of us with the greatest courtesy, and we went out with him as far as the street. Cortés ordered us not to go far from our quarters for the present, until we knew better what was expedient. I will stop here and go on to tell what happened later.

CHAPTER XC.

How on the following day our Captain Cortés went to see the Great Montezuma, and about a certain conversation that took place.

THE next day Cortés decided to go to Montezuma's palace, and he first sent to find out what he intended doing and to let him know that we were coming. He took with him four captains, namely Pedro de Alvarado Juan Velásquez de Leon, Diego de Ordás, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five of us soldiers also went with him.

When Montezuma knew of our coming he advanced to the middle of the hall to receive us, accompanied by many of his nephews, for no other chiefs were permitted to

enter or hold communication with Montezuma where he then was, unless it were on important business. Cortés and he paid the greatest reverence to each other and then they took one another by the hand and Montezuma made him sit down on his couch[1] on his right hand, and he also bade all of us to be seated on seats which he ordered to be brought.

Then Cortés began to make an explanation through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and said that he and all of us were rested, and that in coming to see and converse with such a great Prince as he was, we had completed the journey and fulfilled the command which our great King and Prince had laid on us. But what he chiefly came to say on behalf of our Lord God had already been brought to his [Montezuma's] knowledge through his ambassadors, Tendilé, Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor, at the time when he did us the favour to send the golden sun and moon to the sand dunes; for we told them then that we were Christians and worshipped one true and only God, named Jesus Christ, who suffered death and passion to save us, and we told them that a cross (when they asked us why we worshipped it) was a sign of the other Cross on which our Lord God was crucified for our salvation, and that the death and passion which He suffered was for the salvation of the whole human race, which was lost, and that this our God rose on the third day and is now in heaven, and it is He who made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the sands, and created all the things there are in the world, and He sends the rain and the dew, and nothing happens in the world without His holy will. That we believe in Him and worship Him, but that those whom they look upon as gods are not so, but are devils, which are evil things, and if their looks are bad their deeds are worse, and they could

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[1] Estrado.

see that they were evil and of little worth, for where we had set up crosses such as those his ambassadors had seen, they dared not appear before them, through fear of them, and that as time went on they would notice this.

The favour he now begged of him was his attention to the words that he now wished to tell him; then he explained to him very clearly about the creation of the world, and how we are all brothers, sons of one father and one mother who were called Adam and Eve, and how such a brother as our great Emperor, grieving for the perdition of so many souls, such as those which their idols were leading to Hell, where they burn in living flames, had sent us, so that after what he [Montezuma] had now heard he would put a stop to it and they would no longer adore these Idols or sacrifice Indian men and women to them, for we were all brethren, nor should they commit sodomy or thefts. He also told them that, in course of time, our Lord and King would send some men who among us lead very holy lives, much better than we do, who will explain to them all about it, for at present we merely came to give them due warning, and so he prayed him to do what he was asked and carry it into effect.

As Montezuma appeared to wish to reply, Cortés broke off his argument, and to all of us who were with him he said: "with this we have done our duty considering it is the first attempt."

Montezuma replied—"Señor Malinche, I have understood your words and arguments very well before now, from what you said to my servants at the sand dunes, this about three Gods and the Cross, and all those things that you have preached in the towns through which you have come. We have not made any answer to it because here throughout all time we have worshipped our own gods, and thought they were good, as no doubt yours are, so do not trouble to speak to us any more about them at present. Regarding the creation of the world, we have held the same

belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

well that these people of Tlaxcala with whom you are such good friends have told you that I am a sort of God or Teul, and that everything in my houses is made of gold and silver and precious stones, I know well enough that you are wise and did not believe it but took it as a joke. Behold now, Señor Malinche, my body is of flesh and bone like yours, my houses and palaces of stone and wood and lime; that I am a great king and inherit the riches of my ancestors is true, but not all the nonsense and lies that they have told you about me, although of course you treated it as a joke, as I did your thunder and lightning."

Cortés answered him, also laughing, and said that opponents and enemies always say evil things, without truth in them, of those whom they hate, and that he well knew that he could not hope to find another Prince more magnificent in these countries, and that not without reason had he been so vaunted to our Emperor.

While this conversation was going on, Montezuma secretly sent a great Cacique, one of his nephews who was in his company, to order his stewards to bring certain pieces of gold, which it seems must have been put apart to give to Cortés, and ten loads of fine cloth, which he apportioned, the gold and mantles between Cortés and the four captains, and to each of us soldiers he gave two golden necklaces, each necklace being worth ten pesos, and two loads of mantles. The gold that he then gave us was worth in all more than a thousand pesos and he gave it all cheerfully and with the air of a great and valiant prince. As it was now past midday, so as not to appear importunate, Cortés said to him: "Señor Montezuma, you always have the habit of heaping load upon load in every day conferring favours on us, and it is already your dinner time." Montezuma replied that he thanked us for coming to see him, and then we took our leave with the greatest courtesy and we went to our lodgings.

And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

other things which are bred in this country, and they are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way things were served to him at meal times. It was in this way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate standing up with much reverence and without looking at his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. There were shields great and small, and a sort of broadswords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

Quezales, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

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[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews, and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else, and we could not tire of witnessing his great power. Thus as a consequence of so many crafts being practised among them, a large number of skilled Indians were employed.

As I am almost tired of writing about this subject and my interested readers will be even more so, I will stop talking about it and tell how our Cortés in company with many of our captains and soldiers went to see Tlaltelolco,[1] which is the great market place of Mexico, and how we ascended the great Cue where stand the Idols Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos. This was the first time that our Captain went out to see the City, and I will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER XCII.

How our Captain went out to see the City of Mexico and Tlaltelolco, which is the great market place and the great Cue of Huichilobos, and what else happened.

As we had already been four days in Mexico and neither the Captain nor any of us had left our lodgings except to go to the houses and gardens, Cortés said to us that it would be well to go to the great Plaza and see the great

[1] Tutelulco in the text.

Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

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[1] Sandals.

deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

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[1] Pitch-pine for torches

off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were already approaching its great courts, before leaving the market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

down from above, where he was making his sacrifices, six priests and two chieftains to accompany our Captain. On ascending the steps, which are one hundred and fourteen in number, they attempted to take him by the arms so as to help him to ascend, (thinking that he would get tired,) as they were accustomed to assist their lord Montezuma, but Cortés would not allow them to come near him. When we got to the top of the great Cue, on a small plaza which has been made on the top where there was a space like a platform with some large stones placed on it, on which they put the poor Indians for sacrifice, there was a bulky image like a dragon and other evil figures and much blood shed that very day.

When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortés and to all of us he said: "You must be tired, Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortés replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, that from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacuba, along which later on we fled on the night of our great defeat, when Cuitlahuac[1] the new prince drove us

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs, and on the causeways other small towers and oratories which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had seen we turned to look at the great market place and the crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the left hand there stood the other great image the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call *Tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and in it was another image half man and half lizard, with precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest, but I do not remember its name, and everything was covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In that small place there were many diabolical things to be seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols, and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship.

Then Cortés said " I ask your pardon if it be so," and then we went down the steps, and as they numbered one hundred and fourteen, and as some of our soldiers were suffering from tumours and abscesses, their legs were tired by the descent.

I will leave off talking about the oratory, and I will give my impresions of its surroundings, and if I do not describe it as accurately as I should do, do not wonder at it, for at that time I had other things to think about, regarding what we had on hand, that is to say my soldier's duties and what my Captain ordered me to do, and not about telling stories. To go back to the facts, it seems to me that the circuit of the great Cue was equal to [that of] six large sites,[1] such as they measure in this country, and from below up to where a small tower stood, where they kept their idols, it narrowed, and in the middle of the lofty Cue up to its highest point, there were five hollows like barbicans, but open, without screens, and as there are many Cues painted on the banners of the conquerors, and on one which I possess, any one who has seen them can infer what they looked like from outside, better that I myself saw and understood it. There was a report that at the time they began to build that great Cue, all the inhabitants of that mighty city had placed as offerings in the foundations, gold and silver and pearls and precious stones, and had bathed them with the blood of the many Indian prisoners of war who were sacrificed, and had placed there every sort and kind of seed that the land produces, so that their Idols should give them victories and riches, and large crops. Some of my inquisitive readers will ask, how could we come to know that into the foundations of that great Cue they cast gold and silver and precious chalchihuites and seeds, and watered them with the human

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[1] Solares. Solar is a town lot for house building.

blood of the Indians whom they sacrificed, when it was more than a thousand years ago that they built and made it? The answer I give to this is that after we took that great and strong city, and the sites were apportioned, it was then proposed that in [the place of] that great *Cue* we should build a church to our patron and guide Señor Santiago, and a great part of the site of the great temple of Huichilobos was occupied by the site of the holy church, and when they opened the foundations in order to strengthen them, they found much gold and silver and chalchihuites and pearls and seed pearls and other stones. And a settler in Mexico who occupied another part of the same site found the same things, and the officers of His Majesty's treasury demanded them saying that they belonged by right to His Majesty, and there was a lawsuit about it. I do not remember what happened except that they sought information from the Caciques and Chieftains of Mexico, and from Guatémoc, who was then alive, and they said that it was true that all the inhabitants of Mexico at that time cast into the foundations those jewels and all the rest of the things, and that so it was noted in their books and pictures of ancient things, and from this cause those riches were preserved for the building of the holy church of Santiago.

Let us leave this and speak of the great and splendid Courts which were in front of the [temple of] Huichilobos, where now stands [the church of] Señor Santiago, which was called Tlaltelolco, for so they were accustomed to call it.

I have already said that there were two walls of masonry [which had to be passed] before entering, and that the court was paved with white stones, like flagstones, carefully whitewashed and burnished and clean, and it was as large and as broad as the plaza of Salamanca. A little way

apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood. Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings. And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

a splendid Cue; but it is of another form from that of Mexico although the courts are the same, very large with a double wall. I may add that the Cue in the City of Texcoco was very lofty, having one hundred and seventeen steps, and the Courts were broad and fine, shaped in a different form from the others. It is a laughable matter that every province had its Idols and those of one province or city were of no use to the others, thus they had an infinite number of Idols and they made sacrifices to them all.

After our Captain and all of us were tired of walking about and seeing such a diversity of Idols and their sacrifices, we returned to our quarters, all the time accompanied by many Caciques and chieftains whom Montezuma sent with us. I will stop here and go on to say what more we did.

CHAPTER XCIII.

How we made our Church and altar in our quarters and placed a Cross outside the chamber, and what else happened, and how we found the hall and treasure chamber of Montezuma's father, and how we decided to seize Montezuma.

WHEN our Captain and the Friar of the Order of Mercy saw that Montezuma was not willing that we should set up a cross on the Temple of Huichilobos nor build a church there, and because, ever since we entered this city of Mexico, when Mass was said, we had to place an altar on tables and then to dismantle it again, it was decided that we should ask Montezuma's stewards for masons so that we could make a church in our quarters.

The stewards said that they would tell Montezuma of our wishes, and our Captain also sent to tell him so by Doña Marina and Aguilar and his page Orteguilla, who

already understood something of the language, and Montezuma gave his permission and ordered us to be supplied with all the material we needed. In two days we had our church finished and the holy cross set up in front of our apartments, and Mass was said there every day until the wine gave out. As Cortés and some of the other Captains and the Friar had been ill during the war in Tlaxcala, they made the wine that we had for Mass go too fast, but after it was all finished we [still] went to the church daily and prayed on our knees before the altar and images, for one reason, because we were obliged to do so as Christians and it was a good habit, and for another reason, in order that Montezuma and all his Captains should observe it, and should witness our adoration and see us on our knees before the Cross, especially when we intoned the Ave Maria, so that it might incline them towards it.

When we were all assembled in those chambers, as it was our habit to inquire into and want to know everything, while we were looking for the best and most convenient site to place the altar, two of our soldiers, one of whom was a carpenter, named Alonzo Yañes, noticed on one of the walls marks showing that there had been a door there, and that it had been closed up and carefully plastered over and burnished. Now as there was a rumour and we had heard the story that Montezuma kept the treasure of his father Axayaca in that building, it was suspected that it might be in this chamber which had been closed up and cemented only a few days before. Yañes spoke about it to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, who were Captains and relations of mine, and Alonzo Yañes had attached himself to their company as a servant, and those Captains told the story to Cortés, and the door was secretly opened. When it was open Cortés and some of his Captains went in first, and they saw such a

number of jewels and slabs and plates of gold and chalchihuites and other great riches, that they were quite carried away and did not know what to say about such wealth. The news soon spread among all the other Captains and soldiers, and very secretly we went in to see it. When I saw it I marvelled, and as at that time I was a youth and had never seen such riches as those in my life before, I took it for certain that there could not be another such store of wealth in the whole world. It was decided by all our captains and soldiers, that we should not dream of touching a particle of it, but that the stones should immediately be put back in the doorway and it should be sealed up and cemented just as we found it, and that it should not be spoken about, lest it should reach Montezuma's ears, until times should alter.

Let us leave this about the riches, and say that as we had such valiant captains and soldiers of good counsel and judgment, (and first of all we all believed for certain that our Lord Jesus Christ held His Divine hand over all our affairs,) four of our captains took Cortés aside in the church, with a dozen soldiers in whom he trusted and confided, and I was one of them, and we asked him to look at the net and trap in which we found ourselves, and to consider the great strength of that city, and observe the causeways and bridges, and to think over the words of warning that we had been given in all the towns we had passed through, that Montezuma had been advised by his Huichilobos to allow us to enter into the city, and when we were there, to kill us. That he [Cortés] should remember that the hearts of the men are very changeable, especially those of Indians, and he should not repose trust in the good will and affection that Montezuma was showing us, for at some time or other, when the wish occurred to him, he would order us to be attacked, and by the stoppage of our supplies of food or of water, or by the raising of

any of the bridges, we should be rendered helpless. Then, considering the great multitude of Indian warriors that Montezuma had as his guard, what should we be able to do either in offence or defence? and as all the houses were built in the water, how could our friends the Tlaxcalans enter and come to our aid? He should think over all this that we had said, and if we wished to safeguard our lives, that we should at once, without further delay, seize Montezuma and should not wait until next day to do it. He should also remember that all the gold that Montezuma had given us and all that we had seen in the treasury of his father Axayaca, and all the food which we ate, all would be turned to arsenic poison in our bodies, for we could neither sleep by night nor day nor rest ourselves while these thoughts were in our minds, and that if any of our soldiers should give him other advice short of this, they would be senseless beasts who were dazed by the gold, incapable of looking death in the face.

When Cortés heard this he replied: "Don't you imagine, gentlemen, that I am asleep, or that I am free from the same anxiety, you must have felt that it is so with me; but what possibility is there of our doing a deed of such great daring as to seize such a great prince in his own palace, surrounded as he is by his own guards and warriors, by what scheme or artifice can we carry it out, so that he should not call on his warriors to attack us at once?" Our Captains replied, (that is Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado,) that with smooth speeches he should be got out of his halls and brought to our quarters, and should be told that he must remain a prisoner, and if he made a disturbance or cried out, that he would pay for it with his life; that if Cortés did not want to do this at once, he should give them permission to do it, as they were ready

for the work, for, between the two great dangers in which we found ourselves, it was better and more to the purpose to seize Montezuma than to wait until he attacked us; for if he began the attack, what chance should we have? Some of us soldiers also told Cortés that it seemed to us that Montezuma's stewards, who were employed in providing us with food, were insolent and did not bring it courteously as during the first days. Also two of our Allies the Tlaxcalan Indians said secretly to Jerónimo de Aguilar, our interpreter, that the Mexicans had not appeared to be well disposed towards us during the last two days. So we stayed a good hour discussing the question whether or not we should take Montezuma prisoner, and how it was to be done, and to our Captain this last advice seemed opportune, that in any case we should take him prisoner, and we left it until the next day. All that night we were praying to God that our plan might tend to His Holy service.

The next morning after these consultations, there arrived, very secretly, two Tlaxcalan Indians with letters from Villa Rica and what they contained was the news that Juan de Escalante, who had remained there as Chief Alguacil, and six of our soldiers had been killed in a battle against the Mexicans, that his horse had also been slain, and many Totonacs who were in his company. Moreover, all the towns of the Sierra and Cempoala and its subject towns were in revolt, and refused to bring food or serve in the fort. They [the Spaniards] did not know what to do, for as formerly they had been taken to be Teules, that now after this disaster, both the Totonacs and Mexicans were like wild animals, and they could hold them to nothing, and did not know what steps to take.

When we heard this news, God knows what sorrow affected us all, for this was the first disaster we had suffered in New Spain. The interested reader may see

how evil fortune came rolling on us. No one who had seen us enter into that city with such a solemn and triumphant reception, and had seen us in possession of riches which Montezuma gave every day both to our Captain and to us, and had seen the house that I have described full of gold, and how the people took us for Teules, that is for Idols, and that we were conquerors in all our battles, would have thought that now such a great disaster could have befallen us, namely that they no longer attributed to us our former repute, but looked upon us as men liable to be conquered, and that we should have to feel their growing insolence towards us.

As the upshot of much argument it was agreed that, by one means or another, we should seize Montezuma that very day, or we would all die in the attempt.

So that my readers may see how Juan de Escalante fought this battle and was killed in it, he and six soldiers and a horse and the Totonac allies whom he took with him, I wish here to describe it before coming to the seizure of Montezuma, so as not to leave anything behind, for it is necessary that it should be clearly understood.

CHAPTER XCIV.

How the Mexican Captains fought a battle against Juan de Escalante, and killed him and a horse and six soldiers and many of our Totonac allies.

It was in this way; you may remember my having said in the chapter that treats of the subject, that when we were camped at a town called Quiahuitztlan, that there came together many allied towns which were friendly with the people of Cempoala, and our Captain persuaded them to agree not to pay any more tribute to Montezuma, and there were more than thirty towns which rebelled against

him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need.

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders.

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

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[1] Mechuacan in the text.

the Mexicans telling them not to annoy or rob those towns, for their Lord Montezuma approved of our all being great friends, and that if they did so he would come against them and attack them. The Mexicans took no notice of that reply or of the threat, but said that we should find them in the field. Juan de Escalante who was a very competent man and prompt in his actions, summoned all our allies from the towns in the Sierra to come with their arms, that is bows, arrows, lances and shields, and he also called together the most active and healthy of his soldiers, (for I have already said that nearly all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica were invalids and sailors,) and with two cannon and a little powder, three crossbows, two muskets, and forty soldiers and over two thousand Totonac Indians, he went in search of the Mexican garrison, who were already out robbing a town of our allies. They met in the fields at dawn of day, and as the Mexicans doubled in number our Totonac allies, and as the latter were always in terror of them on account of their former wars, at the first attack of the Mexicans with arrows, darts, stones and war cries, they took to their heels and left Juan de Escalante to fight the Mexicans alone, in such a manner that he and his poor soldiers barely reached a town called Almeria, which they set on fire and burned the houses. There he rested a little for he was badly wounded.

In those skirmishes and attacks, the Mexicans carried off alive a soldier named Argüello, a native of Leon, a man with a very large head and black curly beard, and he was very sturdy in appearance and a man of great strength. Juan de Escalante and six of his soldiers were very badly wounded and one horse was killed. They returned to Villa Rica and within three days Escalante and the six soldiers were dead.

It was in this way that what we call "the affair at Almeria"

happened, and not as the historian Gomara has written it, for he says in his history that Pedro de Ircio went to settle at Panuco with certain soldiers. I do not know how, owing to a misunderstanding, so eloquent an historian could make such a statement. All the soldiers that Cortés had with him in Mexico did not number four hundred, and most of them had been wounded in the battles at Tlaxcala and Tabasco and we had not sufficient men to keep a good watch, much less for sending to settle at Panuco. Moreover he says that Pedro de Ircio went as their captain, when he was not a captain and not even an officer at that time, and they did not employ him nor take any notice of him, and he remained with us in Mexico. The same historian also says many other things about the imprisonment of Montezuma. I do not understand his writing, and stare at it when he writes such things in his history, for there must be conquistadores alive who were there at the time, who when they read it will tell him, that this did not take place in such a manner. In this other matter he says what he likes, so let us leave him there and return to our story.

The Mexican Captains after the battle with Escalante that I have spoken about, sent the news of it to Montezuma, and even sent and presented to him the head of Argüello, who it seems died of his wounds on the road, for they had carried him off alive. We heard that when they showed the head, which was large and strong looking and had a large curly beard, to Montezuma, he was terrified and feared to look at it, and ordered that it should not be taken as an offering to any temple in Mexico, but to some other Idol in another town. Montezuma asked his Captains how it was that having such thousands of warriors with them, they had not conquered such a small number of Teules, and they replied that their darts and arrows and hard fighting availed them nothing, and they could not drive their enemy

to flight because a great *Telecįguata*[1] of Castile marched before them, and this Lady frightened the Mexicans and said words to encourage the Teules. Then Montezuma thought that great Lady must be Saint Mary who we had told him was our protector, and whose image, with her precious Son in her arms, we had given to him some time before. However, I did not see this myself, for I was in Mexico, but certain conquistadores who were present say so, and pray God that it was so, and certainly all the soldiers who were with Cortés believed it and so it is true, and the divine pity of Our Lady the Virgin Mary was ever with us, for which I give her many thanks. I will leave off here and go on to narrate what happened about the seizure of the Great Montezuma.

CHAPTER XCV.

Of the Seizure of Montezuma and what was done about it.

As we had determined the day before to seize Montezuma, we were praying to God all that night that it would turn out in a manner redounding to His Holy service, and the next morning the way it should be done was settled.

Cortés took with him five captains who were Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Lugo and Alonzo de Ávila, and he took me and our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and he told us all to keep on the alert, and the horsemen to have their horses saddled and bridled. As for our arms I need not call them to mind, for by day or night we always went armed and with our sandals on our

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[1] Tequeçihuata in the text.

feet, for at that time such was our footgear, and Montezuma had always seen us armed in that way when we went to speak to him. I mention this because although Cortés and those who went with him to seize Montezuma were all armed, Montezuma did not take it as anything new, nor was he disturbed at all.

When we were all ready, our Captain sent to tell Montezuma that we were coming to his Palace, for this had always been our custom, and so that he should not be alarmed by our arriving suddenly.

Montezuma understood more or less that Cortés was coming because he was annoyed about the Almeria affair, and he was afraid of him, but sent word for him to come and that he would be welcome.

When Cortés entered, after having made his usual salutations, he said to him through our interpreters "Señor Montezuma, I am very much astonished that you, who are such a valiant Prince, after having declared that you are our friend, should order your Captains, whom you have stationed on the coast near to Tuxpan, to take arms against my Spaniards, and that they should dare to rob the towns which are in the keeping and under the protection of our King and master and to demand of them Indian men and women for sacrifice, and should kill a Spaniard, one of my brothers, and a horse." (He did not wish to speak of the Captain nor of the six soldiers who died as soon as they arrived at Villa Rica, for Montezuma did not know about it, nor did the Indian Captains who had attacked them), and Cortés went on to say "being such a friend of yours I ordered my Captains to do all that was possible to help and serve you, and you have done exactly the contrary to us. Also in the affair at Cholula your Captains and a large force of warriors had received your own commands to kill us. I forgave it at the time out of my great regard

for you, and now again your vassals and Captains have become insolent, and hold secret consultations stating that you wish us to be killed. I do not wish to begin a war on this account nor to destroy this city, I am willing to forgive it all, if silently and without raising any disturbance you will come with us to our quarters, where you will be as well served and attended to as though you were in your own house, but if you cry out or make any disturbance you will immediately be killed by these my Captains, whom I brought solely for this purpose." When Montezuma heard this he was terrified and dumfounded, and replied that he had never ordered his people to take arms against us, and that he would at once send to summon his Captains so that the truth should be known, and he would chastise them, and at that very moment he took from his arm and wrist the sign and seal of Huichilobos, which was only done when he gave an important and weighty command which was to be carried out at once. With regard to being taken prisoner and leaving his Palace against his will, he said that he was not the person to whom such an order could be given, and that it was not his wish to go. Cortés replied to him with very good arguments and Montezuma answered him with even better, showing that he ought not to leave his house. In this way more than half an hour was spent over talk, and when Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains saw that they were wasting time over it and could not longer await the moment when they should remove him from his house and hold him a prisoner, they spoke to Cortés somewhat angrily and said, "what is the good of your making so many words, let us either take him prisoner, or stab him, tell him once more that if he cries out or makes an uproar we will kill him, for it is better at once to save our lives or to lose them," and as Juan Velásquez said this

with a loud and rather terrifying voice, for such was his way of speaking, Montezuma, who saw that our Captains were angered, asked Doña Marina what they were saying in such loud tones. As Doña Marina was very clever, she said, "Señor Montezuma, what I counsel you, is to go at once to their quarters without any disturbance at all, for I know that they will pay you much honour as a great Prince such as you are, otherwise you will remain here a dead man, but in their quarters you will learn the truth." Then Montezuma said to Cortés "Señor Malinche, if this is what you desire, I have a son and two legitimate daughters, take them as hostages, and do not put this affront on me, what will my chieftains say if they see me taken off as a prisoner?" Cortés replied to him that he must come with them himself, and there was no alternative. At the end of much more discussion that took place, Montezuma said that he would go willingly, and then Cortés and our Captains bestowed many caresses on him and told him that they begged him not to be annoyed, and to tell his captains and the men of his guard that he was going of his own free will, because he had spoken to his Idol Huichilobos and the priests who attended him, and that it was beneficial for his health and the safety of his life that he should be with us. His rich litter, in which he was used to go out with all the Captains who accompanied him was promptly brought, and he went to our quarters where we placed guards and watchmen over him.

All the attentions and amusements which it was possible for him to have, both Cortés and all of us did our best to afford him, and he was not put under any personal restraint, and soon all the principal Mexican Chieftains, and his nephews came to talk with him, and to learn the reason of his seizure, and whether he wished them to attack us. Montezuma answered them, that he was

delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great Caciques from distant lands came before him about boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

and without turning their backs and with three obeisances they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico.

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more

so. After the burning was over our Cortés with five of our captains went to Montezuma's apartment and Cortés himself took off the fetters, and he spoke such loving words to him that his anger soon passed off, for our Cortés told him that he not only regarded him as a brother, but much more, and that, as he was already Lord and King of so many towns and provinces, if it were possible he would make him Lord of many more countries as time went on, such as he had not been able to subdue, and which did not now obey him, and he told him that if he now wished to go to his Palace, that he would give him leave to go. Cortés told him this through our interpreters and while Cortés was saying it the tears apparently sprang to Montezuma's eyes. He answered with great courtesy, that he thanked him for it, (but he well knew that Cortés's speech was mere words,) and that now at present it was better for him to stay there a prisoner, for there was danger, as his chieftains were numerous, and his nephews and relations came every day to him to say that it would be a good thing to attack us and free him from prison, that as soon as they saw him outside they might drive him to it [to attack us]. He did not wish to see revolutions in his city, but if he did not comply with their wishes possibly they would want to set up another Prince in his place, and so he was putting those thoughts out of their heads by saying that Huichilobos had sent him word that he should remain a prisoner. (From what we understood, and there is no doubt about it, Cortés had told Aguilar to tell Montezuma secretly, that although Malinche wished to release him from his imprisonment, that the rest of our captains and soldiers would not agree to it.) When he heard this reply, Cortés threw his arms round him and embraced him and said, "It is not in vain Señor Montezuma that I care for you as I care for myself." Then Montezuma asked Cortés that a Spanish page named Orteguilla who already knew

something of his language might attend on him, and this was very advantageous both for Montezuma and for us, for through this page Montezuma asked and learned many things about Spain, and we learned what his captains said to him, and in truth this page was so serviceable that Montezuma got to like him very much.

Let us cease talking about how Montezuma became fairly contented with the great flattery and attention he received and the conversation that he had with us, and whenever we passed before him, even if it was Cortés himself, we doffed our mailed caps or helmets, for we always went armed, and he treated us all with politeness and distinction. Now I will give the names of those of Montezuma's captains who were punished by being burned, the principal one was Quetzalpopoca,[1] and the others were named, one of them Coate, and the other Quiavit, and I forget the name of the third, and it is not much use remembering their names. I may say that when the news of this punishment spread about throughout the provinces of New Spain, they were terrified, and the towns of the Coast, where they had killed our soldiers, returned again and rendered good service to the settlers who remained in Villa Rica. My interested readers who peruse these pages must have some respect for the great deeds we did in those days, first of all in destroying our ships, then in daring to enter so strong a city after receiving so many warnings that they would kill us when once they had us inside, then to have such great temerity as to seize Montezuma who was the King of the country in his own city and within his own palace, where he had such a numerous guard of warriors, then to dare to burn his captains in front of his palaces, and to place Montezuma himself in irons while the punishment was being carried out.

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[1] Quauhpopoca (Orozco y Berra).

Now that I am old, I often pause to think over the heroic deeds we did in those days and I think I see them passing again before my eyes, and I say that our deeds were not done of ourselves, but were all guided by God, for what men have there been in the world who, numbering four hundred soldiers, (we did not even reach that number) would have dared to enter into such a strong city as Mexico, which is larger than Venice, and is distant from our own Castile more than fifteen hundred leagues, and take prisoner so great a Prince, and punish his Captains before his eyes! There is indeed much to ponder over but not in the dry-as-dust way in which I tell it.

I will go on and relate how Cortés at once despatched another captain to be stationed at Villa Rica in place of Juan de Escalante who was killed.

CHAPTER XCVI.

How our Cortés sent a gentleman named Alonzo de Grado as his lieutenant and captain to Villa Rica, in place of the Chief Alguacil Juan de Escalante, and how he gave the office of Chief Alguacil to Gonzalo de Sandoval, who from this time on was Alguacil Mayor, and what happened about it I will go on to tell.

AFTER justice had been done on Quetzalpopoca and his captains and the Great Montezuma had been tamed, our Captain decided to send to Villa Rica, as his lieutenant, a soldier named Alonzo de Grado, for he was a very prudent man of good address and presence, and a musician and a great writer.

This Alonzo de Grado was one of those who were always in opposition to our Cortés about going to Mexico, and wished us to go back to Villa Rica. And when at the time of the Tlaxcala affair there were certain meetings of

the discontented, as I have already stated in the Chapter which treats of the subject, it was always Alonzo de Grado who agitated. Had he been as good a man of war as he was a man of good manners, it would have been to his advantage. I say this because when Cortés gave him this appointment, as he was not a bold man, he was facetious in his remarks, and said to him, "Here, Señor Alonzo de Grado, you have your wish fulfilled for you are going now to Villa Rica as you have wished, and you will take charge of the fortress, and take care that you don't go out on any expeditions and get killed as Juan de Escalante did." And when he was saying this to him Cortés winked his eye, so that we soldiers who were standing round might see it, and we knew why he said this, for it was well known of Alonzo de Grado that he would not go on such an expedition even if he were ordered to do so with threats. When his orders and instructions as to what he was to do had been given him, Alonzo de Grado begged Cortés to do him the favour to give him the wand of Alguacil Mayor, as Juan de Escalante who had been killed by the Indians had held it. Cortés replied that he had already given it to Gonzalo de Sandoval, but that for him, in time to come there would not be wanting some other office even more honourable, and he bade him God speed, and charged him to look well after the settlers and to do them honour, and to see that he should cause no annoyance to our Indian Allies, and should take nothing from them by force and that he should at once send him two thick chains which he had ordered the two blacksmiths who remained in the town to make from the ironwork and anchors of the vessels that had been destroyed, and he told him to get on quickly with the fortress and finish putting in the woodwork and tiling the roof.

When Alonzo de Grado arrived at the town he gave himself great importance towards the settlers, and wished

to make them do him service as a great Lord, and to the allied towns which numbered more than thirty, he sent to demand jewels of gold and pretty Indian women and he paid no attention at all to the fortress. How he spent his time was in feeding well and in gambling, and what was worse than all this, he secretly called together his friends, and even some who were not his friends and suggested that if Diego Velásquez or any of his captains should come from Cuba to that country, that they should join him and give up the land to him. All this news was at once sent in haste by letter to Cortés in Mexico, and when he heard of it he was angry with himself for having sent Alonzo de Grado, knowing as he did his evil disposition and peevish temper, and as he always had it in his thoughts that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, by some means or other, would get to know that we had sent our attorneys to His Majesty, we should in no case turn to him for assistance, for there was danger that he might send a fleet and some captains against us. So it seemed to Cortés advisable to send some man whom he could trust to the port and town, and he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval who had been Chief Alguacil since the death of Juan de Escalante, and he took in his company Pedro de Ircio, who according to the Historian Gomara had gone to form a settlement at Panuco. So Pedro de Ircio went to the town and Gonzalo de Sandoval took a great liking to him, for Pedro de Ircio had been a servant in the house of the Conde de Ureña and of Don Pedro Giron and he was always telling stories about what happened to them. As Gonzalo de Sandoval was always kindly and had no guile in him, and Pedro de Ircio told those stories to please him, he took such a liking to him, that he promoted him until he became a Captain, and if now at the present time Pedro de Ircio, instead of thanks, has spoken words that should have remained unsaid, for which Gonzalo de Sandoval would have re-

proved him severely, the Holy Office should punish him for it.

Let us stop talking about outsiders, and return to Gonzalo de Sandoval, who when he arrived at Villa Rica sent Alonzo de Grado as a prisoner to Mexico under a guard of Indians, for so Cortés had told him to do. All the settlers became much attached to Gonzalo de Sandoval, for to those who remained there as invalids, he provided all the comforts that were possible, and showed them much kindness, and to the allied towns he dealt out even justice and assisted them in every way that he was able, and he began to set up the woodwork in the fort and to roof it and do everything else that it falls to the duty of a good Captain to accomplish, and it was very fortunate for Cortés and all of us that he did so, as will be seen later on at the proper time and occasion.

Let us leave Sandoval at the Villa Rica and return to Alonzo de Grado who arrived a prisoner in Mexico, and wished to go and speak to Cortés, but he [Cortés] would not allow him to be brought before him but ordered him to be imprisoned in some wooden stocks which had just been newly made. (I remember that the wood of those stocks had a scent of onions or garlic), and he remained a prisoner for two days.

As Alonzo de Grado was very plausible and a man of many expedients, he made many promises to Cortés that he would be his humble servant and loyal to him in all things, and gave so many indications of his desire to serve him that at length he convinced him, and he gained his release. From that time on I noticed that he was always favoured by Cortés, not that he gave him any command in war, but such things as suited him, and as time went on he gave him the office of auditor, which Alonzo de Ávila had held, for at that time he sent Alonzo as procurator to the Island of Santo Domingo, as I shall

tell later on, in its proper place. I must not forget to say that when Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to Villa Rica as his lieutenant, and Captain and Alguacil Mayor, he had ordered him, as soon as he arrived, to send two blacksmiths, with all their apparatus of bellows and tools and much iron from the ships which we had destroyed, and the two great iron chains which were already made, and he told him to send also sails and tackle, and pitch and tow and a mariner's compass, and everything else that was needed to build two sloops to sail on the lake of Mexico. These things Sandoval sent at once following in every particular the orders he had received.

CHAPTER XCVII.

How, when the great Montezuma was a prisoner, Cortés and all of us soldiers always entertained him and cheered him up, and even gave him permission to go hunting, and this was given in order to find out what his intentions were.

As our captain was careful in all things, and seeing that Montezuma was a prisoner, and fearing that he might become depressed at being shut in and confined, he endeavoured every day, after prayers (for we then had no wine for Mass) to go and pay court to him, and he went accompanied by four Captains, usually by Pedro de Alvarado, Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, and with much reverence they asked Montezuma how he was, and that he should issue his orders and they would all be carried out, so that he should not be weary of his confinement. He answered that on the contrary, being a prisoner rested him, and this was because our gods gave us power to confine him or his Huichilobos permitted it, and in one conversation after another they gave him to

understand more fully the things about our holy faith, and the great power of the Emperor our Lord.

Then sometimes Montezuma and Cortés would play at Totoloque, which is the name they give to a game played with some very smooth small pellets made of gold for this game, and they toss these pellets to some distance as well as some little slabs which were also made of gold, and in five strokes [tries] they gained or lost certain pieces of gold or rich jewels that they staked. I remember that Pedro de Alvarado was keeping the score for Cortés, and one of his nephews, a great cacique, was marking for Montezuma, and Pedro de Alvarado always marked one point more than Cortés gained, and when Montezuma saw it he said courteously and laughingly that he did not like Tonatio (for so they called Pedro de Alvarado) to keep the score for Cortés, because he made so much *yxoxol* in what he marked, which in their language means to say that he cheated, in that he always marked one point too many. Cortés and all of us soldiers who were on guard at the time, could not restrain our laughter at what the great Montezuma said. It may now be asked why we laughed at that expression, and it was because Pedro de Alvarado, although he was so handsome and well mannered, had a mania for excessive talking, and as we knew his temperament, we all laughed so much. To return to the game, if Cortés won, he gave the jewels to those nephews and favourites of Montezuma who attended on him, and if Montezuma won he divided them among us soldiers on guard, and in addition to what he gave us from the game, he never omitted giving us every day presents of gold and cloth, both to us and to the captain of the Guard who, at that time, was Juan Velásquez de Leon, who showed himself in every way to be the friend and servant of Montezuma.

I also remember that at one time there was on guard

a soldier named somebody de Trujillo, a very tall man, in good health and very strong, and he was a seaman, and when it was his turn for the night's watch, he was so inconsiderate that—speaking with all respect for the gentlemen who read this—he acted indecently, and Montezuma heard him, and as he was the valiant King of this country, he considered it a proof of bad manners and disrespect that such a thing should be done in a place where he could hear it regardless of his presence. And he asked his page, Orteguilla, who that ill-conditioned and dirty person was, and the page replied that he was a man who was accustomed to travel on the sea and who knew nothing of courtesy and good breeding, and he also gave him information about the quality of all of us soldiers who were there, which was a gentleman and which not, and in continuation told him many things that Montezuma wished to know. To return to the soldier, Trujillo; as soon as it was day Montezuma sent to summon him, and asked him why he was so behaved that he had no consideration for his presence, and did not pay him that respect that was due to him, that he begged him never to do such a thing again, then he ordered him to be given a jewel of gold weighing five pesos. Trujillo paid no attention to what was said to him and the next night did the same again purposely, thinking that Montezuma might give him something else, but Montezuma had Juan Velásquez, Captain of the Guard, informed of it, and the Captain immediately removed Trujillo so that he should not again stand guard and they reprimanded him with rough words. It also happened that another soldier named Pedro López, a great crossbowman, a man in good health but who was not easily understood, was placed as sentinel over Montezuma, and on the question whether it was time to change the watch during the night, he had words with an officer and said, "Oh! curse this dog, I am sick to death of keeping

constant guard over him." Montezuma heard the expression, and weighed it in his mind, and when Cortés came to pay his court to him, he heard of it, and was so angry about it, that he had Pedro López, good soldier as he was, flogged in our quarters, and from that time on all the soldiers who came on guard, went through their watch in silence and good manners. However it was not necessary to give orders to many of us who stood guard over him about the civility that we ought to show to this great cacique; he knew each one of us and even knew our names and our characters and he was so kind that to all of us he gave jewels and to some mantles, and handsome Indian women. As I was a young man in those days, whenever I was on guard, or passed in front of him, I doffed my headpiece with the greatest respect, and the page Orteguilla had told him that I had been on two expeditions to discover New Spain before the time of Cortés, so I asked Orteguilla to beg Montezuma to do me the favour of giving me a very pretty Indian woman, and when Montezuma heard this he told them to call me, and he said to me: "Bernal Díaz del Castillo, they tell me that you have quantities of cloth and gold, and I will order them to give you to-day a pretty maid. Treat her very well for she is the daughter of a chieftain, and they will also give you gold and mantles," and I answered him with much reverence, that I kissed his hands for his great favour, and might God our Lord prosper him, and it seems that he asked the page what I had replied to him, and he told him; and Montezuma said to him, "Bernal Díaz seems to me to be a gentleman," for as I have said, he knew all our names, and he told them to give me three small slabs of gold and two loads of mantles.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how of a morning after saying his prayers and making sacrifices to his idols, he took his breakfast, which was a small matter, for he ate

no meat, only chili peppers,[1] then he was occupied for an hour in hearing suits from many parts brought by Caciques who came to him from distant lands. I have already stated in the chapter that tells about it, the manner in which they came in to do their business and the reverence that they showed to Montezuma, and that at such times he always had in his company twenty elderly men who were his judges to decide cases, and as this has been already noted I will not repeat it. It was then that we found out that from among the many women whom he had as his mistresses, he gave wives to his Captains and to very favourite chieftains, and he even gave some of them to our soldiers, and the one he gave to me was a lady from among them, and her bearing clearly showed it, and she was called Doña Francisca. So Montezuma passed his life, sometimes laughing and sometimes thinking about his imprisonment.

I wish to state here, although it has nothing to do with our story, as some inquisitive persons have asked me just why the soldier mentioned by me, who called Montezuma a dog, and even that not in his presence, was flogged by order of Cortés, (there being so few of us soldiers), so that the Indians should hear about it. I say so [again], that at that time all of us and even Cortés himself, when we appeared before the great Montezuma, paid respect to him by always doffing our headpieces and besides being King of New Spain, his person and his rank entitled him to it, and he was so kind and well mannered that he did honour to us all. In addition to all this, one may well remember that our lives were at stake, and at a word to his vassals, they would have removed him from his prison and made war on us. Observing his bearing and royal generosity, and seeing that he always had with him

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[1] Ají.

many chieftains in his company, and the many other chieftains who came from distant lands, who paid great court to him, and the great number of persons to whom he daily gave food and drink, neither more nor less than when he was not in confinement, taking all this into consideration, Cortés was [naturally] very angry when he heard that such a word had been used about him; and being irritated at it, he at once ordered the punishment as I have said, and it was well deserved.

Let us go on and tell how at that moment there arrived from Villa Rica Indians carrying the thick chains which Cortés had ordered the blacksmiths to make, and they also brought all the things necessary for the sloops that I have spoken about, and when they had all arrived, Montezuma was told of it, and I will leave off here and go on to relate what happened about it.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

How Cortés ordered two sloops to be built, of considerable burden and fast sailers, for use on the lake, and how the great Montezuma asked Cortés to give him permission to go and pray at his temples, and what Cortés answered, and how he gave him permission.

As all the materials for building the two sloops had arrived, Cortés at once went to tell the great Montezuma that he wished to build two small ships so as to take pleasure trips on the lake and asked him to send his carpenters to cut the wood, together with our experts in boat-building, who were named Martin López and Andrés Nuñez. As the oak timber was distant about four leagues, it was soon brought and shaped, and as there were many Indian carpenters, the boats were soon built and caulked and tarred, and their rigging was set up and their sails cut to the right size and measurement, and an awning provided

for each one, and they turned out to be as good and fast as though they had taken a month to set up the models, for Martin López was a past master of the art, and it was he who afterwards built the thirteen sloops to aid in capturing Mexico, as I shall relate further on ; he was also a good soldier in war time.

Let us leave this and say that Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to go to his temples and make sacrifices, and pay the devotion to his gods that it was his duty to do, so that his Captains and chieftains might observe it, especially certain nephews of his, who came every day to tell him that they wished to free him and to attack us, and he answered them, that it pleased him to be with us, so they should think it was as he had told them, that his God Huichilobos had commanded him to stay with us, as he had made them believe before. Cortés replied that as to this permission he asked for, he should beware not to do anything for which he might lose his life, and so as to prevent any disorders, or commands to his Captains or priests either to release him, or attack us, he would send Captains and soldiers [with him] who would immediately stab him to death, should any change be noticed in his bearing. He might go and welcome, but must not sacrifice any human beings, for that was a great offence against the true God, that was to the God we were preaching to him about, and there stood our altars and the image of Our Lady, before whom he could pray. Montezuma said that he would not sacrifice a single human being, and he set off in his rich litter in great state with many great Caciques in his company as was his custom, and they carried his insignia in front of him in the form of a sort of staff or rod, which was the sign that his royal person was going that way (just as they do [now] to the Viceroys of New Spain). There went with him as a guard four of our Captains, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Pedro de

Alvarado, Alonzo de Ávila and Francisco de Lugo and one hundred and fifty soldiers, and the Padre de la Merced also went with us to stop the sacrifice if he should offer human beings. So we went to the Cue of Huichilobos and when we came near to that cursed temple, he [Montezuma] ordered them to take him from his litter and he was carried on the shoulders of his nephews and of other Caciques until he arrived at the temple; as I have already stated, as he went through the streets all the chieftains cast down their eyes and never looked at his face. When we arrived at the foot of the steps leading to the oratory there were many priests waiting to help him with their arms in the ascent.

There had already been sacrificed the night before four Indians, and in spite of what our Captain said and the dissuasions of the Padre de la Merced, he paid no heed but persisted in killing men and boys to accomplish his sacrifice, and we could do nothing at that time only pretend not to notice it, for Mexico and the other great cities were very ready to rebel under the nephews of Montezuma, as I shall explain further on. When he [Montezuma] had completed his sacrifices, and he did not tarry much in making them, we returned with him to our quarters, and he was very cheerful, and gave presents of golden jewels to us soldiers who had accompanied him.

Let us leave this here, and I will relate what next happened.

CHAPTER XCIX.

How we launched the two sloops, and how the Great Montezuma said that he wished to go hunting, and went in the sloops to a rocky Island[1] where there were many deer and much other game, for no one went hunting there under pain of very severe punishment.

WHEN the two sloops were finished building and had been launched, and the masts and rigging had been set up and adorned with the Royal and Imperial banners, and the sailors had been got ready to navigate them, they went out in them both rowing and sailing, and they sailed very well. When Montezuma heard of it, he said to Cortés that he wished to go hunting on a rocky Island standing in the lake which was preserved so that no one dared to hunt there, however great a chief he might be, under pain of death. Cortés replied that he was very welcome to go, but he must remember what he had told him on the former occasion when he went to visit his Idols, that to raise any disturbances was more than his life was worth; [moreover] he could go in the sloops, as it was better sailing in them than in the canoes and pirogues however large they might be. Montezuma said that he would be delighted to sail in the sloop that was the swiftest, and he took with him many lords and chieftains, and advised his huntsmen to follow in canoes and pirogues. A son of Montezuma and many Caciques went in the other sloop. Then Cortés ordered Velásquez de Leon who was captain of the Guard and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila with two hundred soldiers, to accompany Montezuma, and to remember the great responsibility he was placing on them in looking after him, and as all those Captains whom I have named were very alert, they took on board all the soldiers I have spoken about, and four

[1] The *Peñon de Tepepolco* or *del Marques.*

bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits, and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off

its quarry, one of them, named Francisco de Sauzedo, the elegant, who had been house steward to the Admiral of Castile, called out, "Oh! what a beautiful hawk! and how well he struck and how well he flew," and most of the soldiers answered that it was capital and that there were hereabouts many good birds for hawking, and Montezuma was watching what we said, and he asked his page Orteguilla about our conversation, and he replied that those Captains were saying that the hawk which came in hunting was a very good one, and that if we had some like it we would show him how it would come to hand, and that in the open, when it was flown at any bird, although it might be rather a large one, it would kill it. Then Montezuma said: "Then I will send now to have that same hawk caught, and we will see if you can tame it and hunt with it." All of us who were present doffed our head-pieces and thanked him for his kindness, and he at once sent to summon his fowlers, and told them to bring him that same hawk, and they were so skilful in its capture, that by the time of Ave Maria they brought that very hawk and gave it to Francisco de Sauzedo, and he showed it the lure, but as other things soon happened to us more important than the chase, I will stop talking about it now, but I have told the story because he was such a great Prince, that not only did he take tribute from nearly all parts of New Spain, and lord it over so many lands, and make himself fully obeyed, but even when he was a prisoner his vassals trembled before him, and they even captured for him the birds that fly in the air. Let us waive this and say how by degrees adverse fortune turned its wheel.

At that time it had been agreed between the nephews and relations of the great Montezuma and other Caciques and throughout all the country that we should be attacked

and Montezuma released, and that some of them should proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

that he understood his flatteries and did not want to hear any more of them, but that when he saw him coming then he would say to him whatever he liked. Cortés again sent to tell him that he should beware not to do an ill turn to our King and Lord, for he would pay for it with his person, and lose his life for it. He replied that he knew no King and wished he had never known Cortés, who, for all his fair words, had imprisoned his uncle.

When he [Cacamatzin] sent this answer, our Captain implored Montezuma, as he was such a great Prince, and had among his Captains in Texcoco both great Caciques and kinsmen who were not friendly with Cacamatzin, who was very haughty and much disliked, and as Montezuma had with him there in Mexico a brother of this same Cacamatzin, a youth of a good disposition, who had fled from his own brother to escape being killed by him, (for after Cacamatzin he was the heir to the kingdom of Texcoco,) [our captain implored Montezuma] to concert measures with his people in Texcoco to seize Cacamatzin, or to send secretly to summon him to come [to Mexico,] and if he did come, to lay hands on him and keep him in his power until he had quieted down. Moreover as this (other) nephew was in his house and was subject to him, he should presently promote him to be the Lord and should take the chieftainship from Cacamatzin, who was doing him an injury and going about stirring up all the cities and Caciques of the land to make him Lord over his [Montezuma's] city and kingdom.

Montezuma said that he would at once send to summon him, but he did not think he would come, and that if he did not come he would make arrangements with his Captains and relations to seize him.

Cortés thanked him heartily for this, and even said: "Señor Montezuma, you may indeed believe me that if you wish to go to your Palace, you are free to do so,

for since I understand that you are well disposed towards me, I am so devoted to you, that were I not in such a [difficult] position, I would not even insist upon accompanying you when you proceed to your palace with all your nobility. If I have failed to carry out such a plan, it is on account of my Captains who went to seize you, for they are not willing that I should set you free, and also because you say that you prefer to stay in confinement so as to avoid the disturbances through which your nephews would attempt to obtain power over this City of yours, and deprive you of your rule."

Montezuma answered that he thanked him, and as he began to understand Cortés' flattering speeches and saw that he made them, not with any intention of setting him free, but only to test his good will, and also because his page Orteguilla had told him that it was our captains who had advised Cortés to take him prisoner, and he must not believe that Cortés would set him free without their consent, Montezuma added that it was as well for him to remain a prisoner until he could see whither the treachery of his nephews would lead. Moreover he would immediately send messengers to Cacamatzin, begging him to appear before him, as he wished to speak to him about friendship between him and us, and would send to tell him, that as for his imprisonment he need not trouble himself about it, that had he desired to free himself many opportunities for doing so had offered, and that Malinche had twice told him to return to his palace, but he did not wish to do so, but to fulfil the commands of his Gods that he should remain a prisoner. Indeed if he did not so remain, he would soon be a dead man, and the priests who ministered to the Idols had known this for many days, and for this reason it would be advisable to be on good terms with Malinche and his brothers. Montezuma sent the same message to the Captains of Texcoco, telling

them that he was sending to summon his nephew to make friends, adding that they should beware how that youth turned their brains so that they would take up arms against us.

Let us leave this talk, which Cacamatzin thoroughly understood, for he took counsel with his chiefs as to what should be done. Cacamatzin then began to bluster and say that he would kill us all within four days, and that his uncle was a chicken not to attack us when he advised him to do so, when we were coming down the mountain towards Chalco, where he had the troops all posted and everything ready, that [instead of doing so] he personally received us in his city as though he knew that we had come to confer some benefit on him, and had given us all the gold that had been brought to him as tribute. Moreover we had broken into and opened the house where the treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was stored, and added to all this we had taken Montezuma prisoner, and were already telling him that he must get rid of the Idols of the great Huichilobos, as we wished to set up our own in their places. So that things should not come to a worse pass, and so as to punish such deeds and affronts, he [Cacamatzin] prayed his chieftains to give him their help, for all that he had told them they had seen with their own eyes, even how we had burnt Montezuma's own Captains, and nothing more could be endured, and they ought all to unite as one man and make war on us.

Cacamatzin promised them there and then, that if the Lordship of Mexico should fall to him, he would make them great chieftains, and he also gave them many golden jewels, and told them that he had already made arrangements with his cousins, the lords of Coyoacan and Iztapalapa and Tacuba and other relations, to help him, and there were other chieftains in Mexico itself who would assist him and let him into the city at whatever hour he might

choose. He said that some of them might go along the causeway and all the rest could go across the lake in their pirogues and small canoes, and they would enter the city without meeting opponents to defend it, for his uncle was a prisoner, and they need have no fear of us, for they knew that only a few days ago, in the affair of Almeria, his uncle's Captains had killed many Teules and a horse, and they had seen the head of the Teul and the body of the horse; that they could kill us all in an hour and could have feasts and stuff themselves with our bodies.

When this speech was finished, they say that the Captains looked at one another, waiting for those who usually spoke first in councils of war, and that four or five of these Captains replied to him, how was it possible for them to go without the permission of their great prince Montezuma, and wage war in his very house and city? that they should first send to let him know about it, and if he consented, they would accompany Cacamatzin with the greatest good will; but otherwise they did not wish to turn traitors. It seems that Cacamatzin was angered with the Captains and ordered three of those who gave that reply to be imprisoned. As there were present at that meeting and council others, who were his relations, who were longing for a riot, they said that they would aid him to the death. So he decided to send to his uncle the great Montezuma to say that he ought to be ashamed of sending him word to come and make friends with those who had done him such harm and dishonour in holding him a prisoner, that such a thing was only possible because we were wizards and had stolen away all his great strength and bravery with our witchcraft, and that our gods and this great lady from Castile, whom we said was our Counsellor, had given us the great power to do what we had done. And in this which he said last he was not in error, for it was certainly the great mercy of God and his

blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us.

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company.

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma.

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

chamber to thank him for so great a favour and the order was given that the youth[1] who was in Montezuma's company, who was also his nephew and the brother of Cacamatzin, should be raised to the Kingship of Texcoco.

I have already said that he had come here to seek the protection of his uncle when his brother wished to kill him, and that he was the next heir to the kingdom of Texcoco. So as to make the appointment with all solemnity and with the consent of all the city, Montezuma summoned before him the principal chieftains of the whole province and after fully discussing the matter, they elected him as King and Lord of that great city, and he was named Don Carlos.

After all this was over, when the Caciques and Kinglets, nephews of the great Montezuma, namely the Lord of Coyoacan, and the Lord of Iztapalapa, and he of Tacuba saw and heard of the imprisonment of Cacamatzin, and learnt that the great Montezuma knew that they had joined in the conspiracy to deprive him of his kingdom and give it to Cacamatzin, they were frightened and did not come to pay their court to Montezuma as they were used to do. So with the consent of Cortés, who clamoured and persuaded him to order them to be seized, within eight days they were all in prison and attached to the great chain, and our Captain and all of us felt not a little relieved.

The reader who is interested may see what lives we were leading, for every day they were planning to kill us and eat our flesh, if the great mercy of God which always followed us had not come to our rescue, and but for that good Montezuma who always gave a favourable turn to our affairs. Just think what a great Prince he was who, although imprisoned, was so faithfully obeyed, that all was once more made peaceful, and those chieftains were prisoners.

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[1] Cuicuitzcatzin.

Our Cortés and the other Captains and the Friar of the Order of Mercy were always paying court to him, and giving him pleasure in every way that was possible, and they joked with him, not in any way disrespectfully, and I may add that neither Cortés nor any of our Captains ever seated themselves until Montezuma sent for his rich chairs and told them to sit down, and in such things he was so considerate that we all had a great affection for him, for he was truly a great Prince in everything that we saw him do.

To go back to our story; sometimes they explained to him the matters touching our holy faith, especially the Friar, through the page Orteguilla, and apparently some of the good words entered his heart, for he listened to them with more attention than before. They also made him understand about the great power of our Lord the Emperor, and how many great princes from distant lands became his vassals and obeyed his commands, and they told him many other things that he was interested to hear. At other times, as I have said before, Cortés played Totoloque with him. And in such ways we were always paying him court, and he, as he was in no way niggardly, gave us every day jewels of gold and mantles.

I will now stop talking of this, and will go on with my story.

CHAPTER CI.

How the great Montezuma and many Caciques and chieftains of the territory gave their fealty to His Majesty, and what else happened about it.

WHEN Captain Cortés saw that those kinglets named by me were prisoners, and that all the cities were at peace, he said to Montezuma that, before we had entered Mexico, he [Montezuma] had twice sent to say that he wished to pay

tribute to His Majesty, and that as he now understood about the great power of our Lord and King, to whom many lands pay tribute and taxes and many great kings are subject, it would be well for him and all his vassals to give him their fealty, for such is the custom, first to give fealty and then to give tribute and taxes. Montezuma replied that he would gather his vassals together, and talk to them about it. And within ten days nearly all the Caciques of that territory assembled together, but that Cacique who was most nearly related to Montezuma did not come. I have already said that he was reported to be very valiant, and in his bearing and body and limbs and in his face he clearly showed it. He was somewhat blustering, and at that time he was staying at one of his towns named Tula.

It was rumoured that the kingdom of Mexico would come to this Cacique on the death of Montezuma, and when they sent to summon him he replied that he did not wish to come, nor to pay taxes, for he was not able to keep himself with the income from his provinces. Montezuma was very angry at this reply, and at once sent some Captains to take him prisoner, but as he was a great Lord, and had many relations, he was warned of this and withdrew to his province where they were not then able to catch him.

I must leave him now and state how, in the discussion that Montezuma held with the Caciques of all the territory whom he had called together, after he had made a speech without Cortés or any of us, excepting Orteguilla the page, being present, it was reported that he had told them to consider how for many years past they had known for certain, through the traditions of their ancestors which they had noted down in their books of records, that men would come from the direction of the sunrise to rule these lands, and that then the lordship and kingdom of the

Mexicans would come to an end. Now he believed, from what his Gods had told him, that we were these men, and the priests had consulted Huichilobos about it and offered up sacrifices, but their Gods would no longer answer them as they had been accustomed to do.

All that Huichilobos would give them to understand was, that what he had told them before he now again gave as his reply, and they were not to ask him again, so that they took it to mean that they should give their fealty to the King of Spain whose vassals these Teules say that they are:—

"As for the present it does not imply anything, and as in time to come we shall see whether we receive another and better reply from our Gods, so we will act according to the time. For the present, what I order and beg you all to do with good will is to give and contribute some sign of vassalage, and I will soon tell you what is most suitable, and as just now I am importuned about it by Malinche, I beg that no one will refuse it. During the eighteen years that I have been your Prince, you have always been very loyal to me, and I have enriched you and have broadened your lands, and have given you power and wealth, and if at this present time our Gods permit me to be held captive here, it would not have happened, unless, as I have told you many times, my great Huichilobos had commanded it."

When they heard these arguments, all of them gave as an answer that they would do as he had ordered them, and they said it with many tears and sighs, and Montezuma more tearful than any of them. Then he sent a chieftain to say that on the following day they would give their fealty and vassalage to His Majesty. This was on the [1] day of the [1] month, in the year 1519.

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[1] Blank spaces left in the original.

Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

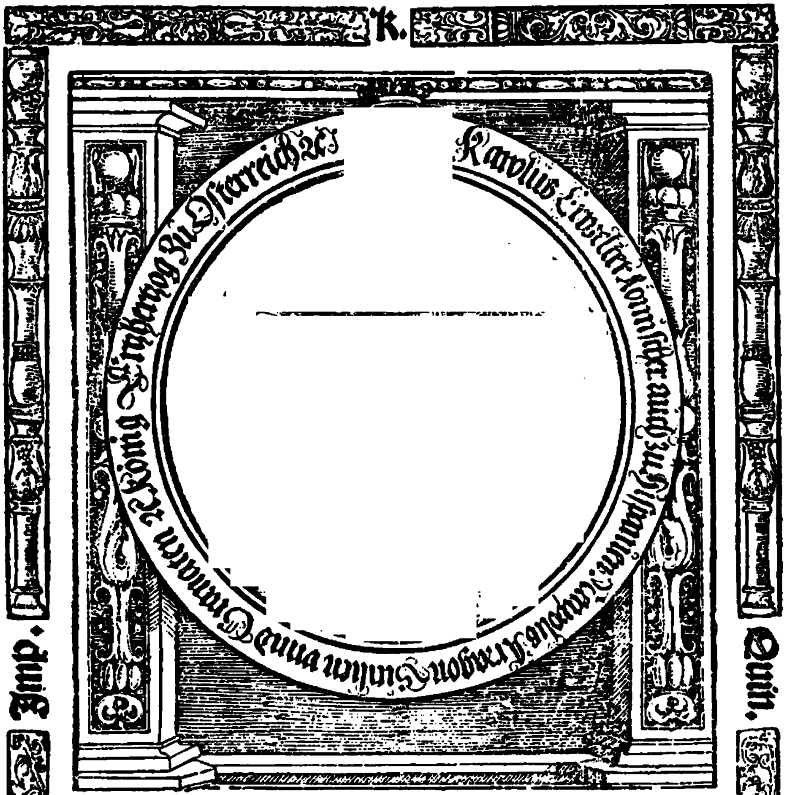
Now I will go on.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Cuzula (Sosola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tanetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same



Tertia Ferdinādi Cortesii Sac. Caesar. et Cath. Maiesta.

IN NOVA MARIS OCEANI HYSPANIA GENE-
ralis præfecti p̄clara Narratio, In qua Celebris Ciuitatis Temix
titan expugnatio, aliarūq; Prouintiarū, quę defecerant recupe-
ratio continetur, In quarū expugnatione, recuperationeq; Præfe
ctus, una cum Hyspanis Victorias æterna memoria dignas con
sequutus est, pręterea In ea Mare del Sur Cortesium detexisse re-
cēset, quod nos Australe Indicū Pelagus putam9, & alias innume
ras Prouintias Aurifodinis, Vnionibus, Variisq; Gemmarum
generibus refertas, Et postremo illis innotuisse in eis quoq; Aro-
mata contineri, Per Doctorē Petrum Sauorgnanū Foroiuliensem
Reueñ. in Christo patris dñi Io. de Reuelles Episcopi Viēnensis
Secretarium Ex Hyspano ydiomate In Latinum Versa.

CHARLES V.

(From Praeclara Ferdinādi Cortesii Noua Maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio. MDXXIIII.)

letter when he mentions Coastoaca (Coixtlahuaca) and Tamazula (either Tamazola or Tamazulapa), which are in the same neighbourhood, as places visited during these expeditions.

The only slight corroboration of an expedition to Zacatula is the casual mention by Bernal Díaz of Matalzingo, which is near Toluca, and would be on the way to Zacatula, but the frequent repetition of the same names in different localities prevents much reliance being placed on it.

No definite information is given as to the routes by which the expeditions travelled.

The expedition under Pizarro probably travelled by way of Tehuacan or Orizaba to Malinaltepec on the upper waters of the Papaloapan River, where they would be within a short distance both of Tuxtepec and the land of the Chinantecs, and although Cortés is not very clear on the matter, there is no reason to suppose that all three places were not visited by members of the same expedition.

With regard to the expedition under Diego de Ordás in search of a good harbour, Cortés gives the additional information that the party went first to Vera Cruz and then marched all along the coast to Coatzacoalcos, examining in canoes the bays and the mouths of the rivers that were crossed.

CHAPTER CII.

How our Cortés endeavoured to find out about the Gold Mines, what was their value, and in what rivers they were found, and what harbours there were for ships between Panuco and Tabasco, especially about the great river at Coatzacoalcos, and what happened about it.

WHEN Cortés and the other Captains were with Montezuma paying him court, among other things that he said through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar and Orteguilla, he asked Montezuma where the mines were, and in which rivers, and how and by what means they collected the gold which they brought him in grains, for he wished to send two of our soldiers who were expert miners to see it. Montezuma replied that there were three

places, but they usually brought most of the gold from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from that city (Mexico). The gold was collected in xicales[1] by washing away the earth, so that after the earth was washed away some grains of gold remained. At the present time they also brought it to him from another province called Tustepec near where we disembarked on the north coast where it was gathered from two rivers. Near that province there were other good mines in a land that was not subject to him, named the land of the Chinantecs and Zapotecs, who did not obey his rule. If Cortés wished to send his soldiers he would give them Chieftains to go with them. Cortés thanked him for it, and at once despatched a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, with two other soldiers who were miners to the mines of Zacatula. This Gonzalo de Umbria was the man whose feet Cortés had ordered to be cut off when he hanged Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño[2] and flogged the Peñates for their attempt to carry off a ship at San Juan de Ulua, as I have written down more at length in the chapter which deals with the incident.

Let us stop talking about the past and say how they set out with Umbria, a limit of forty days being allowed them in which to go and return.

To examine the mines on the north coast Cortés sent a captain named Pizarro, a young man about twenty years old, whom he treated as a relation. At that time there was no mention of Peru, nor were the Pizarros talked about in these lands. Pizarro set out with four oldiers, and he also was given forty days in which to go and return, for the distance was about eighty leagues from Mexico, and four Mexican chieftains accompanied him.

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[1] gourds [2] See note on page 207, vol. i,

After, as I have said, they had set off to inspect the mines, let me go back to say how the great Montezuma gave our Captain a hennequen cloth, on which were painted and marked very true to nature, all the rivers and bays on the Northern coast from Panuco to Tabasco, that is for a matter of one hundred and forty leagues, and the river of Coatzacoalcos was marked on it. As we already knew all the harbours and bays marked on the cloth which Montezuma gave to Cortés, from the time we came on the voyage of discovery with Grijalva, except the river of Coatzacoalcos, which they said was very strong and deep, Cortés determined to send and see what it was like, and to take soundings of the harbour and the entrance. One of our captains named Diego de Ordás, a very prudent and valiant man, who has often been mentioned by me, said to our Captain that he would like to go and see that river, and what sort of country there was there, and what the people were like, and asked for Indian Chieftains to go with him, and Cortés had refused, because he was a man of good counsel and he wished to keep him in his company. However, so as not to displease him, he [now] granted him leave to go. Montezuma told Ordás that his authority did not extend over Coatzacoalcos, that the people there were very bold, and that he should take care what he was about, and if anything happened to him, they must not blame him [Montezuma] for it; that before arriving at that province he would come on the garrison of warriors he kept on the border, and that if he [Ordás] had need of them he might take them with him, and he [Montezuma] paid him many compliments besides. Cortés and Diego de Ordás gave him their thanks, and Ordás set out with two soldiers and some chieftains whom Montezuma sent with him.

This is where the historian Francisco Lopez Gomara says that Juan Velásquez with one hundred soldiers went to form a settlement at Coatzacoalcos, and that Pedro de

Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.

THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented.

Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about.

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former

chapter which treats of the subject. Let us go on to say that as soon as the Caciques of Coatzacoalcos understood what the object of Ordás was, they supplied him with many large canoes, and the Cacique Tochel himself and many other chieftains took soundings at the mouth of the river, and they found the depth to be three full fathoms in the shallowest place without counting the ebb.[1] A little further up the river there is room for large ships to navigate, and the higher up they went the deeper it became, and near a town which at that time was inhabited by Indians, there was room for carracks. When Ordás had taken the soundings, he went with the Caciques to the town, and they gave him some jewels of gold and a very beautiful Indian woman, and they offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and they complained of Montezuma and of his garrison of warriors, and said that a short time before they had fought a battle with them near a small town, and that the people of that province had killed many of the Mexicans, and for that reason they now call the place where that battle was fought, Cuylonemiquis, which in their language means "where they killed the Mexican profligates."[2]

Ordás thanked them heartily for the honour he had received, and gave them some Spanish beads which he had brought for that purpose. Then he returned to Mexico and was joyfully received by Cortés and all of us, and he said there was good land for cattle and farming, and the port was convenient for the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, but it was far from Mexico, and there were great swamps there. For this reason we never had much confidence in this harbour for landing goods and trading with Mexico.

Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and

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[1] Sin la de Cayda, *i.e.*, at low water.

[2] "Putos."

his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to look for gold and examine the mines. Pizarro returned to make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. Captain Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot

remember its value,) and with agreeable speeches he promised to be a friend to the Chinantecas and to assist them. Then he told them to go back to their country, and, so that they should not be molested by the Mexicans on the road, he ordered two Mexican Chieftains to conduct them back to their country and not to leave them until they had seen them in safety; so they went away well contented.

To return to our story; Cortés, asked about the other soldiers whom Pizarro had taken in his company, namely, Barrientos and Heredia the elder and Escalona the younger, and Cervantes the Jester, and Pizarro replied that as that seemed to be a very good country and rich in mines, and the towns through which he passed were very peaceful, he ordered them to make a large farm of cacao and maize, and other farms besides for cotton, and told them to collect there many of the birds of the country, and that from that place they should go and examine all the rivers and see what mines there were. Although Cortés said nothing at the time, he was not pleased at his relation for having exceeded his instructions, and we heard that privately he scolded him well about it, and said that he was a poor character to wish to be employed about such things as breeding birds and planting cacao,[1] and he at once sent another soldier named Alonzo Luis to summon the rest whom Pizarro had left behind. Alonzo Luis carried a peremptory order for them to return at once, and what those soldiers did I will relate further on in its proper time and place.

[1] Cortés does not fail to take great credit to himself in regard to the formation of these plantations when writing his second letter to the Emperor.

CHAPTER CIV.

How Cortés told the great Montezuma that he should order all his Caciques throughout the land to pay tribute to His Majesty, for it was generally known that they possessed gold, and what was done about it.

As Captain Diego de Ordás and the other soldiers already named by me, arrived with samples of gold and the report that all the land was rich, Cortés, by the advice of Ordás and the other Captains and soldiers, decided to speak to, and demand of Montezuma, that all the Caciques and towns of the land should pay tribute to His Majesty, and that he himself as the greatest Chieftain, should also contribute from his treasure. Montezuma replied that he would send to all his towns to ask for gold, but that many of them did not possess any, only some jewels of little worth which had come to them from their ancestors. He at once despatched chieftains to the places where there were mines and ordered each town to give so many ingots of fine gold, of the same size and thickness as others that they were used to pay as tribute, and the messengers carried with them as samples two small ingots. From other parts they only brought small jewels of little worth.

He also sent to the province whose Cacique and Lord was that near kinsman of his who did not wish to obey him, who has already been mentioned by me. This province was distant from Mexico about twelve leagues, and the reply the messengers brought back was to the effect that he neither wished to give any gold nor to obey Montezuma, that he also was Lord of Mexico and that the dominion belonged to him as much as to Montezuma himself, who was sending to ask him to pay tribute.

When Montezuma heard this he was so enraged that he immediately sent his seal and sign by some faithful

captains with orders to bring him as a prisoner. When this kinsman was brought into Montezuma's presence he spoke to him very disrespectfully and without any fear, and very valiantly, and they say that he had intervals of madness, for he was as though thunderstruck. Cortés came to know all about this, and he sent to beg Montezuma as a favour, to give this man to him as he wished to place a guard over him, for he had been told that Montezuma had ordered him to be killed. When the Cacique was brought before him Cortés spoke to him in a most amiable manner and told him not to act like a madman against his prince, and wished to set him free. However, when Montezuma heard this he said that he should not be set free but should be attached to the great chain like the other Kinglets already named by me.

Let us go back to say that within twenty days all the chieftains whom Montezuma had sent to collect the tribute of gold, as I have already mentioned, came back again. And as they arrived Montezuma sent to summon Cortés and our captains and certain soldiers whom he knew, who belonged to his guard, and said these formal words, or others of like meaning :—

"I wish you to know, Señor Malinche and Señores Captains and soldiers, that I am indebted to your great King, and I bear him good will both for being such a great Prince and for having sent to such distant lands to make inquiries about me; and the thought that most impresses me is that he must be the one who is to rule over us, as our ancestors have told us, and as even our gods have given us to understand in the answers we have received from them. Take this gold which has been collected; on account of haste no more has been brought. That which I have got ready for the Emperor is the whole of the Treasure which I have received from my father, which is in your possession and in your apartments.

"I know well enough that as soon as you came here you opened the chamber and beheld it all, and that you sealed it up again as it was before. When you send it to him, tell him in your papers and letters, 'This is sent to you by your true vassal Montezuma.' I will also give you some very valuable stones which you will send to him in my name; they are Chalchihuites, and are not to be given to any one else but only to him, your Great Prince. Each stone is worth two loads of gold. I also wish to send him three blow guns with their bags and pellet moulds for they have such good jewelwork on them that he will be pleased to see them, and I also wish to give him of what I possess although it is but little, for all the rest of the gold and jewels that I possessed I have given you from time to time."

When Cortés and all of us heard this we stood amazed at the great goodness and liberality of the Great Montezuma, and with much reverence we all doffed our helmets, and returned him our thanks, and with words of the greatest affection Cortés promised him that he would write to His Majesty of the magnificence and liberality of this gift of gold which he gave us in his own royal name. After some more polite conversation Montezuma at once sent his Mayordomos to hand over all the treasure and gold and wealth that was in that plastered chamber, and in looking it over and taking off all the embroidery with which it was set, we were occupied for three days, and to assist us in undoing it and taking it to pieces, there came Montezuma's goldsmiths from the town named Azcapotzalco,[1] and I say that there was so much, that after it was taken to pieces there were three heaps of gold, and they weighed more than six hundred thousand pesos, as I shall tell further on, without the silver and many other rich

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

things, and not counting in this the ingots and slabs of gold, and the gold in grains from the mines. We began to melt it down with the help of the Indian goldsmiths, who were, as I have said, natives of Azcapotzalco and they made broad bars of it, each bar measuring three fingers of the hand across. When it was already melted and made into bars, they brought another present separately which the Grand Montezuma had said that he would give, and it was a wonderful thing to behold the wealth of gold and the richness of the other jewels that were brought, for some of the Chalchihuites were so fine that among these Caciques they were worth a vast quantity of gold. The three blow guns with their pellet moulds, and their coverings of jewels and pearls, and pictures in feathers of little birds covered with pearlshell and other birds, all were of great value. I will not speak of the plumes and feathers and other rich things for I shall never finish calling them to mind.

Let me say that all the gold I have spoken about was marked with an iron stamp, which had been made by order of Cortés and the King's Officers, who had been appointed by Cortés with the consent of all of us and in the name of His Majesty until he should give other instructions. At that time these were Gonzalo Mejía, who was treasurer, and Alonzo Dávila who was accountant, and the stamp was the royal arms like those on a real[1] and the size of a testoon.[2] The mark was not put on the rich jewels which it did not seem to us should be taken to pieces.

For weighing all these bars of gold and silver, and the jewels which were not taken to pieces, we had neither marked weights nor scales, and it seemed to Cortés and to

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[1] Real, a small silver coin.

[2] "Toston de a quatro," a half peso = four reals.

these same officers of His Majesty's treasury that it would be as well to make some iron weights, some as much as an arroba,[1] others of half an arroba, two pounds, one pound and half a pound, and of four ounces, and so many ounces, and this not that it would turn out very exact, but within half an ounce more or less in each lot that was weighed.

After the weight was taken the officers of the King said that there was of gold, both that which was cast in bars as well as grains from the mines, and in ingots and jewels, more than six hundred thousand pesos, and this was without counting the silver and many other jewels which were not yet valued.

Some soldiers said that there was more. As there was now nothing more to do than to take out the royal fifth, and to give to each captain and soldier his share, and to set aside the shares of those who remained at the port of Villa Rica, it seems that Cortés endeavoured not to have it divided up so soon, but to wait until there was more gold, and there were good weights, and proper accounts of how it turned out. But most of us captains and soldiers said that it should be divided up at once, for we had seen that at the time when the pieces were given out of the Treasury of Montezuma, there was much more gold in the heaps, and that a third part of it was missing, which they had taken and hidden both on behalf of Cortés, as well as of the Captains and the Fraile de la Merced, and it went on diminishing. In consequence of much argument what was left was weighed out, and they found over 600,000 pesos without the jewels and slabs, and next day they were to distribute the shares, and I will tell how it was divided, and the greater part remained with Captain Cortés and other persons, and what was done about it I will go on to relate.

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[1] An arroba = 25 lbs.

CHAPTER CV.

How the gold which we had obtained was divided, both that which was given by the Great Montezuma, as well as that which had been collected from the towns, and what happened to a soldier about it.

FIRST of all the royal fifth was taken out, then Cortés said that they should take out for him another fifth, the same as for His Majesty, for we had promised it to him at the sand dunes when we elected him Captain General and Chief Justice, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that matter. After that, he said that he had been put to certain expenses in the Island of Cuba and that what he had spent on the expedition should be taken from the heap, and in addition to this that there should be taken from the same heap the expenses incurred by Diego Velásquez in the ships which we had destroyed, and we all agreed to it, and beside this the expenses of the procurators who were sent to Spain. Then there were the shares of those who remained in Villa Rica, and there were seventy of them, and for his horse that had died, and for the mare which had belonged to Juan Sedeño which the Tlaxcalans had killed with a sword cut; then for the Fraile de la Merced, and the priest Juan Díaz and the Captains and for those who had brought horses, double shares, and for musketeers and crossbowmen the same, and other trickeries, so that very little was left to each as a share, and it was so little that many of the soldiers did not want to take it, and Cortés was left with it all. At that time we could do nothing but hold our tongues, for to ask for justice in the matter was useless. There were other soldiers who took their shares at the rate of one hundred pesos and clamoured for the rest, and to content them Cortés secretly gave to one and

the other, apparently bestowing favours so as to satisfy them, and with the smooth speeches that he made to them they put up with it. Let us turn to the shares which remained for those who were in Villa Rica which he ordered to be sent to Tlaxcala to be taken care of there, and as it was badly divided, so it ended [badly], as I shall relate at the proper time.

At that time many of our Captains ordered very large golden chains to be made by the Great Montezuma's goldsmiths, who I have already said had a large town of their own called Azcapotzalco, half a league from Mexico. Cortés, too, ordered many jewels made, and a great service of plate. Some of our soldiers had their hands so full, that many ingots of gold, marked and unmarked, and jewels of a great diversity of patterns were openly in circulation. Heavy gaming was always going on with some playing cards which were made from drum skins by Pedro Valenciano and were as well made and painted as the originals. So this was the condition we were in, but let us stop talking of the gold and of the bad way it was divided, and worse way in which it was spent, and say what happened to a soldier named something de Cárdenas. It seems that this soldier had been a pilot and seaman, and was a native of Triana or of that county, and the poor fellow had a wife and family at home, and as happens to many of us he was destined to remain poor, so he came to seek for a livelihood with the intention of returning to his wife and children. As he had seen so much wealth of gold in slabs and in grains from the mines, and in ingots and bars, and when it was divided up he found that they only gave him a hundred pesos, he fell ill at the thought of it through sadness. When one of his friends saw him day by day so depressed and ill, he went to see him and asked him why he was like that and sighed so much from time to time. The Pilot Cárdenas, that is the man who

was ill, answered him: "Curse it all, have I no right to be ill, seeing that Cortés has carried off all the gold, and like a king takes a fifth, and has charged for his horse that died, and for the ships of Diego Velásquez, and for many other underhand claims, and that my wife and children die of hunger. I might have helped them when the procurators went with our letters, but we gave them all the gold and silver which we had acquired up to that time." Then his friend said to him, "How much gold had you got to send them?" and Cárdenas replied, "If Cortés would give me my share of what is due to me, my wife and children could live on it and even have to spare, but see what tricks he played us, making us sign that we would be doing a service to His Majesty by giving up our shares, and then taking out of the gold over six thousand pesos for his father Martin Cortés, besides what he hid away, while I and other poor men have been fighting by night and by day, as you have seen in the late wars in Tabasco and Tlaxcala, and in those at Cingapacinga and Çholula, and we are now in the greatest danger, looking death in the face every day should there be a rebellion in this city, in order that Cortés may carry off all the gold and take his fifth like a King."

And he said other things about it, and that we ought not to allow him to take that fifth, nor did we want so many kings, we only wanted His Majesty. His companion replied and said to him: "This anxiety is killing you, and now you can see that everything that is brought in by Montezuma and the Caciques is absorbed, by this one under his chin, by that in his pocket, and by another under his arm, and that all goes whither Cortés and his captains choose, they carry off everything even to the food. Get rid of such thoughts as these and pray God that we do not lose our lives in this city." Then the conversation ended, but it reached the ears of Cortés, and as they told him that

many of the soldiers were discontented over their share of the gold and the way the heaps had been robbed, he determined to make a speech to them all with honeyed words, and he said that all he owned was for us, and he did not want the fifth but only the share that came to him as Captain General, and that if any one had need of anything he would give it to him, and that the gold we had collected was but a breath of air, that we should observe what great cities there were there and rich mines, and that we should be lords of them all and very prosperous and rich, and he used other arguments very well expressed which he knew well how to employ. In addition to this he secretly gave to some of the soldiers jewels of gold and to others he made great promises, and he ordered that the food brought by Montezuma's stewards should be divided among all the soldiers so that he and all of them should share alike. In addition to this he called Cárdenas apart and flattered him with words and promised to send him back to Spain to his wife and children in the first ship that should sail, and he gave him three hundred dollars, and this contented him. I will stop here and will relate in its proper place what happened to Cárdenas when he went to Spain, and how he was very hostile to Cortés in the affairs that were brought before His Majesty.

CHAPTER CVI.

How Juan Velásquez de Leon and the Treasurer, Gonzalo Mejía, had words about the gold that was missing from the heaps before it was melted down, and what Cortés did about it.

As all men in general covet gold, and the more they have the more they want, it happened that as many known pieces of gold were missing from the heaps already mentioned by me, and at the same time Juan Velásquez de

Leon employed Indians of Azcapotzalco, (who were all of them goldsmiths to the Great Montezuma,) to make him large gold chains and pieces of plate for his table service, Gonzalo Mejía, who was treasurer, told him privately to deliver them to him as they had not paid the fifth and were known to belong to the treasure that Montezuma had presented. Juan Velásquez de Leon who was a great favourite with Cortés replied that he was not going to give up anything, and that he had not taken anything from what had been collected, nor from any one else, only what Cortés had given him before the bars were cast. Gonzalo Mejía answered him that what Cortés had hidden and taken from his companions was more than enough, and that, as treasurer, he demanded much gold which had not paid the royal fifth. From words to words they lost control of themselves and drew their swords, and if we had not quickly separated them, both of them would there have ended their lives, for they were men of much merit and brave fighters, and they came out of it wounded, each with two wounds. When Cortés heard of it, he ordered them to be put in prison, and each one to be attached to a heavy chain, and it appears from what many soldiers reported that Cortés said privately to Juan Velásques de Leon that, as he was a great friend of his, he should remain a prisoner for two days tied to this same chain, and that he would release Gonzalo Mejía as he was treasurer. Cortés did this to prove to all the captains and soldiers that he would do justice and that although Juan Velásquez was hand and glove with him, he would keep him prisoner. Many other things happened with regard to Gonzalo Mejía, who told Cortés that he had taken on the sly much of the gold that was missing, and that all the soldiers were complaining of it to him as the treasurer, and they wanted to know why he did not demand restitution from the Captain; but because it is all a very long story I will omit it, and I will go on

now to tell how Juan Velásquez de Leon was imprisoned in a hall near to Montezuma's chamber, and attached to a heavy chain. Juan Velásquez was a man of great stature and very strong, and when he moved about the hall he dragged the chain after him and it made a great noise, and Montezuma heard it and asked of his page Orteguilla who it was that Cortés held a prisoner in chains; the page replied that it was Juan Velásquez who had formerly been the guard over his person, (for at that time he was no longer Captain of the Guard but Cristóbal de Olid), and Montezuma asked what was the reason of his imprisonment, and the page told him that it was on account of some gold that was missing.

That same day Cortés went to pay his court to Montezuma, and after the usual civilities and some conversation had passed, Montezuma asked Cortés, why he made a prisoner of Juan Velásquez, seeing that he was such a good and valiant captain; for, as I have said before, Montezuma knew us all and even our characters. Cortés answered half laughingly, that Juan Velásquez was touched, which means mad, because they had not given him much gold, and he wished to go to Montezuma's towns and cities and demand it from the Caciques, and so as to prevent him killing any one he had put him in prison.

Montezuma replied that he begged Cortés to release him and send him to look for more gold, and said that he would give him some of his own. Cortés pretended that it went against the grain with him to release him, but at last he said that to please Montezuma it should be done, and he sentenced him to be banished from the camp and to go to a town named Cholula with some of Montezuma's messengers to seek for gold. First of all Juan Velásquez and Gonzalo de Mejía were reconciled. I noticed that he [Juan Velásquez] returned from his banishment within six days, and brought more gold with him, and that from that

time on Gonzalo Mejía and Cortés were not very good friends. I have called all this to mind although it is outside my story, so that one may see that Cortés, under colour of doing justice, so that we should fear him, was full of craftiness, and I will leave off here.

CHAPTER CVII.

How the Great Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and what Cortés answered. Nevertheless he took her and they served and honoured her as was becoming to the daughter of such a Prince.

I HAVE many times said that Cortés and all of us always endeavoured to please and serve Montezuma and to pay him court. One day Montezuma said, "Look here, Malinche, I love you so much that I want to give you one of my daughters, who is very beautiful, so that you can marry her and treat her as your legitimate wife"; Cortés doffed his cap in thanks, and said that it was a great favour that Montezuma was conferring on him, but that he was already married and had a wife, and that among us we were not permitted to have more than one wife, he would however keep her [Montezuma's daughter] in the rank to which the daughter of so great a prince was entitled, but that first of all he desired her to become a Christian, as other ladies, the daughters of Chieftains, already were; and to this Montezuma consented.

The Great Montezuma always showed his accustomed good will to us, but from one day to the other he never ceased his sacrifices at which human beings were killed, and Cortés tried to dissuade him from this but met with no success. So Cortés took counsel with his captains as to what should be done in the matter, for he did not dare to put an end to it for fear of a rising in the City and of the

priests who were in charge of Huichilobos. The advice that the captains and soldiers gave about this was, that he should pretend that he wished to go and throw down the Idols from the lofty temples of Huichilobos, and that if we saw that they intended to defend them, and were going to rise in revolt, that we should then demand permission to set up an altar inside the Great Cue, and place a Crucifix there and an image of Our Lady. When this was settled Cortés went to the Palace where Montezuma was imprisoned and took seven captains and soldiers with him, and said to Montezuma: "Señor, I have often asked you not to sacrifice any more human beings to your gods who are deceiving you, and you will not cease doing it, I wish you to know that all my companions and these captains who are with me have come to beg you to give them leave to remove the gods from your temple and put our Lady Santa Maria and a Cross in their place, and, if you will not give them leave now, they will go and remove them, and I would not like them to kill any priests."

When Montezuma heard those words and saw that the Captains were rather angry, he said, "Oh! Malinche, how can you wish to destroy the city entirely! for our gods are very angry with us, and I do not know that they will stop even at your lives, what I pray you to do for the present is to be patient, and I will send to summon all the priests and I will see their reply." When Cortés heard this he made a sign that he wished to speak quite privately to Montezuma without the presence of the captains whom he had brought in his company, so he ordered them to go out and leave him alone. When they had left the hall he said to Montezuma, that in order to prevent this affair from becoming known and causing a disturbance and becoming an offence to the priests on account of their Idols being overturned, that he would arrange with these Captains to the effect that they should do nothing of the sort, provided

they were given an apartment in the Great Cue where they might make an altar on which to place the Image of Our Lady and set up a Cross, and that as time went on it would be made plain how good and advantageous it was for their souls, and for giving them health and good harvests and prosperity. Then Montezuma, with sighs and a very sorrowful countenance, said that he would confer with his priests. After much discussion had taken place about it, on the [1] day of the month of [1] in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen, this was done and our altars and an image of Our Lady and a Cross were set up, apart from their curséd Idols, with great reverence and with thanks to God from all of us, and the Padre de la Merced chanted Mass, assisted by the priest Juan Díaz and many of our soldiers. Our captain ordered an old soldier to be stationed there as guardian, and begged Montezuma to order the priests not to touch the altar, but only to keep it swept and to burn incense and keep wax candles burning there by day and night, and to decorate it with branches and flowers.

I will leave off here and say what it led to.

CHAPTER CVIII.

How the great Montezuma told our Captain Cortés to leave Mexico with all his soldiers, for all the Caciques and priests wanted to rise and wage war on us until they killed us, for so it had been decreed and advised by their Idols, and what Cortés did about it.

THERE was never a time when we were not subject to surprises of such a kind, that had our Lord God not assisted us, they would have cost us our lives. Thus as

[1] Blank spaces in the original.

soon as we had placed the image of Our Lady and the Cross on the Altar which we had made on the Great Cue and the Holy Gospel had been preached and Mass said, it seems that Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca spoke to the priests, and told them that they wished to leave their country as they were so badly treated by the Teules, and they did not wish to stay where those figures and the Cross had been placed, nor would they remain there unless we were killed, and this was their answer and they need not expect any other, and they should inform Montezuma and all his Captains, so that they might at once go to war and kill us. The Idols further told them that they could see how all the gold that used to be kept for their honour, had been broken up by us and made into ingots, and let them beware how we were making ourselves lords over the country, and were holding five great Caciques prisoners, and they told them of other misdeeds so as to induce them to attack us. In order that Cortés and all of us should know about this, the Great Montezuma sent word to tell Cortés that he wished to speak to him on very important matters, and the page Orteguilla came and said to him that Montezuma was very sad and much disturbed, and that during the previous night and part of the day many priests and leading Captains had been with him and had said things to him privately that he [the page] could not understand.

When Cortés heard this he went in haste to the palace where Montezuma was staying and took with him Cristóval de Olid, who was Captain of the Guard, and four other Captains and Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, and, after they had paid much respect to him, Montezuma said: "Oh! Señor Malinche and Captains, how distressed I am at the reply and command which our Teules have given to our priests and to me and all my Captains, which is that we should make war on you and

kill you, and drive you back across the sea. I have thought it over, and what seems to me best is that you should at once leave this city before you are attacked, and that not one of you should remain here. This, Señor Malinche, I say that you should not fail to do, for it is to your interest, if not you will be killed, remember it is a question of your lives." Cortés and our Captains felt grief at what he said and were even a good deal disquieted, and it was not to be wondered at, the affair coming so suddenly and with such insistence that our lives were at once placed in the greatest danger by it, for the warning was given us with the greatest urgency. Cortés replied that he thanked Montezuma sincerely for the warning, and that at the present time there were two things that troubled him, one was that he had no vessels in which to sail, for he had ordered those in which he had come to be broken up, and the other was that Montezuma would be forced to come with us so that our Great Emperor might see him, and that he begged as a favour that he would place restraint on his priests and captains while three ships were being built at the sand dunes, as it would be more advantageous to them, for if they began the war they would all of them be killed.

He also asked, so that Montezuma might see that he wished to carry out what he had said without delay, that carpenters might be sent with two of our soldiers who were great experts in shipbuilding, to cut wood near to the sand dunes.

Montezuma was even more sorrowful than before because Cortés told him that he would have to come with us before the Emperor; he said that he would send the carpenters, and that they should hurry and not waste time in talk, but work, and that meanwhile he would command the priests and captains not to ferment disturbances in the city and he would order Huichilobos to

be appeased with sacrifices, but not of human lives. After this exciting conversation Cortés and his captains took leave of Montezuma, and we were all in the greatest anxiety wondering when they would begin the attack.

Then Cortés ordered Martin López, the ship carpenter, to be summoned and Andrés Nuñez, and the Indian carpenters whom the Great Montezuma had given him and after some discussion as to the size of the three vessels to be built he ordered him at once to set about the work and to get them ready, for in Villa Rica there was everything necessary in the way of iron and blacksmiths, tackle, tow, and calkers and pitch. So they set out and cut the wood on the coast near Villa Rica, and in haste began to build the ships.

What were the instructions given by Cortés to Martin López I do not know, and I say this because the historian Gomara in his history says that he ordered him to make a show, as though it were all a farce of building them, merely so that Montezuma should hear of it. I will defer to what those say who, thank God, are still alive to this day; moreover, Martin Lopez told me in secret that he really worked at them with all speed and left three ships in the dockyard.

Let us leave him building the ships and say how we all went about in that city very much depressed, fearing that at any moment they might attack us; and our friends from Tlaxcala and Doña Marina also told the captain that an attack was probable, and Orteguilla, Montezuma's page, was always in tears. We all kept on the alert and placed a strong Guard over Montezuma, I say that we were on the alert, but there is no necessity to repeat it so often, for neither by day or night did we ever take off our arms or our gorgets or leggings, and we slept in them. May be some will ask when we slept and what our beds were like,—they were nothing but a little straw and a mat, and

if one had a curtain, he placed it beneath him, and we slept shod and armed and with all our weapons to hand. The horses stood saddled and bridled all day long, and everything so fully prepared that on a call to arms we stood as though we had already been posted and were waiting for it. Sentinels were posted every night, and there was not a soldier who did not keep watch. There is another thing I must say, but not with the intention of boasting about it, that I grew so accustomed to go about armed, and to sleep in the way I have said, that after the conquest of New Spain I kept to the habit of sleeping in my clothes and without a bed, and I slept thus better than on a mattress.

Now when I go to the towns of my *encomienda* I do not take a bed, and if sometimes I do take one with me, it is not that I want it, but because some gentlemen may happen to go with me, and I do not wish them to think that I have not brought a bed because I do not possess a good one, but in truth I always lie on it dressed. There is another thing I must say. I am only able to sleep for a short time of a night, and have to get up and look at the heavens and the stars, and have to walk about for a time in the dew, and this I do without putting a cap or handkerchief on my head, and I am so used to it that thank God it does me no harm. I have said all this that it may be known how we the true conquistadores lived, and how accustomed we became to our arms and to keeping watch.

Let us stop speaking of this, for I am wandering from my story, and say how our Lord Jesus Christ always showed us many favours and how, in the Island of Cuba, Diego Velásquez was hastening on his armada as I shall go on to relate, and how at this very time a Captain named Pánfilo de Narvaez was setting out for New Spain.

BOOK VII.

THE EXPEDITION UNDER PÁNFILO DE NARVAEZ.

CHAPTER CIX.

How Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba hastened to send his Armada against us with Pánfilo de Narvaez as Captain General, and how there came in his company the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, and what was done about it.

We must now go a little way back in our story so that what I am about to relate may be clearly understood. I have already said, in the chapter that treats of that subject, how Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, knew that we had sent our Proctors to His Majesty, with all the gold that we had obtained, and the sun and moon and a great variety of jewels and gold in grains brought from the mines, and many other things of great value, and that we were not asking assistance of him [Velásquez] about anything. He also knew that Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for so he was called), who at that time was President of the Indies, had everything absolutely under his authority, because His Majesty was in Flanders, and that the Bishop had treated our Proctors very badly.

They say that this same Bishop sent from Castile at that time much help to Diego Velásquez, and advice and orders that he should send and have us captured, and that he, from Spain, would afford him full support for so doing. With this strong support Diego Velásquez got together a fleet of nineteen ships and fourteen hundred soldiers, and they brought with them over twenty cannon and much powder and all sorts of stores of stones and balls, and two gunners[1] (the Captain of the artillery was named Rodrigo Martin) and they brought eighty horsemen and ninety crossbowmen and seventy musketeers. Diego Velásquez, although he was very fat and heavy, himself went about from village to village, and from town to town, provisioning the fleet and inviting the settlers who had Indians, as well as his relations and friends, to go with Pánfilo Narvaez to capture Cortés and us his Captains and soldiers, or at least not to leave any of us alive, and he went about so incensed and angry and with such energy, that he got as far as Guaniguanico which is seventy leagues beyond Havana. When he was going about like this before his armada sailed, it seems that the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite friars, who were the Governors, got to hear of it, for the Licentiate Zuazo sent them the news of it from Cuba, to which island he had come to take the "residencia"[2] of this same Diego Velásquez. When the Royal Audiencia heard of it—knowing as they did of the many and great and loyal services which we had accomplished for God and His Majesty, and how we had sent our Proctors with great presents to our Lord the King, and knowing that Diego Velásquez had no right nor authority to take vengeance on us by force of arms, but that he should ask for it according to law, and that if

[1] Astilleros in the text, probably in error for Artilleros.

[2] Residencia = an inquiry into official acts.

he came with his fleet it would greatly interfere with our conquest,—they decided to send a Licentiate named Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, who was Oidor of this same Royal Audiencia, to stop this fleet of Diego Velásquez and not to let it sail, under pain of heavy penalties. The Oidor came to Cuba and took the needful steps and made protest according to the command of the Royal Audiencia in order that Velásquez should not carry out his project, but all the injunctions and penalties that he proclaimed were of no avail, for as Diego Velásquez had the backing of the Bishop of Burgos, and had spent all he possessed in raising that army against us, he did not care a snap of the fingers for all the injunctions issued against him, on the contrary he became very blustering, and when the Oidor saw this he himself acccompanied Narvaez so as to keep the peace and to promote agreement between Cortés and Narvaez. There are other soldiers who say that he came with the intention of giving us assistance, and, if he could not do so, that he meant to take the country himself as Oidor in the name of His Majesty. In this way he came to the port of San Juan de Ulúa, and there I will leave him and go on to say what was done about it.

CHAPTER CX.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez arrived at the port of San Juan de Ulúa, which is called Vera Cruz, with all his fleet, and what happened to him.

As Pánfilo de Narvaez came across the sea with all his fleet of nineteen ships, it appears that on nearing the Sierra of San Martin, for so it is called, he was struck by a north wind, which is a head wind on that coast, and during the night he lost one ship of small burden which foundered; her Captain was a gentleman named Cristóbal de

Morante, a native of Medina del Campo, and a number of other persons were drowned. All the rest of the fleet arrived at San Juan de Ulúa.

When the arrival of this great fleet was known, (for it must be called great as having been equipped in the Island of Cuba,) it came to the ears of those soldiers whom Cortés had sent to look for mines, and these three men, namely Cervantes the jester, and Escalona, and the third called Alonzo Hernández Carretero, came to the ships of Narvaez. When they found themselves safe on board ship and in Narvaez' Company, it is said that they raised their hands to God who had delivered them from the power of Cortés and got them out of the great City of Mexico where every day they expected to be killed. When they had eaten with Narvaez and drunk wine, and were satiated with too much drink, they kept saying to one another before the General himself, "See here, is it not better to be here drinking wine than to be unhappy in the power of Cortés who made such slaves of us night and day that we hardly dared to speak, expecting from day to day to meet death staring us in the face." And Cervantes, who was a buffoon, even said by way of pleasantry, "Oh, Narvaez, Narvaez, how fortunate you are to have come at this time, for this traitor of a Cortés has got together more than seven hundred thousand dollars of gold, and all the soldiers are very discontented with him because he has taken a great part of their share of the gold, and they do not want to accept what he is giving them." So those soldiers who had deserted from us as they were mean and worthless, told Narvaez much more that he wanted to know. They also informed him that eight leagues distant from where he was, a town had been founded named Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and that Gonzalo de Sandoval was in command of it with seventy soldiers, all of them old and invalid, and that if he should send some fighting men there at once,

they would surrender to him, and they told him many other things.

Let us leave all these discussions and relate how the great Montezuma soon got to know that there were ships anchored in the port with many captains and soldiers on board, and he secretly sent some of his chiefs, without Cortés knowing anything about it, and ordered them [the Spaniards in the ships] to be given food, gold and cloth, and the neighbouring villages were told to furnish them with supplies of food. Narvaez sent to tell Montezuma many abusive and many uncivil things about Cortés and all of us, [such as] that we were bad men and thieves who had fled from Castile without the permission of our Lord and King, and that when our Lord the King had heard that we were in this country, and knew about the evil deeds and robberies we had committed and that we had taken Montezuma prisoner, he had ordered Narvaez to set out at once with all these ships and soldiers and horses, to put an end to such evils and to free him [Montezuma] from his prison, and either to kill Cortés and all of us evil-doers, or to capture us and send us back to Spain in these same ships, and that when we arrived there we should be condemned to death; and he sent to tell him much more nonsense. The interpreters who explained all this to the Indians were the three soldiers who already understood the language. In addition to these messages, Narvaez also sent some gifts of things from Spain.

When Montezuma heard all this he was very well satisfied with the news, for as they said that there were so many ships and horses and cannon and musketeers and crossbowmen, and that there were thirteen hundred or more soldiers, he believed that they would take us prisoners. In addition to this when his chieftains saw our three soldiers with Narvaez and perceived that they said much evil of Cortés, they accepted as the truth all

that Narvaez had told them to say. They brought with them a picture of the fleet painted quite correctly on some cloths. Then Montezuma sent Narvaez much more gold and cloths and ordered all the towns in his neighbourhood to take them plenty to eat, and for three days Montezuma was in possession of this news and Cortés knew nothing at all.

One day when our Captain went to see Montezuma and to pay him court, after the usual civilities had passed between them, it seemed to Captain Cortés that Montezuma was looking very cheerful and happy, and he asked him how he felt, and Montezuma replied that he was better. When Montezuma saw that he came to visit him twice in one day, he was afraid that Cortés knew about the ships, and so as to get ahead of him and to avoid suspicion, he said to him, "Señor Malinche, only just now messengers have come to tell me that at the port where you landed there have arrived eighteen more ships and many people and horses, and they have brought it all to me painted on some cloths, and as you came twice to visit me to-day I thought that you must have come to bring me this news; now you will have no need to build ships. Because you did not tell me about it, on the one hand I was annoyed with you for keeping me in ignorance, and on the other hand I was delighted at the arrival of your brothers, for now you can all return to Spain and there need be no further excuse."

When Cortés heard about the ships, and saw the picture on the cloth, he rejoiced greatly and said, "Thank God! who at the right moment provides for us," and we soldiers were so delighted that we could not keep quiet, and the horsemen rode skirmishing round about and we fired off shots. But Cortés was very thoughtful, for he well understood that that fleet was sent by Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba against him and against all of us, and,

wise man as he was, he said what he felt about it to all of us captains and soldiers, and by great gifts of gold to us, and promises to make us rich, he induced us all to stand by him. He did not know who had come in command (of the fleet) but we were greatly rejoiced at the news, and at the gold that Cortés had given us by the way of gratuity, as if he had taken it from his own property and not from that which should have been our share. It was indeed great help and assistance that Our Lord Jesus Christ was sending to us. I will stop here and say what took place in the camp of Narvaez.

CHAPTER CXI.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez sent five persons from his fleet to demand of Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was in command at Villa Rica, that he should surrender himself and all the settlers, and what happened about it.

As those three scoundrelly soldiers of ours, already mentioned, had gone over to Narvaez, and had given him news of all the things that Cortés and all of us had done since we entered New Spain, and had told him that Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval was about eight leagues distant at a town which had been founded and called the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and that he had with him seventy settlers, nearly all of them old or invalids, Narvaez determined to send to the town a priest named Guevara, who had good address, and another man of considerable importance named Amaya, a relation of Diego Velásquez of Cuba, and a notary named Vergara, and three witnesses whose names I do not remember. He sent them to give notice to Sandoval to surrender at once to Narvaez, and for this purpose they said that they brought copies of the decrees. It is said that Gonzalo de Sandoval had already

received news from some Indians about the ships and the great number of persons that had come in them, and as he was very much of a man, he always had everything in readiness and his soldiers armed, and as he suspected that that fleet came from Diego Velásquez, and that some of the crew would be sent to that town to take possession of it, and so as not to be hampered by his old and invalid soldiers, he sent them off at once to an Indian town named Papalote, and kept with himself the healthy ones.

Sandoval always set a good watch on the roads to Cempoala, which is the road by which the town is approached, and he called his soldiers together and impressed on them that if Diego Velásquez or any one else should come, they must not surrender the town to him, and all the soldiers answered that they would do as he wished; he furthermore ordered a gallows to be set up on a hill. The spies whom he had posted on the road hurried in to give him notice that six Spaniards and some Cuban Indians were approaching the town, and Sandoval awaited them in his house, for he would not go out to receive them, and he had already ordered that none of his soldiers should leave their houses or speak to them. When the priest and those whom he had brought in his company met with no Spanish settlers to speak to but only Indians who were working at the fort and did not understand them, they entered the town, and went to the church to say their prayers, and then went to the house of Sandoval as it seemed to them to be the largest in the place. After giving Sandoval a friendly salutation to which he replied, they say that the priest commenced a speech saying that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, had spent much money on the fleet, and that Cortés and all the others whom he had brought in his company had been traitors to him, and that they had come to give notice that they must go at once and give their obedience to Señor Pánfilo de Narvaez

who came as Captain General on behalf of Diego Velásquez. When Sandoval heard these words and the rudeness with which the Padre Guevara spoke, he was biting his lips with annoyance at what he heard, and said: "Señor Padre, you are speaking very maliciously, in using these words about traitors,—we are here all better servants of His Majesty than Diego Velásquez,—but that you are a priest I would chastise you as you deserve for your bad manners. Be off with you and go to Mexico, where you will find Cortés who is Captain General and Chief Justice of this New Spain, and he will give you your answer, here you need say no more."

Then the priest in a blustering way told the notary named Vergara whom he had brought with him, to take out at once the decrees that he carried in his bosom and to notify Sandoval and the settlers who were with him, but Sandoval told the notary that he should not read a single paper, that he did not care whether they were decrees or any other documents. While they were disputing, the notary began to take out from his bosom the documents he had brought, and Sandoval said to him, "Look here, Vergara, I have already told you not to read any papers here, but to go to Mexico, and I promise you that if you do read them I will have you given a hundred lashes, for we do not know whether you are a king's notary or not; show us your title, and if you have got that, read it; nor do we know if these decrees are the originals or copies or other documents." The priest who was a very haughty man, exclaimed, "How are you dealing with these traitors? Bring out the decrees and notify them," and he said this with much anger. When Sandoval heard that expression he told him that he lied like a vile priest, and at once ordered his soldiers to take them all prisoners to Mexico. He had hardly uttered the words when a number of the Indians who were at work at the fort, snatched them

up in net hammocks like sinful souls, and carried them off on their backs, and in four days arrived with them close to Mexico, for they travelled day and night with relays of Indians. They were indeed frightened when they saw so many cities and large towns, and food was brought to them, and one party dropped them and another carried them on their way, and it is said that they were wondering whether it was all witchcraft or a dream. Sandoval sent an alguacil with them as far as Mexico named Pedro de Solis, the son-in-law of Orduña, whom they now call Solis-behind-the-door.

When he sent these men as prisoners, Sandoval wrote in haste to Cortés to tell him who was Captain of the fleet, and all that had happened. As soon as Cortés knew that they were coming as prisoners and were close to Mexico, he sent out horses for the three principal persons and ordered them at once to be released from their confinement and wrote to them that he regretted that Sandoval should have treated them so disrespectfully, as he would have wished him to do them much honour, and when they arrived at Mexico he went out to meet them, and brought them very honourably into the city. When the priest and his companions saw how great a city was Mexico, and the wealth of gold that we possessed, and the many other cities in the waters of the lake, and all us captains and soldiers, and the frank open-heartedness of Cortés, they were amazed, and by the end of the two days they stayed with us, Cortés had talked to them in such a way with promises and flattery and even by greasing their palms with little ingots and jewels of gold, that when he sent them back to their Narvaez with food for the road, although they had set out as fierce as lions, they returned thoroughly tamed, and offered themselves to him [Cortés] as his servants. So when they returned to Cempoala to report to their Captain, they began to persuade all the camp of Nar-

vaez to come over to our side. I will leave off here and relate how Cortés wrote to Narvaez and what came of it.

CHAPTER CXII.

How Cortés, after he had been fully informed who was in command, and who and how many had come in the Fleet, and what munitions of war they had brought, and about our three false soldiers who had gone over to Narvaez, wrote to the Captain and to his other friends, especially to Andrés de Duero, the Secretary of Diego Velásquez. He also learnt how Montezuma had sent gold and cloth to Narvaez, and what reply Narvaez had sent back to Montezuma, and how the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santa Domingo, had come with the Fleet, and the instructions that he brought.

As Cortés always exercised great care and forethought and no matter escaped him that he did not try and put right, and as I have often said before, he had trustworthy and good captains and soldiers, who, besides being very valiant, gave him good advice,—it was agreed to by all of us that he should at once write and send the letters by Indians post haste to Narvaez, before the priest Guevara could arrive, and should tell Narvaez with friendly expressions and promises which we one and all made him, that we would do what his honour should command, but that we begged him as a favour not to create a disturbance in the land, or to allow the Indians to see any division among us. This promise was made because we who formed the party of Cortés were only a few soldiers in comparison with those whom Narvaez had brought, and in order to gain his good will, and to see how he would act. So we offered ourselves as his servants, while at the same time, beneath all these good words, we did not neglect any chances to look for friends among the Captains of Narvaez, for the Padre Guevara and the Notary Vergara had told

Cortés that Narvaez was not much liked by his captains, and advised us to send them some slabs and chains of gold, for "gifts break rocks." Cortés wrote to them that he and all his companions were rejoiced at their arrival at the port, and, as they were old friends, he begged Narvaez to do nothing towards the release of Montezuma who was a prisoner, or to cause a rising in the city, for it would involve the destruction of himself and his men as well as all our lives on account of the great power that Montezuma wielded ; that he stated this because Montezuma was very much excited and all the city was in revolt on account of the messages that had been sent to him. That he (Cortés) thought and felt certain that things expressed in such a way and at such a time could never have come from the mouth of such a wise and valiant man as Narvaez, but were such things as Cervantes the jester and the soldiers he had with him might say. Beside other words that were written in this letter, he placed his person and his property at the disposal of Narvaez, and said that he would do whatever Narvaez might command.

Cortés also wrote to the Secretary, Andrés de Duero, and to the Oidor, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and with the letters he sent certain jewels of gold to his friends. As soon as he had sent the letter, he secretly ordered the Oidor to be given ingots and chains of gold, and begged the Padre de la Merced to follow the letters to the camp of Narvaez without delay, and he gave him more golden chains and ingots and some very valuable jewels to give to his friends there. So the first letter which Cortés wrote and sent by the Indians arrived before the Padre Guevara, who was the priest whom Narvaez had sent to us [to Villa Rica], and Narvaez went about showing it to his Captains and jeering at it and even at us. It is said that one of the Captains whom Narvaez had brought with him, named Salvatierra, who had come as Veedor, raised a clamour

when he heard it, reproving Narvaez for reading such a letter from a traitor like Cortés, and saying that he ought to proceed against us at once, and not leave one of us alive, and he swore that he would roast Cortés' ears and eat one of them, and other such ribaldry. So Narvaez would not answer the letter, nor consider us worth a snap of the fingers.

Just at that time the priest Guevara and his companions arrived [in camp], and told Narvaez that Coıtés was a very excellent gentleman and a faithful servant of the King, and he told him of the great power of Mexico and of the many cities he had seen on the way, and that they understood that Cortés wished to serve him and do all that he ordered, and it would be a good thing, if, peaceably and without disturbance, an agreement should be come to between them; [he added] that Señor Narvaez should consider that all New Spain lay before him and he could take the people he had brought with him wherever he chose, and leave the other provinces to Cortés, for there were territories and to spare where one might settle. When Narvaez heard this, they say that he was so angry with Padre Guevara and Amaya that he would not see or listen to them again. When the people in the camp saw the Padre Guevara and the Notary Vergara and the others so greatly enriched, and the followers of Narvaez heard from them secretly so much good of Cortés and of all of us, and how they had seen such quantities of gold staked at play in our camp, many of them wished that they were already there. Just about this time our Padre de la Merced arrived at Narvaez's camp, with the ingots of gold which Cortés had given him and the private letters, and he went to kiss hands to Narvaez, and to tell him how Cortés wished for peace and friendship and was ready to obey his orders. But Narvaez who was very obstinate, and felt very aggressive, would not listen to him, and chose to say

before the Padre himself that Cortés and all of us were traitors, and because the Friar replied that on the contrary we were very loyal subjects of the King, Narvaez used abusive language to him.

Then the Friar very secretly distributed the ingots and chains of gold to those whom Cortés had named, and he got together and won over the chief persons in Narvaez's camp.

I will leave off here, and relate what took place between Narvaez and the Oidor, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and what happened about it.

CHAPTER CXIII.

How the Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez had words with the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and how Narvaez ordered him to be seized and sent as a prisoner to Cuba or Spain, and what happened about it.

IT appears that the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon came to favour the cause of Cortés and all of us, according to his instruction from the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, for the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, were aware of the many good and loyal services which we had done, first of all to God, and then to our Lord the King, and of the great present that we had sent to Spain with our Proctors. In addition to what the Royal Audiencia had ordered him to do in his official capacity, the Oidor had [now] seen the letters from Cortés, and with them the blocks of gold; and whereas he had said previously that the despatch of the fleet was contrary to all right and justice, and that it was an evil thing to proceed against such good subjects of the King as we were, from this time forward he spoke so much more clearly and openly, and said so much good of Cortés and of all of those who were with him, that in the camp of Narvaez nothing else was talked about.

In addition to this it was seen and understood, that in Narvaez there was nothing but the utmost stinginess, for he took for himself all the gold and cloths which Montezuma had sent them and did not give a scrap of it either to a captain or a soldier, on the contrary he said very loudly to his steward, with a haughty voice, "See to it that not a mantle be missing, for they have all been noted down."

As they knew him to be so mean, and heard what I have already said about Cortés, and how we who were with him were very generous, his entire camp was more than half mutinous. Narvaez thought that the Oidor was at the bottom of it, and was sowing discord. Beside this, when Montezuma sent them food which the caterer or steward of Narvaez distributed, he did it without paying the attention to the Oidor or his servants that he should have done, and there was some irritation and uproar about it in the camp. Then owing to the advice given him by Salvatierra, who, as I have said, came as Veedor, and of a certain Juan Bono de Cuexo, a Biscayan, and above all [trusting in] the great support that he had received from Castille, from Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, Narvaez had the daring to seize the King's Oidor and some of his servants and his clerk, and put them on board ship and send them as prisoners to Spain, or to the Island of Cuba. Also, because a gentleman, named something de Oblanca, a learned man, said that Cortés was a very good servant of the King, and all of us who were with him were worthy of much favour, and it seemed to him wrong to call us traitors, and that it was an evil deed to seize an Oidor of His Majesty, for all this that he said, Narvaez ordered him to be imprisoned. As Gonzalo de Oblanca was a very high-bred nobleman, he fretted himself to death within four days. Narvaez also made prisoners of two other soldiers whom he had brought in his ship who knew and spoke well of Cortés, one of

them was Sancho Barahona who was afterwards a settler in Guatemala.

I will go on to relate about the Oidor whom they were carrying as a prisoner to Castille; he spoke kindly to the Captain and pilot and master who had charge of him on board the ship, but at the same time he frightened them by saying that when they arrived in Spain, that instead of paying them for what they had done, His Majesty would order them to be hanged. When they heard these words they told him that if he would pay them for their trouble they would take him to Santo Domingo, and so they changed their course from what Narvaez had ordered and arrived and disembarked at the Island of Santo Domingo. When the Royal Audiencia, which was stationed there, and the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, heard the story of the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and took into consideration the great disrespect and effrontery [that had been shown] they felt it deeply, and were so much annoyed that they at once wrote to Castile to His Majesty's Royal Council. And as at that time the Bishop of Burgos was President of the Council and managed everything, and His Majesty had not returned from Flanders, .no justice was done in our favour, on the contrary they say that Don Rodríguez de Fonseca was greatly rejoiced thinking that Narvaez had already defeated us. When His Majesty who was in Flanders heard our Proctors, and knew what Diego Velásquez and Narvaez had done in sending a fleet without the Royal licence, and imprisoning an Oidor, it did them a great deal of damage in the law suits and claims which, after Cortés had been accused, they preferred against him and all of us, notwithstanding all that they said about having a licence from the Bishop of Burgos who was President of the Council to equip the fleet they sent against us, as I will relate further on.

Then as certain soldiers, friends and relations of the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, saw that Narvaez had committed that great disrespect and irregularity against an Oidor of His Majesty and had carried him off as a prisoner, and as they were already in fear of Narvaez who had his eye on them and was on bad terms with them, they agreed to flee from the sand dunes to the town where Captain Sandoval was stationed. He [Sandoval] treated them with much honour, and learnt from them all that I have here related, and how Narvaez wished to send soldiers to that town to capture it. And what else happened I will go on to tell.

CHAPTER CXIV.

How Narvaez, after he had made prisoners of the Oidor Lucas Vásquez Ayllon and his clerk, went with all his forces to a town named Cempoala which at that time was a large town, and what he effected there, and what our Captain Cortés did and all of us who were in Mexico, and how we decided to march against Narvaez.

As soon as Narvaez had sent away the Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo as a prisoner, he at once proceeded with all his baggage and supplies and munitions of war to form a camp in the town of Cempoala which at that time had a large population, and the first thing that he did was to take by force from the fat Cacique, for so we called him, all the mantles and cloths and gold which Cortés had given into his charge before we left for Tlaxcala, and he also took the Indian women whom the Caciques of that town had given us, who had been left in the houses of their parents because they were daughters of chieftains, and too delicate to go to the war. When he did this the fat Cacique said many times to Narvaez that he must not

touch any of the things that Cortés had left in his charge for if Cortés knew that anything had been taken he would kill him for it. He also complained to Narvaez himself of the many evil deeds and robberies that his people committed in the town, and told him that when Malinche was there, (for so they called Cortés,) with his people, they had not taken a single thing from them, and that he was very good and just, both he himself and the Teules whom he brought with him, and that Narvaez should at once give him back his Indian women, and gold and mantles, for if he did not, he would send and complain to Malinche. When they heard that, they made fun of what he said, and the Veedor, Salvatierra, who has been mentioned by me before, who was the one who boasted most, said to his friends and to Narvaez himself, "Don't you hear what a fright all these Caciques are in of this nonentity of a Cortés." Now just see what it is worth to speak evil of what is good, for I am telling the truth when I say that when we made the attack on Narvaez, this Salvatierra turned out to be one of the biggest cowards of them all, (not that he did not possess a robust body and strength,) but the defect did not apply to his tongue. They say that he was a native of a town near Burgos.

Let us stop talking about him, and say how Narvaez sent to notify some decrees to our Captain and all of us which were said to be copies of the originals which he had brought from the Governor, Diego Velásquez, appointing him Captain, and he sent them by a notary, named somebody de Mata, in order that he should formally state them to us, and this notary was afterwards a crossbowman and as time went on he became a settler at Puebla. Narvaez sent with him four soldiers, all persons of quality, to act as witnesses. Let us leave them there, both Narvaez and the notary whom he was sending, and let us return to Cortés who received every day letters and warnings both

from the camp of Narvaez and from that of Gonzalo de Sandoval who remained at Villa Rica, and who told Cortés that he had there with him five soldiers, persons of considerable importance, who were friends and relations of the licentiate, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, whom Narvaez had sent away as a prisoner. These soldiers came to him from the camp of Narvaez, and gave as a reason for their coming, that as Narvaez had no respect for the Oidor of the King, he would have still less respect for them who were his relations. From these soldiers Sandoval heard in full all that was taking place in the camp of Narvaez, who had stated that he was going in search of us to Mexico to take us prisoners.

Let us go on and say that Cortés promptly took counsel with our Captains, and all of us whom he knew to be his faithful followers, and whom he was accustomed to call in council in such important affairs as this. And it was decided by us all, that at once, without waiting for any more letters or other information, we should fall upon Narvaez, and that Pedro de Alvarado should remain in Mexico to take charge of Montezuma with all the soldiers who were not inclined to go on that expedition, so that all those persons whom we suspected of being friends of Diego Velásquez could be left behind.

About that time, before the arrival of Narvaez, Cortés had sent to Tlaxcala for a large supply of maize, for there had been a bad seed time in the Mexican territory from want of rain, and we were in want of maize, for as we had with us many of our Tlaxcalan friends, there was great need of it. So they brought the maize and fowls and other food and we left it with Pedro de Alvarado, and we even made some barricades and fortifications for him and mounted some bronze cannon, and we left with him all the powder we possessed and fourteen musketeers, eight cross-bowmen and five horses, and we left with him in all eighty soldiers.

Montezuma saw that we meant to go against Narvaez, and although Cortés went to see him every day and paid him court, he never let Montezuma know that he was aware that he was assisting Narvaez and was sending him gold and cloth, and had ordered him to be supplied with food. In the course of conversation Montezuma asked Cortés where he was going, and why he had prepared those armaments and defences, and why we were all in such a state of excitement? How Cortés answered him and what turn the conversation took, I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXV.

How the great Montezuma asked Cortés why he wished to go against Narvaez, seeing that Narvaez had brought many men with him and that Cortés had but a few, and that he should regret it if any evil happened to us.

WHEN as usual Cortés and the great Montezuma were conversing, Montezuma said to Cortés, "Señor Malinche, I notice that all your captains and soldiers are agitated, and I have also observed that you only come to see me now and then, and Orteguilla the page tells me that you intend to go against those, your brothers, who have come in the ships, and to leave Tonatío here to guard me; do me the favour to tell me if there is anything I can do to assist you, for I will do it with the greatest good will. Moreover, Señor Malinche, I do not wish any calamity to befall you, for you have very few Teules with you, and those who have now come are five times as numerous, and they say that they are Christians like yourselves, and vassals and subjects of your Emperor, and they possess images and set up crosses and say Mass and say and announce that you are persons who have fled from your King, and that they have come to capture and kill you. I

do not understand it at all, so take care what you are doing."

Cortés answered with a pretence of lightheartedness, and said through Doña Marina, who was always with him during all these conversations, as well as Gerónimo de Aguilar, as interpreters, that they should inform him that if he had not come to tell him all about it, it was because he loved him very much and did not wish to grieve him by our departure, and this was why he had postponed telling him, for he felt certain that Montezuma was well disposed towards him. That regarding what he said as to all of us being vassals of our great Emperor, it was true, also that they were Christians as we were, but as to what they said about our fleeing from our Lord the King, that it was not so, for our King had sent us to see him and tell him all that had been said and done in his royal name. As for what he said about their bringing many soldiers and ninety horses and many cannon and powder, and our being few in number, and that they had come to kill us and take us prisoners, that Our Lord Jesus Christ in whom we believe, and our Lady Santa Maria, his blessed Mother, would give more strength to us than to them, for they were bad people and had come with a bad purpose. As our Emperor ruled over many kingdoms and principalities, there were great differences of race among them, some very valiant, and others even much more so. We came from Castile itself, which is called Old Castile, and we called ourselves Castilians, and the Captain who was now at Cempoala and the people he had brought with him came from another province, named Biscaya, and called themselves Biscayans, and spoke like the Otomis of this land of Mexico, and he would see how we would bring them as prisoners. He need have no anxiety about our departure, for we would soon return victorious, and what he now begged of him was to stay quietly with

his brother Tonatío, (for so they called Don Pedro de Alvarado,) and eighty soldiers. And, so that there should be no disturbance after we left the city, he must not countenance his captains and priests in doing anything for which, as soon as we returned, the rebellious ones would have to pay with their lives, and he begged him to provide our people with anything they might need in the way of food. Then Cortés embraced Montezuma twice, and Montezuma also embraced Cortés, and Doña Marina, who was very sagacious, said to him artfully that he was pretending sadness at our departure. Then Montezuma offered to do all that Cortés had asked him, and even promised that he would send five thousand warriors to our assistance. Cortés thanked him for it, but he well knew that he would not send them, and said that he needed no more than first of all the help of God, and then that of his companions. Cortés also asked Montezuma to see that the image of Our Lady and the Cross should always be decked with garlands, and that wax candles should always be kept burning there by day and by night, and that he should not allow any of his priests to do otherwise, for that would be a proof of his sincere friendship. After turning to embrace him again, he [Cortés] said that he must pardon him for not staying longer with him, for he had to attend to our departure.

Then Cortés spoke to Alvarado and all the soldiers who were remaining with him, and he charged them to take the greatest care that the great Montezuma did not escape, and to obey Pedro de Alvarado, and he promised with the help of our Lord God, to make them all rich men. The Priest, Juan Díaz, also remained behind with them and did not come with us, as did also other suspected persons. Then we embraced one another and without taking any Indian women or any servants with

us, and marching in light order, we set out on our journey for Cholula.

While on the road Cortés sent to Tlaxcala to beg our friends Xicotenga and Mase Escasi, to send us at once five thousand warriors, and they sent to say in reply that if it were against Indians like themselves they would do so, and even much more, but against Teules like us, and against lombards, and crossbows, they had no wish to fight. However they sent us twenty loads of fowls. Cortés also wrote to Sandoval that he should join us with all his soldiers as quickly as possible and that we were going to some towns about twelve leagues from Cempoala named Tanpaniguita and Mitlanguita, which are now in the encomienda of Pedro Moreno Medrano, who lives in Puebla; that Sandoval should take great care not to be captured by Narvaez, and neither fall into his hands nor into those of any of his soldiers.

We kept on our way in the manner I have described, all on the alert to fight should we fall in with Narvaez or any of his soldiers, with our scouts on the look out, and with two of us soldiers, strong men and very trustworthy, always keeping a day's journey ahead. These men did not keep along the direct road, but by tracks where horses could not travel, so as to inquire and find out from the Indians about the troops of Narvaez.

Then as our scouts were marching on the look out, they saw Alonzo de Mata approaching, who said that he was a Notary, and was coming to serve the papers or copies of the decrees, (which I have already spoken about in the chapter that treats of it,) and four Spaniards who came with him as witnesses. Two of our horsemen at once came to give notice, while the other two scouts entered into conversation with Alonza de Mata and his four witnesses. We hurried up and quickened our steps, and when they came near to us, they made deep bows to Cortés and to all of us, and

Cortés dismounted from his horse, and as he knew why they came and that Alonzo de Mata wished to serve the decrees that he had brought, Cortés asked him if he was a King's Notary, and he replied yes; then he ordered him at once to exhibit his title, and if he had brought it that he should read the messages, and he [Cortés] would do what he should consider would be to the service of God and of His Majesty. That if he had not brought it [his title] he should not read those documents, also that he [Cortés] must see the originals of the documents signed by His Majesty. So Mata, who was somewhat confused and timid, for he was not a King's Notary, and those who had come with him, did not know what to say. Cortés ordered them to be given food, for we were making a halt there, and he told them that we were going to some towns named Tanpaniguita near to the camp of Señor Narvaez, and that there he would be able to proclaim what his Captain might direct. Cortés was so tolerant that he never said a hard word about Narvaez, and he spoke privately with them and took their hands and gave them some gold, and soon afterwards they went back to their Narvaez, speaking well of Cortés and of all of us. As many of our soldiers at that time, out of ostentation, had jewels of gold on their arms and golden chains and collars round their necks, and these men who came to serve the decrees saw them, they told wonderful stories of us in Cempoala, and there were many of the principal people in the camp of Narvaez who wanted to come and make peace, and negotiate with Cortés, because they saw that we were all rich. So we arrived at Tanpaniguita, and the next day Captain Sandoval came with his soldiers numbering about sixty, for he had left behind all the old men and the invalids in a town named Papalote belonging to our Indian allies, so that they could be provided with food. There also came with him the five soldiers who were friends and relations

of the Licentiate, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, who had fled from the camp of Narvaez and came to kiss hands to Cortés, by whom they were all very well and gladly received.

Sandoval related to Cortés all that had happened about the infuriated priest Guevara and Vergara and the rest of them, and how he had sent them prisoners to Mexico, as I have already related in a former chapter. He also told him that he had sent two soldiers disguised as Indians with Indians clothes, to the camp of Narvaez, and Sandoval said that as they were dark-complexioned men they did not look like Spaniards, but like real Indians, and each one carried a load of plums on his back, for this was the plum season (this happened when Narvaez was still at the sand dunes and before they had moved to the town of Cempoala), and they went to the hut of the fierce Salvatierra, who gave them a string of yellow beads for the plums, and when they had sold the plums, Salvatierra, believing them to be Indians, sent them to bring grass for his horse from the banks of a stream that ran near by the ranches. So they went and brought several loads of grass, and, as it was about the hour of Ave Maria when they returned with the grass, they squatted down on their heels like Indians in the hut until night fell, and they kept their eyes and ears open to what some of the soldiers of Narvaez were saying who had come to pay their respects to and keep company with Salvatierra. They reported that Salvatierra said to them, "Ah! at what a lucky moment we have come, for this traitor Cortés has collected more than seven hundred thousand dollars of gold, so we shall all be rich, and his Captains and soldiers whom he has with him can hardly be less rich for they possess much gold!" and they went on with their conversation. When it was quite dark our two soldiers who were disguised like Indians silently crept out of the hut to where Salvatierra kept his horse,

and as the bridle and saddle were close by, they saddled and bridled the animal and jumped on its back and rode off towards the town, and on the way they came upon another horse hobbled near the stream, and they took that also.

Cortés asked Sandoval where these horses were, and he replied that he had left them at the town of Papalote where he had placed the invalids, for the road by which he and his companions had come was impassable by horses, for it was very rough and crossed high mountains, and he had come that way so as not to fall in with any of the soldiers of Narvaez. When Cortés heard of the capture of Salvatierra's horse he was perfectly delighted, and said, "Now he will brag all the more since he finds it missing."

Let us go back to Salvatierra who when he woke up to find that the two Indians who had brought the plums for sale were missing, and could not find his horse or his saddle or his bridle, (we were told this afterwards by many of the soldiers of Narvaez,) said things that raised a laugh at his expense, for he soon found out that they were some of Cortés's Spaniards who had carried off his horse; and from that time on they kept watch.

Let us go back to our story. Cortés and all of us soldiers and Captains were discussing how and in what way we should fall on the camp of Narvaez. What was agreed to before we made the attack, I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXVI.

How Cortés agreed with all of us soldiers that the Fraile de la Merced should be again sent to the camp of Narvaez, for he was very sagacious and a good mediator, and that he should protest himself a good servant of Narvaez, and show himself more in favour of his party than that of Cortés, and that he should secretly summon the artilleryman named Rodrigo Martin and the other artilleryman named Usagre, and that he should speak to Andrés de Duero and get him to come and see Cortés, and he should give into the hands of Narvaez another letter that we had written to him. That he should be ready to take advantage of anything that might happen, and on this account he took with him a large number of ingots and chains of gold for distribution.

As we had now all got together in that town, we agreed that another letter should be written to Narvaez to be carried by the Padre de la Merced, which, after an expression of respect and the utmost politeness, was more or less to the following effect: That we had rejoiced at his arrival and had believed that with his magnanimous character we should do great service to our Lord God and to his Majesty, but that he had replied to us nothing whatever; on the other hand he had called us who were loyal servants of His Majesty, traitors! and had stirred up trouble throughout the land by the messages he had sent to Montezuma; that Cortés had sent to beg him to choose whatever province he might prefer wherein to settle with his people, or that he should advance, and we would go to other territory and would undertake what it was the duty of faithful servants of His Majesty to accomplish; we had also begged as a favour that if he had brought any decrees from His Majesty that he would send the originals to us, so that we might examine them to see whether they had the royal signature and what orders they contained, so that with our breasts bowing before them on the ground, we might at once obey them. However, he would do neither

one thing nor the other, but merely used abusive language to us and stirred up the country against us; that we begged and entreated him on behalf of our God and of our Lord the King to send within three days and proclaim through His Majesty's Notary the Decrees he had brought, and we would obey, as the orders of our Lord and King, all that he should command in his Royal Decrees; that it was for this reason we had come to this town of Tanpaniguita so as to be nearer to his camp; that if he had not brought the Decrees and wished to return to Cuba, he had better return and not disturb the country any more with threats, for if he made any more trouble, we would come against him and arrest him, and send him a prisoner to our Lord the King, because without the royal permission he had come to make war on us and disturb all the cities, and all the evils and deaths and burnings and losses that might thereon happen would be on his responsibility and not on ours; that he [Cortés] wrote and sent this letter now by hand, for no King's Notary dared to go to Narvaez to proclaim it for fear of being treated with as great disrespect as that with which Narvaez had treated the Oidor of His Majesty; where was there ever seen such audacity as to send him away a prisoner? In addition to what he had already said, he [Cortés] felt bound in duty to the honour and justice of our King to punish that great disrespect and crime, and as Captain General and Chief Justice of New Spain which offices he held, he summoned and cited him on this charge and accused him, as in justice bound, for the crime in which he was involved was that of "laesio Majestatis," and that he called God to witness what he now said. Cortés also sent to tell Narvaez that he must at once return to the fat Cacique the mantles and cloth and jewels of gold which he had taken from him by force, and also the daughters of the chieftains who had been given to us by their parents, and that he must order

his soldiers not to rob the Indians of that town nor of any other. After the usual expressions of courtesy, Cortés placed his signature, as did our Captains and some of the soldiers and I added mine. There accompanied the Friar a soldier named Bartolomé de Usagre, because he was a brother of the artilleryman Usagre who had charge of the artillery of Narvaez.

I will go on to tell what is said to have taken place when our Friar and Usagre arrived at Cempoala where Narvaez was encamped.

CHAPTER CXVII.

How the Fraile de la Merced went to Cempoala where Narvaez and all his captains were stationed and what happened when he gave them the letter.

I WILL not waste further words on repeating how the Fraile de la Merced reached the Camp of Narvaez, for he did what Cortés ordered, which was to call together certain gentlemen followers of Narvaez, and the gunner Rodrigo Martin, for so he was called, and Usagre, who also had charge of the cannon. So as to be sure of attracting Usagre, his brother carried some gold ingots which he secretly gave to him. In the same manner the Friar distributed the gold as Cortés had commanded him, and told Andrés de Duero to come to our camp soon to meet Cortés. In addition to this the Friar went to see Narvaez and speak to him and pretend to be his most humble servant. While this was going on they [the partisans of Narvaez] were very suspicious of what our Friar was about and advised Narvaez to seize him at once, and this he was willing to do. When Andrés de Duero heard of it (he was the Secretary of Diego Velásquez and a native of Tudela de Duero, and

Narvaez and he considered themselves as relations for Narvaez also came from the neighbourhood of Valladolid, or from Valladolid itself) he, Andrés de Duero, who was a person of importance and highly respected throughout the Armada, went to Narvaez and said to him that he had been told that he wished to arrest the Fraile de la Merced who was the messenger and Ambassador from Cortés, and although some suspicions might be entertained that the Friar was saying things in favour of Cortés, it would not be wise to arrest him, for it had been clearly shown what great honours and gifts Cortés bestowed on all the adherents of Narvaez who went to [visit] him; that the Friar had spoken to him [Andrés de Duero] as soon as he had arrived and given him to understand his desire that he himself and other gentlemen from Cortés's camp should come to give him [Narvaez] a reception, and that they should all be friends. Let him observe how good are the words Cortés speaks to the messengers who are sent to him and how neither he [Cortés] nor any of those with him ever mention [him] Narvaez otherwise than as El Señor Capitan, and [moreover] that it would be mean to arrest a cleric. It were better that Usagre the gunner whose brother had come to visit him should invite the Friar to dinner and find out from him what it was that all the followers of Cortés desired. With those and other palatable speeches Andrés de Duero calmed Narvaez, and when this had come to pass he took leave of him and secretly told the priest what had taken place.

Narvaez sent at once to summon the Friar, and when he came he showed him great respect, and the Friar half laughing, for he was very sly and sagacious, begged him to come aside with him in privacy, and Narvaez went strolling with him in a courtyard, and

the Friar said to him "I know well that your Honour wished to have me arrested but I wish you to know, Sir, that you have no better or more devoted servant in the camp than I am, and you may feel sure that many gentlemen and captains among the followers of Cortés would be glad to see him already in your hands, and I think that we shall all see him there; and so as more [surely] to bring about his undoing they have made him write a nonsensical letter which was signed by the soldiers and was given to me to present to your Honour. I have not wished to show it until now, when we can chat together, and I longed to throw it in a river on account of the foolishness that it contains, and the soldiers and Captains of Cortés have done this so as to ensure his undoing." Narvaez said that the letter should be given to him, and the Friar replied that he had left it at his lodging and that he would go for it, and so he took his leave and went for the letter. Meanwhile the blustering Salvatierra came to the quarters of Narvaez.

The Friar quickly called Duero to go at once to the house of Narvaez for the presentation of the letter, for Duero and others among the captains who had shown themselves favourable to Cortés, knew all about it, as the Friar carried it about with him, but he desired that many persons from that camp should be assembled to hear it [read].

When the Friar arrived with the letter he at once gave it to Narvaez himself and said "Do not be astonished at it, Sir, for Cortés talks as though out of his mind, but I know for certain that if your Honour will speak to him with affection he will promptly yield himself up with all his followers."

Let us leave the arguments of the Friar which were very good, and say that the Captains and soldiers told Narvaez

to read the letter. When they heard it, Narvaez and Salvatierra roared with anger, the others laughed as though making fun of it, and then Andrés de Duero said "Now I do not see how this can be, and I do not understand it, for this Cleric has told me that Cortés and all [the rest] would yield to your Honour, and now he writes these ravings." Then one Augustin Bermudez, who was Captain and chief constable of the Camp of Narvaez, ably helped Duero and said, "I certainly learnt from this Friar of the Order of Mercy, in strict privacy, that if we were to send good mediators that Cortés himself would come to visit your Honour in order to give himself up with his soldiers, and it will be a good thing to send to his camp, which is not far off, the Señor Veedor Salvatierra and the Señor Andrés de Duero, and I will go with them," this he said purposely to see what Salvatierra would say. Narvaez at once said that Andrés de Duero and Salvatierra should go, but Salvatierra answered that he was indisposed, and that he would not go to see a traitor. The Friar said to him, "Señor Veedor, it is good to have moderation, for it is certain that you will have him a prisoner before many days."

As soon as the departure of Andrés de Duero was agreed upon, it seems that, in strict secrecy, Narvaez planned with Duero himself and three other Captains, that he should arrange with Cortés for an interview at some farms and Indian houses, which stood between the camp of Narvaez and ours, and that there an arrangement would be come to as to where we should go with Cortés to settle, and where boundaries should be drawn, and that during the interviews he [Narvaez] would arrest him [Cortés] and to this effect Narvaez had already bespoken twenty soldiers who were his friends.

The Friar knew about this at once, and so did Andrés de Duero, and they informed Cortés of everything.

Let us leave the Friar in the camp of Narvaez where he had already made himself a great friend and kinsman of Salvatierra (for both the Fraile de Olmedo and Salvatierra were from Burgos), and he had his meals with him. Let us say about Andrés de Duero that he was getting ready to go to our Camp and take with him our soldier Bartolomé de Usagre so that Narvaez should not be able to learn from him what was going on, and I will relate what we did in our Camp.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

How in our Camp we held a Muster of the soldiers who were present, and how they brought two hundred and fifty very long pikes with two copper spikes each, which Cortés had ordered to be made in some towns which they call [the towns of] the Chinantecs and how we taught ourselves to handle them so as to defeat the horsemen of Narvaez, and other things that happened in camp.

LET us go back to say something about what else happened before that which I have already related. As soon as Cortés heard news of the fleet that Narvaez was bringing he at once despatched a soldier who had served in Italy and was very skilful with all arms and especially at making play with a pike, and sent him to a province called the [land of the] Chinantecs, near to where our soldiers had stayed when they went to search for mines, for the people of that province were very hostile to the Mexicans and they had accepted our friendship a few days before. They used as arms very long lances, longer than ours from Castile, with two fathoms of flint and [stone] knives,[1] so

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[1] Dos brazas de pedernal y navajas; literally, two fathoms of flint and knives. In Chapter CXXIII they are described as having one fathom of flint knives (une braza de cuchilla de pedernales). They were probably double-pointed spears with two cutting edges of flint knives extending from the points for some distance along each side of the shaft.

he sent to beg them to bring him promptly, wherever he might be, three hundred of them, and to remove the knives, and, as they possessed much copper, to make for each one two metal points. The soldier took with him the model which the points should resemble, and they promptly searched for the lances and made the points, for throughout the province at that time there were four or five towns, not to count many farms, [where] they collected them and fashioned the points far more perfectly than those we sent to order from them. He also commanded our soldier, who was called Tovilla, to demand of them two thousand warriors, and by the day of the feast of Espíritu Santo to come with them to the town of Tanpaniguita, for so it is called, or to ask where we were, and that the two thousand men should bring lances; and the soldier asked for them accordingly. The Caciques said that they would come with the warriors, and the soldier soon came with a matter of two hundred Indians who carried the lances, and another of our soldiers named Barrientos remained [behind] to accompany the other warriors. This Barrientos was at the farm and mines which they were exploring, already mentioned by me, and there it was arranged that he was to come to our camp in the manner stated, for it was a journey of ten or twelve leagues from one place to the other.

When our soldier Tovilla came with the lances they proved to be extremely good, and the order was then given, and the soldier trained us and taught us how to handle them, and how we were to cope with the horsemen. When we had made our muster and the list and record of all the soldiers and captains of our army, we found that there were two hundred and sixty-six including the drummer and fifer, and not counting the Friar. There were five horsemen and two small cannon, a few crossbowmen and fewer musketeers; what we relied on for

fighting with Narvaez was the lances, and they were very good as will be seen further on. Let us leave the arms at the muster and the lances, and I will relate how Andrés de Duero, whom Narvaez had sent, arrived at our camp and brought with him our soldier Usagre and two Indian servants from Cuba, and what Cortés and Duero said and arranged, as we came to understand later on.

CHAPTER CXIX.

How there came to our camp Andrés de Duero and the soldier Usagre and two Cuban Indians, servants of Duero, and who Duero was, and what he came for, and what we accepted as certain, and what was arranged.

I MUST now go far back to relate what happened in time past. I have already stated in a much earlier chapter, that when we were in Santiago de Cuba, Cortés settled with Andrés de Duero and with a King's accountant named Amador de Lares, who were great friends of Diego Velásquez (Duero was his Secretary), that they should use their influence with Diego Velásquez to have [him] Cortés appointed Captain General to go with that fleet, and that he would divide with them all the gold, silver and jewels that might fall to his lot. As Andrés de Duero saw that his partner Cortés was at that moment so rich and powerful, under pretext of making peace and acting in favour of Narvaez, he concealed his real intention, which was to claim his share in the partnership, for his other partner Amador de Lares was already dead. As Cortés was far-sighted and crafty he not only promised to give him [Andrés de Duero] great wealth, but also to give him a command over the whole force neither more nor less than he himself [held], and after New Spain was conquered to give him as many other towns as he himself possessed provided that he

would induce Augustin Bermudez, who was Chief Constable in the camp of Narvaez, and other gentlemen (whom I will not name here), to endeavour at all events to lead Narvaez astray, so that he should not escape with life or honour and should be defeated; for when Narvaez was dead, or a prisoner, and his expedition wrecked, then they would be left masters, and would divide the gold and the towns of New Spain [between themselves].

The better to lure and bind him [Duero] to what has been said he [Cortés] loaded his two Cuban Indians with gold, and it seems that Duero gave a promise to him, and Augustin had already made the [same] promise by signature and letters. Cortés also sent many ingots and jewels of gold to Bermudez and to a priest named Joan de Leon and the priest Guevara, who was the man Narvaez sent first [of all], and to other friends of his, and he wrote to them what seemed advisable so that they might help him in every way.

Andrés de Duero stayed in our camp from the day of his arrival until after dinner the following day which was the day of the feast of Espíritu Santo. He dined with Cortés and conversed a while with him in private. When dinner was over, Duero took leave of all of us both Captains and soldiers and then, already on horseback, he once more approached Cortés and said: "What are your orders, your honour; I wish to depart." He [Cortés] answered him, "God be with you, and look to it, Señor Andrés de Duero, that what we have been talking about be well arranged, if not, by my conscience, (for it was thus Cortés swore,) before three days are passed I shall be there in your camp, and, if I find anything contrary to what we have agreed upon, your honour will be the first to be pierced by my lance."

Duero laughed and said, "I shall fail in nothing which concerns my service to your honour," and he set off at

once, and when he arrived at his camp it is said that he told Narvaez that Cortés and all of us who were with him were very willing to go over to Narvaez himself.

Let us stop talking about this Duero affair and I will relate how Cortés promptly sent to summon one of our Captains named Juan Velásquez de Leon, a person of great importance, and a friend of Cortés, and a near relation of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, whom to the best of our belief Cortés had bound to himself and conciliated by great gifts and promises that he would give him command in New Spain and make him his equal, for Juan Velásquez always showed himself to be his very trusty follower and true friend as will be seen further on. When he had come before Cortés and made his salute he said "what are your orders, sir," and as Cortés at times spoke honeyed words with a smile on his lips, he said half laughingly "what made me summon the Señor Juan Velásquez is what Andrés de Duero has reported [which is] that Narvaez says, and such is the report throughout his camp, that if your honour should go there that I would be at once undone and defeated, for they believe that you would join with Narvaez, and for this reason I have resolved that, for the life of me, if you really love me, you shall go on your good grey mare, and take all your gold and the *fanfarrona*, (which was a very heavy golden chain,) and other trifles that I will give you, in order to give them in my name to whomsoever I may direct. Your heavy *fanfarrona* you shall carry over one shoulder, and another chain which weighs even more than it, you shall wear wound twice round, then you will see how Narvaez loves you. Try to come away again soon, for then the Señor Diego de Ordás may go there, whom they wish to see in his (Narvaez's) camp as he has been a Mayor-domo of Diego Velásquez."

Juan Velásquez answered that he would do what His

Excellency commanded him, but that he would not take his own gold and his chains with him, only such as might be given him with orders to hand over to certain persons, but, wherever he might be, he would be at all times ready to render His Excellency such service as no amount of gold or diamonds could procure. "That was my belief," said Cortés, "and with this confidence in you, sir, I send you, but unless you take all your gold and jewels as I command, I do not wish you to go." Juan Velásquez replied "whatever your honour commands shall be done," but he did not wish to take his jewels. Cortés spoke to him then in private and he at once set out and took with him one of Cortés's orderlies named Juan del Rio to attend on him. Let us leave this departure of Juan Velásquez, for it was rumoured that Cortés sent him to put Narvaez off his guard, and turn to relate what happened in our camp. Within two hours of the departure of Juan Velásquez, Cortés ordered Canillas (for so our drummer was called) to beat the drum and Benito de Beger our fifer to sound his tambourine, and he ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval who was Captain and Chief Constable to summon all the soldiers, and we at once began our march in quick time along the road to Cempoala. While we were on the march two native swine were killed which have the navel[1] on the back, and many of the soldiers said that it was a sign of victory, and we slept on a bank near a small stream, with our scouts on ahead and spies and patrols.

When dawn broke we went straight along and marched until midday when we had a rest by a river where the town of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz now stands,[2] (where the merchant ships that come from Castile unload,) for at

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[1] A scent gland.

[2] The third site of the city, on the Rio Antigua.

that time there was a settlement by the river, consisting of some Indian houses and groves, and as the sun is very powerful in that country we rested, for, as I have said, we were carrying our arms and pikes. Let us now interrupt our march and I will relate what took place between Juan Velásquez and Narvaez, and one of his captains who was also named Diego Velásquez, and was a nephew of Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, for there he [Juan Velásquez] ran against him.

CHAPTER CXX.

How Juan Velásquez de Leon and Cortés's orderly named Juan del Rio arrived at the Camp of Narvaez, and what happened there.

I HAVE already said how Cortés sent Juan Velásquez de Leon with an orderly to accompany him to Cempoala, to see what Narvaez, who was so anxious to have him in his company, wanted of him. Therefore, hardly had they left our camp when Juan Velásquez made such speed on the road, that he reached Cempoala by dawn and dismounted at the house of the fat Cacique, (but Juan del Rio had no horse,) and thence they went afoot to the quarters of Narvaez. The Indians recognized him [Juan Velásquez] and they were delighted to see and speak to him and said aloud to some of the soldiers of Narvaez, who were quartered in the house of the fat Cacique, that this was Juan Velásquez de Leon one of Malinche's Captains. As soon as the soldiers heard this they went running to Narvaez to demand rewards for bringing the good news that Juan Velásquez de Leon had come.

When Narvaez heard of his arrival, before Juan Velásquez could reach his quarters, he went out to receive him in the street accompanied by some soldiers. Juan Velásquez and Narvaez on meeting they made a great show

of reverence to one another, and Narvaez embraced Juan Velásquez and pressed him to be seated on a chair, for they at once brought chairs and seats near to him, and he asked him why he did not dismount at his quarters, and he ordered his servants to go at once for the horse and baggage, if he had brought any, so that all might be placed in his house and stables and quarters. Juan Velásquez replied that he wished to return at once, and that he had only come to kiss his hands and those of all the gentlemen of his camp, and to see if his Excellency and Cortés could agree to keep peace and friendship. Then it is said that Narvaez promptly repelled Juan Velásquez, greatly annoyed that such words should be spoken to him. "What! to make friends and peace with a traitor who had rebelled with the fleet against his cousin Diego Velásquez?" and Juan Velásquez replied that Cortés was no traitor but a faithful servant of His Majesty, and that to appeal to our Lord and King as he had done should not be imputed to him as treason, and he begged him [Narvaez] to use no such word in his presence. Then Narvaez began to bribe him [Juan Velásquez] with great promises to [persuade him to] remain with him and to arrange with the followers of Cortés to give him [Cortés] up and to come at once and place themselves under his command, promising him [Velásquez de Leon] with oaths that he should be the foremost captain in all the camp and be the second in command. Juan Velásquez answered that it would be a greater treason to desert the Captain to whom he had sworn [obedience] during war, and to abandon him knowing [as he did] that all that he had done in New Spain was in the service of God our Lord and His Majesty, and that Cortés could not avoid appealing, in the way he had appealed, to our King and Master, and he begged him [Narvaez] to say no more about it.

By that time all the most important Captains from the

Camp of Narvaez had come to see Juan Velásquez and they embraced him with the greatest courtesy for Juan Velásquez was much of a courtier, well made, robust, of good presence and features and with a becoming beard, and he wore a great golden chain thrown over his shoulder giving it two turns under his arm, and it suited him well in the part of the gallant and brave captain. Let us leave the good looks of Juan Velásquez and how all the captains of Narvaez were admiring him, and even our Padre de la Merced also came to see him and speak to him in private, and there also came Andrés de Duero and the chief constable, Bermudez.

It seems that at that time certain captains of Narvaez, named Gamarra, and one Juan Fuste, and one Juan Bono de Quexo, a Biscayan, and Salvatierra the swaggerer, advised Narvaez to arrest Juan Velásquez at once, for it seemed to them that he was speaking very freely in favour of Cortés. When Narvaez had already secretly ordered his Captains and Constables to take him prisoner, Augustin Bermudez and Andrés de Duero and our Padre de la Merced and a priest named Juan de Leon, and other persons from among those who had professed themselves friends of Cortés, heard about it, and they said to Narvaez that they were astonished at his ordering Juan Velásquez de Leon to be arrested, for what could Cortés do against him [Narvaez] even if he had another hundred Juan Velásquezes in his Company?—that he should consider the honour and respect that Cortés paid to all those who had gone to his camp, and how he goes out to receive them all, and gives them gold and jewels, and other things such as cloths and fly whisks, and how they came back laden like bees to their hives; that he [Cortés] might easily have arrested Andrés de Duero and the priest Guevara and Amaya and Vergara the notary and Alonzo de Mata and others who had gone to his camp, and he did not do so; on

the contrary, as they have stated, he paid them great honour; and it would be better once again to speak to Juan Velásquez with much courtesy and to invite him to dinner. This seemed to Narvaez to be good advice, and he promptly spoke again to him [Juan Velásquez] in very affectionate terms so that he should be the mediator through whom Cortés might give himself up with all of us; and he invited him to dinner. Juan Velásquez replied that in that case he would do what he could, although he held Cortés to be very obstinate and stubborn in the matter, and that it would be better to divide the provinces, and his honour [Narvaez] should choose the land that pleased him best. This Juan Velásquez said in order to pacify him.

While these conversations were going on the Padre de la Merced whispered to Narvaez, as his confidant and adviser which he had already become, "Order them to muster all your artillery and cavalry and musketeers and crossbowmen and soldiers so that Juan Velásquez de Leon and the orderly Juan del Rio may see them, and so that Cortés may fear your force and your people and may surrender to your Excellency however unwillingly." This the Friar said to him as though he were his faithful servant and friend and to make him exercise all the horsemen and soldiers that were in the camp. So on the advice of our Friar he [Narvaez] held a review before Juan Velásquez de Leon and Juan del Rio, and in the presence of our cleric. When it was finished Juan Velásquez said to Narvaez, "You have brought a great force with you, may God increase it." Then Narvaez replied, "Ah, you can see that had I wished to go against Cortés I should have taken him prisoner and all of you that are with him." Then Juan Velásquez answered and said "Look on him as taken

and us soldiers too, but we shall know well how to defend ourselves," and so the conversation ended.

The next day Juan Velásquez was invited to dinner, and there was dining with Narvaez a nephew of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, who was also one of his captains, and while they were eating at table he began to talk of how Cortés had failed to surrender to Narvaez and of the letter and summons that he sent him. And from one speech to another, the nephew of Diego Velásquez (who was also called Diego Velásquez like his uncle) exceeded all bounds and said that Cortés and all of us who were with him were traitors, because they did not come to submit themselves to Narvaez. When Juan Velásquez heard this he rose from the chair on which he was seated and with great ceremony said, "Señor Captain Narvaez, I have already told you that I cannot acquiesce in such words being spoken against Cortés or against any of those who are with him, as those that have been uttered, for it is truly malicious to speak evil of us who have served His Majesty so loyally."

Diego Velásquez replied that his words were well said and that he [Juan Velásquez] was upholding a traitor, and that traitors were as worthless as he was, and that he was not a good Velásquez. Juan Velásquez grasped his sword and said that he lied and that he was a better gentleman than he was, and a good Velásquez, better than him or his uncle, and that he would let him know it, if the Señor Captain Narvaez would give him leave. As there were many captains present, followers of Narvaez as well as some friends of Cortés, they placed themselves between them (for Juan Velásquez was actually going to give him a sword thrust) and they advised Narvaez that he should promptly order him [Juan Velásquez] to leave the camp, both him and the Friar and Juan del Rio for they felt sure that they were doing no good there. At once without

further delay they were ordered to leave, and they, who could hardly await the hour of getting back to our camp, complied.

It is said that Juan Velásquez mounted on his good mare in his coat of mail, which he always wore, and helmet and great golden chain, went to take leave of Narvaez, and Diego Velásquez, the youth who had quarrelled, was there with Narvaez, and he [Juan Velásquez] said to Narvaez, "What are your Honour's orders for our camp?" Narvaez replied in a great rage that he should get him gone and that it would have been better had he never come, and the youth Diego Velásquez uttered threats and offensive words to Juan Velásquez, who answered that he was very audacious and deserved chastisement for the words he had spoken, and placing his hand on his beard [he cried] by this [my beard I swear] that I will see before many days whether your courage is as good as your words. As six or seven from the camp of Narvaez who had already been won over to the side of Cortés had come with Juan Velásquez to take leave of him, it is reported that they disputed with him as though they were angry, and told him to be off and not trouble himself to talk any more. So they parted, and keeping their horses at a good pace they set off for our camp, for Juan Velásquez was promptly warned that Narvaez wished to arrest them and many horsemen were got in readiness to follow after them. Keeping on their way they met us at the river I have spoken of which is now near Vera Cruz.

We were halted on this river which I have mentioned, taking a rest (for in that country the heat is very great, and as we marched with all our arms on our backs, each one carrying a pike, we were tired), when at that moment one of our scouts came to give word to Cortés that, a good way off, two or three persons were approaching on horseback, and we at once assumed that it would be

our ambassador Juan Velásquez de Leon and the Friar and Juan del Rio. When they arrived where we were, what delight and happiness we all experienced, and how many caresses and what praise did Cortés bestow on Juan Velásquez, and on our Friar, and he had good cause, for they were his faithful servants.

Then Juan Velásquez related, step by step, all that I have already stated had happened to them with Narvaez, and how he sent secretly to give the chains and ingots and jewels of gold to the persons whom Cortés had indicated. Then you should have heard our Friar! Being of a merry disposition, he well knew how to mimic his own behaviour as Narvaez's faithful servant, and [to tell] how, in sheer mockery, he advised him to hold the review and call out his artillery, and with what astuteness and cunning he gave him the letter. Then he next related what happened to him with Salvatierra, with whom he claimed close relationship (the Friar being a native of Olmedo and Salvatierra from beyond Burgos), and [told us] what fierce threats Salvatierra uttered as to what he would do and what would happen when he captured Cortés and all of us, and that he even complained to him about the soldiers who had stolen his horse and that of the other captain, and we were all as delighted at hearing about it as though we were going to a wedding or a merry-making, [although] we knew that the next day we should be going into battle and must conquer or die in it, we being but two hundred and sixty six soldiers and those of Narvaez being five times as numerous as we were. Let us go back to our story, which is that we all marched at once towards Cempoala, and we went to sleep near a small stream about a league from Cempoala where there was a bridge at that time, and where now there is a cattle ranch. Let us leave off there, and I will relate what was done in the camp of Narvaez after the departure of Juan Velásquez and the

Friar and Juan del Rio and then I will at once return to relate what we did in our camp. As two or three events took place simultaneously I am obliged to leave some of them so as to relate what is most pertinent to this story.

CHAPTER CXXI.

What was done in the camp of Narvaez after our ambassadors had left it.

IT seems that when Juan Velásquez and the Friar and Juan del Rio went back, Narvaez was told by his captains that a belief had arisen in the camp that Cortés had sent many jewels of gold, and had gained friends to his side in the camp itself, and that it would be well to be much on the alert, and to warn the soldiers to have their arms and horses ready. In addition to this the fat Cacique, already mentioned by me, was in great fear of Cortés because he had allowed Narvaez to take the cloths and gold and to seize the Indian women, moreover he always had spies out [to see] where we slept and by what road we were coming, for so Narvaez had compelled him to do by force. When he knew that we were already arriving near to Cempoala the fat Cacique said to Narvaez: "What are you about? you are behaving very carelessly; do you think that Malinche and the Teules that he brings with him are the same as you are? Well, I tell you that when you least expect it he will be here and will kill you." Although they made fun of those words that the fat Cacique said to them, they did not fail to get ready, and the first thing they did was to declare war against us with fire and sword and free loot. This we heard from a soldier called El Galleguillo,[1] who came fleeing from the camp of Narvaez,

[1] El Galleguillo—the little Galician.

or Andrés de Duero sent him,) and he informed Cortés about the proclamation and about other things that it was as well to know.

Let us return to Narvaez, who ordered all the artillery, horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen to be taken out to a plain about a quarter of a league from Cempoala to await us there, and not to let one of us escape either death or capture. As it rained hard that day the followers of Narvaez had already had enough of waiting for us in the wet, and as they were accustomed neither to rain nor hardships and did not think we were of any account, his captains gave him notice that they would return to their quarters, as it was an outrage to be kept there waiting for two or three [men], as they said we were. [They further advised] that he should place his artillery, which numbered eighteen large cannon, in front of their quarters and that forty horsemen should remain all night waiting on the road by which we had to come to Cempoala; furthermore that he should station his spies by the ford of the river which we would have to cross, selecting good riders and lithe runners to carry messages, and that twenty horsemen should patrol throughout the night in the courtyards of the quarters of Narvaez. This plan which they communicated to him was to induce him to return to his quarters. Moreover, his captains said to him, "What, Señor? do you take Cortés to be so valiant as to dare with the three cats which he commands to come to this camp merely because this fat Indian says so? Don't you believe it, your Honour, he has only made this fuss and pretence of coming so that your Honour may grant good terms." It was in this way, as I have said, that Narvaez returned to his camp, and after his return he publicly promised to give two thousand pesos to whoever should kill Cortés or Gonzalo de Sandoval. He at once placed as spies at the river one Gonzalo Carrasco, who lives in Puebla, and

another man named something Hurtado, and the cry and countersign that he gave when they should fight against us in the camp was "Santa Maria, Santa Maria."

In addition to making these arrangements, Narvaez ordered many of the soldiers to sleep in his quarters, both musketeers and crossbowmen and others with halberds and he ordered as many more to be posted in the quarters of the Inspector Salvatierra and of Gamarra and of Juan Bono. Now that I have told about the arrangements Narvaez had made in his camp, I will turn to relate the orders that were given in ours.

CHAPTER CXXII.

About the plan and commands that were issued in our camp for the march against Narvaez, and the speech which Cortés made to us, and what we replied.

WHEN we arrived at the stream which I have already noticed and spoken about, which was about a league from Cempoala, where there were some good meadows, after having sent out our Scouts who were trustworthy men, our Captain Cortés (who was on horseback) sent to summon us, both Captains and soldiers, and when he saw us assembled, he said to us that he begged the favour of silence. Then he began a speech in such charming style, with sentences so neatly turned, that I assuredly am unable to write the like, so delightful was it and so full of promises, in which he at once reminded us of all that had happened to us since we set out from the Island of Cuba until then, and he said to us, "You well know that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, chose me as Captain General, not that there were not many gentlemen among you worthy of the post, and you knew and believed that we were coming to settle, for thus it was published and

proclaimed; however, as you have seen, he was [merely] sending to trade. You are already aware of what happened about my wishing to return to the Island of Cuba to render an account to Diego Velásquez of the task that he entrusted to me, in accordance with his instructions; but Your Honours ordered and obliged me to form a settlement in this country in His Majesty's name, and thanks to our Lord the settlement has been made and it was a very wise decision. In addition to this you made me your Captain General and the Chief Justice of the settlement until His Majesty may be pleased to order otherwise. As I have already mentioned there was certain talk of returning to Cuba among some of you, but I do not wish to dwell further on that; it is, so to say, a bygone and our staying was a blessed and good thing, for it is clear that we have done great service to God and His Majesty. You already know what we promised in our letters to His Majesty after having given the report and story of all our doings omitting nothing, [stating] that this land is, so far as we have seen and known, four times larger than Castile and has great cities and is very rich in gold and mines and that other [rich] provinces lie near it; and how we sent to beg His Majesty not to give it away to be governed or [held] in any other manner by any one whosoever, for we believe and know for certain that the Bishop of Burgos, Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, (who was at that time President of the Indies, and had great authority) would ask it from His Majesty for Diego Velásquez, or for some relation or friend of the Bishop's own. This land is so good that it would be proper to bestow it on an *Infante* or great Prince, and we are determined not to give it up to any one until His Majesty shall have heard our Proctors, and we behold his royal signature and approval, so that in all humility [we may do] what he may be pleased to order. You also know that we sent with the letters and placed at

His Majesty's service all the gold and silver and jewels and everything that we possessed or had acquired, moreover you will well remember, gentlemen, how often we have been at the point of death in the wars and battles we have passed through; let me also remind you how inured we are to hardship, rains, winds and sometimes hunger, always having to carry our arms on our backs and to sleep on the ground whether it is snowing or raining, and if we examine it closely our skin is already tanned from suffering. I do not wish to refer to over fifty of our comrades who have died in the wars, nor to all of you who are bandaged in rags, and maimed from wounds which are not even yet healed. I should like to remind you of the troubles we had at sea and in the battles of Tabasco, and, those who were present at them, of the affairs of Almería or Cingapacinga, and how often in the mountains and on the roads attempts were made to take our lives. In what straits they placed us in the battles of Tlaxcala and how they handled us; then in the affair of Cholula, they had even prepared the earthen pots [in which] to cook our bodies; at the ascent of the passes you will not have forgotten the forces that Montezuma had gathered to exterminate us and you saw all the roads blocked with felled trees. Then during the dangers of the entry into and stay in the great City of Mexico, how many times did we look death in the face? who is able to count them?"

"Then look at those among you who have come here twice before I did, first with Francisco Hernández de Córdova and the other time with Juan de Grijalva; [consider] the hardships you underwent in discovering these countries, the hunger and thirst of the wounded and loss by death of so many soldiers and all the property of your own that you expended in those two voyages, and I say that I do not want to relate many other things that I ought to speak of in detail, for there would not be time to

finish talking about them," (because it was already late and the night was falling,) and he continued: "Let us add now, gentlemen, that as Pánfilo de Narvaez marches against us with great fury and desire to get us in his power, calling us traitors and malefactors even before he had landed, and sends messages to the great Montezuma, not in the words of a wise Captain, but of a mischief-maker, and as in addition to this he had the audacity to arrest one of His Majesty's Judges, for this great crime alone he deserves condign punishment. You have already heard how in his camp he has proclaimed war against us, and outlawed us as though we were Moors." Soon after saying this Cortés began to extol our appearance and courage in the late wars and battles [saying] that then we were fighting to save our lives, and that now we had to fight with all our strength [both] for life and honour, for they were coming to capture us and drive us from our houses and rob us of our property, "moreover," [he added] "we do not [even] know if he brings authority from our King and Lord or only support from our opponent the Bishop of Burgos, and if by ill luck we should fall into the hands of Narvaez, which God prevent, all the services that we have done both to God and His Majesty will turn to disservice, they will bring law suits against us, saying that we killed and robbed and destroyed the land, where [in truth] they are the ones to rob, brawl and disserve our Lord and King [but] they will claim that they have served him"; then [he said] that all that he had related we had seen with our own eyes, and that as true gentlemen we were bound to stand up for His Majesty's honour and our own homes and properties; he left Mexico on that understanding with confidence in God and in us, that first he trusted everything in the hands of God and next in our hands, and let us consider what we thought of it.

Then one and all we answered him, jointly with Juan

Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo and other captains, that he might feel sure that, God helping us, we would conquer or die over it, and he should look to it that they did not persuade him to terms, for if he should do anything underhand that we would stab him.

Then when he saw our determination he rejoiced greatly and said that it was because he had confidence in us that he had come, and he there made us many offers and promises that we should all of us be very wealthy and powerful. When this was over he turned to beg us as a favour to keep silence, for in wars and battles we had greater need of prudence and knowledge (so as to conquer the enemy thoroughly) than of daring, and because he had experience of our great bravery, and that each one of us would want to push forward among the first to get at the enemy and so to gain honour, therefore we should be arranged in order and in companies. As the first thing to be done was to seize their artillery, which numbered eighteen cannon, and was posted in front of the quarters of Narvaez, he appointed a relation of his own to go as Captain, whose name was Pizarro (I have already said before, that at that time neither Pizarros nor Peru were known to fame, for Peru had not been discovered). This Pizarro was an active youth, and he assigned to him sixty young soldiers, and he named me among them, and ordered that after the artillery was taken, we should all run to the quarters of Narvaez which were on a very lofty Cue. For the capture of Narvaez he named as Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval with sixty companions, and as he was Chief Constable he gave him an order which read thus :—Gonzalo de Sandoval Chief Constable of this New Spain, in His Majesty's name I command you to seize the person of Pánfilo Narvaez, and should he resist, to kill him, for the benefit of the service of God and the King, insomuch as he has committed many acts to the disservice of God and of

His Majesty, and arrested an Oidor. Given in this camp and signed Hernando Cortés, countersigned by his Secretary Pedro Hernández.

After issuing the order, he promised to give three thousand pesos to the soldier who first laid hand on him [Narvaez], and to the second two thousand, and one thousand to the third, and he said that what he was promising was as a reward, so that we could easily see the riches that were within our reach. Then he chose Juan Velásquez de Leon to arrest the youth Diego Velásquez with whom he had had the quarrel, and gave him another sixty soldiers, and he likewise named Diego de Ordás to arrest Salvatierra and gave him another sixty soldiers, and [there was] Cortés himself ready for an emergency with another twenty soldiers, to hasten to where he was most needed, and where he intended to be present was at the capture of Narvaez and Salvatierra.

As soon as the lists were given to the Captains, as I have related, he [Cortés] said, "I well know that the followers of Narvaez are in all four times as numerous as we are, but they are not used to arms, and as the greater part of them are hostile to their captain, and many of them are ill, and we shall take them by surprise, I have an idea that God will give us the victory, and that they will not persist much in their defence, for we shall procure them more wealth than their Narvaez can. So, gentlemen, our lives and honour depend, after God, on your courage and your strong arms, I have no other favour to ask of you or to remind you of but that this is the touchstone of our honour and our glory for ever and ever, and it is better to die worthily than to live dishonoured." And as at that time it was raining and was late he said no more. There is one thing I have thought about since, he never told us "I have such and such an arrangement in the camp made with so and so, which is in our favour" nor anything of

that kind, but merely that we were to fight like brave men ; and this omitting to tell us that he had friends in the camp of Narvaez, was the action of a very astute Captain, so that we should not fail to fight as very valiant men, and should place no hope in them, but only, after God, in our [own] great courage.

Let us leave this and relate how each of the Captains I have named was busy with the soldiers told off to him, [instructing them] how and in what way we were to fight, and encouraging one another. Then my captain Pizarro with whom we were to capture the artillery, (which was an affair of great danger, as we were to be the first to break through to the guns,) also explained with much spirit how we must force our way in and charge with our pikes until we had overpowered the artillery, and, as soon as we had captured it, our gunners (who were named Mesa, the Sicilian, Usagre and Arvega) with these same cannon and with the cannon balls which were ready to be discharged, should attack the enemy in the quarters of Salvatierra. I also wish to mention how greatly we stood in need of arms; thus for a breastplate, helmet or headpiece, or iron chin guard we would have given on that night whatever might be asked for it, and all that we had [already] gained.

Later on they secretly gave us the password that we were to use while fighting, which was "Espíritu Santo, Espíritu Santo," this is usually kept a secret in war time so that they may recognise and call each other by the password and the opposing side may not learn it. The followers of Narvaez had as their password and battle cry "Santa Maria, Santa Maria."

When all this was finished, as I was a great friend and servant of Captain Sandoval, he begged me as a favour to keep by him that night and follow him if I were still alive after capturing the artillery, and I promised him that I would do so, as will be seen later on.

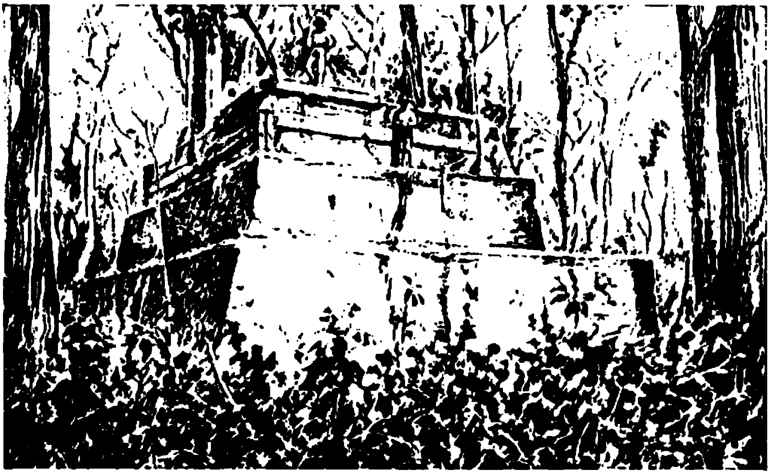
Let me say now that we spent part of the night in preparations and in thinking about what we had before us, for we had nothing at all on which to sup, and our scouts set off promptly and spies and sentinels were stationed. I myself and one other soldier were posted as sentinels, and before long a scout came to ask me if I had perceived anything, and I said "No." Then came an officer and said that the Galleguillo who came from the camp of Narvaez had disappeared and that he was a spy sent by Narvaez, and that Cortés ordered us to march at once on the road to Cempoala, and we heard our fifer and the beating of the drum and the Captains getting their soldiers ready, and we began to march. The Galleguillo was found asleep under some cloths, for as it was raining and the poor fellow was not accustomed to be in the wet and cold he went there to sleep. Then going along at a good pace, with the Captains looking after their men, we began our march as has been said, and without any playing on the fife or drum, and with the scouts reconnoitring the road, we reached the river where the spies of Narvaez were posted. These, as I have already said, were named Gonzalo Carrasco and Hurtado, and they were so little on the look out that we had time to capture Carrasco, and the other fled shouting to the camp of Narvaez, crying "To arms! to arms! Cortés is coming."

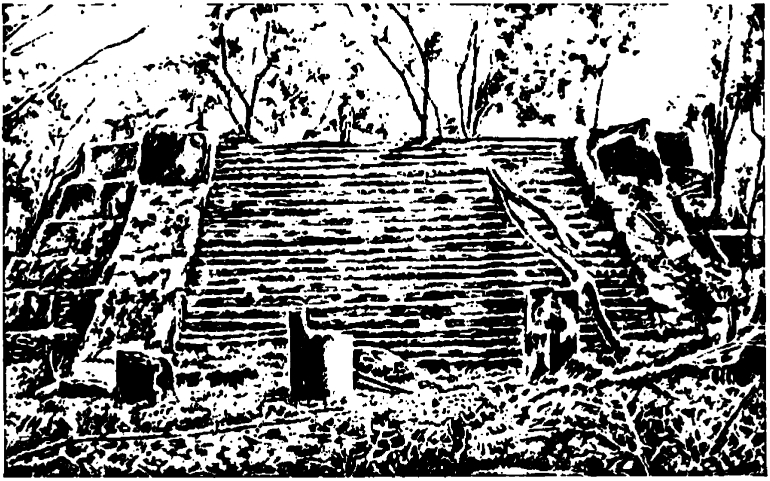
I remember that when we passed through that river, as it was raining, it had become rather deep and the stones were slippery and we were much encumbered with our pikes and our arms, and I also remember that when Carrasco was captured he said to Cortés in a loud voice "Take care, Señor Cortés, don't you go [on] there, for I swear that Narvaez is waiting for you in camp with all his army." Cortés gave him in charge of his secretary Pedro Hernández, and as we saw that Hurtado went to give the alarm we did not delay at all, so that Hurtado's going and

shouting the order "To arms, to arms" and Narvaez calling to his captains, and our charging with our pikes and engaging the artillery, happened simultaneously, and the gunners had time only to fire four shots, and some of the balls passed overhead but one of them killed three of our comrades.

At that moment all our Captains came up with the fife and drum beating the charge, and as many of the followers of Narvaez were mounted, they were delayed for a few moments by them, but they promptly unhorsed six or seven of them. Then we who had seized the guns did not dare to leave them, for Narvaez was shooting at us with arrows and muskets from his quarters and wounded seven of us. At that moment Captain Sandoval arrived and made a rush to scale the steps, and, in spite of the strong resistance which Narvaez made with muskets, partisans and lances and flights of arrows, he and his soldiers still gained ground. Then as soon as we soldiers saw that the guns were ours and no one was left to dispute possession of them, we gave them over to our gunners already named by me, and Captain Pizarro and many of us went to the assistance of Sandoval, for the soldiers of Narvaez had driven them back down two of the steps. On our arrival he turned to ascend the steps [again] and we stood for some time fighting with our pikes which were very long, and when I was least expecting it we heard shouts from Narvaez who cried "Holy Mary protect me, they have killed me and destroyed my eye."

When we heard this we at once shouted "Victory, Victory for those of the password of Espíritu Santo, for Narvaez is dead; Victory! Victory! for Cortés, for Narvaez has fallen!" but for all this we were not able to force the entrance to the Cue where they were posted, until a certain Martin López, (he of the launches) who was very tall, set fire to the thatch of the lofty Cue and all the companions





RUINS OF TEMPLES AT CEMPOALA.

Where the fighting between Cortés and Narvaez took place.

After photos by Dr. J. W. Fewkes.

of Narvaez came tumbling down the steps. Then we seized Narvaez, and the first to lay hands on him was Pedro Sánchez Farfan, a good soldier, and I gave him to Sandoval and the other Captains who were with him, and we were still shouting and crying "Long live the King, long live the King, and in his Royal Name, Cortés, Cortés, Victory, Victory for Narvaez is dead!"

Let us leave this struggle and return to Cortés and the other Captains who were each one of them still fighting against the Captains of Narvaez who had not yet yielded, notwithstanding the shots that our gunners fired at them, and our shouts and the death of Narvaez, for they were posted in very lofty temples. As Cortés was very sagacious he promptly ordered it to be proclaimed that all the followers of Narvaez should come at once and yield themselves up under the banner of His Majesty, and to Cortés in his Royal name, under pain of death. Yet with all this the followers of the youth Diego Velásquez and those of Salvatierra did not give in, for they were in very lofty temples and could not be reached until Gonzalo de Sandoval went with half of us who were with him, with the cannon and the proclamation, and forced his way in and seized Salvatierra and those in his company as well as the youth Diego Velásquez. Then Sandoval came with all those who had gone to capture Narvaez to put him in a safer place. And after Cortés and Juan Velásquez and Ordás had made prisoners of Salvatierra and the youth Diego Velásquez and Gamarra, and Juan Yuste and Juan Bono the Biscayan and other persons of importance, Cortés came, without being recognised, in company with our Captains to where we held Narvaez. As the heat was great, and as Cortés was burdened with his arms, and had been going from place to place shouting to our soldiers and giving out proclamations, he arrived sweating and tired and panting for breath, and he spoke to Sandoval twice,

and did not succeed in saying it [what he wanted] on account of the trouble he was in; and he said "What about Narvaez, what about Narvaez?" and Sandoval said, "He is here; he is here and well guarded." Then Cortés, still much out of breath, turned to say "Take care, my son Sandoval, that you do not leave him, and that you and your comrades do not let him break away while I go and attend to other matters, and see to it that these other captains who are prisoners with him are guarded in every way." Then he promptly went off to issue other proclamations to the effect that under pain of death all the followers of Narvaez should at once come to that place to surrender themselves under the banner of His Majesty and in his royal name to Hernando Cortés his Captain General and Chief Justice, and that no one should carry arms, but that all should give them up and hand them over to our Constables.

All this was done in the night, for it was not yet dawn and it still rained from time to time; then the moon came out, but when we had arrived there it was very dark and was raining. However, the darkness was a help, for as it was so dark there were many Cucuyos,[1] for so they are called in Cuba, which give light by night, and the soldiers of Narvaez believed that they were the match [fires] of muskets.

Let us leave this and go on [to say] that as Narvaez was very badly wounded and had lost an eye, he asked leave of Sandoval for his surgeon named Maestre Juan, whom he had brought in his fleet, to attend to his eye and to the other captains who were wounded, and permission was given. While they were being doctored, Cortés came near by, on the sly, so that they should not recognise him, to see him [Narvaez]. Some one whispered to Narvaez that

[1] Fire-flies.

Cortés was there, hardly was this said to him than Narvaez exclaimed, "Señor Captain Cortés, you must consider this a great feat, this victory which you have won over me and the capture of my person"; and Cortés answered him that he gave many thanks to God for giving it [the victory] to him and to the gallant gentlemen and comrades who had a share in it, but that to capture and defeat him [Narvaez] who had seen fit to dare to arrest one of His Majesty's Judges, was one of the least important things he had done in New Spain. As soon as he had said this he went away and said no more, but ordered Sandoval to place a strong guard over him [Narvaez] and to stay with him himself and not leave him in charge of others. We had already placed two pairs of fetters on him, and we carried him to an apartment and stationed soldiers to guard him, and Sandoval designated me as one of them, and privately he ordered me not to allow any of the followers of Narvaez to speak to him until it was daytime and Cortés could place him in greater security.

Let us leave this, and relate how Narvaez had sent forty horsemen to wait for us on the road, when we were on our way to his camp, as I have said in the chapter that treats of the subject, and we were aware that they were still wandering in the country and were fearful lest they should come and attack us, and rescue their captains and Narvaez himself whom we held prisoners. So we kept much on the alert, and Cortés determined to send and beg them as a favour to come into camp, and made great offers and promises to them all.

He despatched Cristóbal de Olid, who was our quartermaster, and Diego de Ordás, to bring them in, and they went on horses that we had captured from the followers of Narvaez (for our horsemen brought no horses with them but left them picketed in a small wood near Cempoala; we brought no horses, only pikes, swords, shields and

daggers) and they went out into the country with one of the soldiers of Narvaez who showed them the track by which they had gone, and they came upon them, and gave expression to so many offers and promises on behalf of Cortés that they won them over, but some gentlemen among them bore him [Cortés] ill will.

Before they reached our camp it was broad daylight, and the drummers brought by Narvaez, without word from Cortés or any of us, began to beat their kettledrums and play on their fifes and tambourines and cry "Viva, Viva the gala of the Romans! who few as they are have conquered Narvaez and his soldiers"; and a negro named Guidela whom Narvaez had brought with him, who was a very witty jester cried out and said "Behold! The Romans never accomplished such a feat"; and although we told them to keep quiet and not to beat their drums, they would not do so until Cortés sent to arrest the drummer, who was named Tápia and was half crazy. At this moment came Cristóbal de Olid and Diego de Ordás and brought in the horsemen whom I have mentioned, and among them came Andrés de Duero and Agustin Bermúdez and many of our Captains' friends, who as soon as they came went to kiss hands to Cortés who with us around him was seated on an armchair, wearing a long orange-coloured robe with his armour beneath it. Then to see the graciousness with which he addressed and embraced them, and the flattering words that he said to them were matters worthy of note, and how cheerful he was, and he had good cause in seeing himself at that moment such a lord and so powerful, and so after kissing his hands each one passed to his quarters.

Let us speak now of those who were killed and wounded on that night. The standard-bearer of Narvaez named something de Fuentes, a gentleman from Seville, died. Another of Narvaez' captains named Rojas, a native of Old Castile also died, and two of the other followers of

Narvaez died. There also died one of the three soldiers who had belonged to us and had gone over to him [Narvaez], whom we called Alonzo García the Carter. Many of the followers of Narvaez were wounded, and four of our men died and more were wounded, and the fat Cacique also was wounded, for when he knew that we were nearing Cempoala he took refuge in the quarters of Narvaez and there he was wounded, and Cortés at once ordered him to be well attended to and placed him in his house so that he should not be molested. Then the mad Cervantes and Escalonilla, who were those who had been of our party and had gone over to Narvaez, fared badly, for Escalona was severely wounded and Cervantes well beaten, and I have already mentioned that the Carter was dead.

Let us go to those in the quarters of Salvatierra the fierce, of whom his soldiers say that never in all their lives did they see a more worthless man, or one so much alarmed at death when he heard us beat to arms. It is reported that when we cried out "Victory, Victory for Narvaez is dead," he promptly said that he was very sick at the stomach and was no good for anything. This I have related because of his threats and bravado; some of the men of his company were wounded.

Let us speak of the quarters of Diego Velásquez and the other captains who were with him, who were some of them wounded. Our Captain Juan Velásquez de Leon captured Diego Velásquez, him with whom he had the strife when he dined with Narvaez, and he took him to his quarters and ordered him to be cared for and treated with all honour.

Now I have given an account of all that happened in our battle, let us now relate what else was done.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

How after the defeat of Narvaez in the way I have related, there arrived the Indians of Chinantla[1] whom Cortés had sent to summon, and about other things that happened.

I HAVE already said in the chapter that treats of the subject that Cortés had sent to advise the towns of Chinantla (whence they had brought the lances and pikes) that two thousand of their Indians with their lances (which are much longer than ours) should come to aid us, and they came late in the afternoon of this very day after Narvaez had been made prisoner. They came under the command of the Caciques of their own towns and of one of our soldiers named Barrientos who had remained in Chinantla for that purpose. They entered Cempoala in good array, two by two, and they carried their very long lances of great thickness, which have on them a fathom of stone knives which cut like [steel] knives, as I have already said, and each Indian carried a shield like a *pavesina*, and with their banners extended and many plumes of feathers and drums and trumpets, and between every two lances an archer and shouting and whistling and crying "Long live the King, long live the King our Lord and Hernando Cortés in his Royal Name" they made their entrance so gallantly that it was an affair worthy of note. They were fifteen hundred in number and, from the manner and good order with which they came in, it looked as though there were three thousand of them. When the followers of Narvaez beheld them they were astonished, and it is reported that they said to one another, if those people had caught them in the rear or had come in with us, what could have stopped them? Cortés spoke to the Indian

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[1] Chinanta in the text.

Captains very affectionately, thanking them for coming, and he gave them beads from Castile and ordered them to return at once to their towns, and not to injure other towns on the road, and he sent back this same Barrientos with them. I will stop here and will relate what else Cortés did.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

How Cortés sent Captain Francisco de Lugo to the port, accompanied by two soldiers who had been masters of ships [with orders] to bring at once to Cempoala all the Masters and mates from the ships of the fleet of Narvaez, and to remove the sails, rudders and compasses, so that they could not go to Diego Velásquez in the Island of Cuba to report what had taken place; and how he appointed an Admiral of the Sea, and other things that happened.

AFTER Pánfilo de Narvaez had been defeated, and he and his Captains made prisoners, and all the rest of his followers disarmed, Cortés directed Captain Francisco de Lugo to proceed to the port where the fleet of Narvaez, which numbered eighteen ships, was lying, and to order all the mates and masters of the ships to come up to Cempoala, and to remove the sails, rudders and compasses, so that they should not carry the news to Diego Velásquez in Cuba, and that if they refused to obey him, he was to make them prisoners. Francisco de Lugo took with him two of our soldiers, who had been sailors, to assist him Cortés also ordered one Sancho de Barahona, whom Narvaez held as a prisoner with two other soldiers, to be sent to him at once. This Barahona was [afterwards] a settler in Guatemala and a rich man, and I remember that he was very ill and thin when he came before Cortés who ordered him to be treated with honour.

Let us go back to the Masters and mates who promptly

came to kiss hands to Captain Cortés, and he made them take an oath that they would not leave his command, and would obey whatever orders he gave them.

Then he appointed as Admiral and Captain of the Sea one Pedro Cavallero who had been master of one of the ships of Narvaez, a person whom Cortés thoroughly trusted and to whom it is said he first gave some good ingots of gold, and him he ordered not to allow any ship to depart from that port in any direction whatever; and he ordered all the other masters, mates and sailors to obey him, and [added] should Diego Velásquez send more ships from Cuba, (for he had news that there were two ships ready to come) that he must have the means and discernment to make a prisoner of the captain who would come in either of them, and should remove the rudder, sails and compasses, until [he] Cortés should decide otherwise. Pedro Cavallero accomplished all this as I shall relate further on.

Let us now leave the ships and the safe harbour and speak of what was planned between our camp and the followers of Narvaez. To begin with, orders were given that Juan Velásquez de Leon should proceed to conquer and form a settlement in the region of Panuco, and for this Cortés allotted him one hundred and twenty soldiers, one hundred were to be followers of Narvaez with twenty of our men mixed with them as they had more experience in war. They were also to take two ships, so that they might explore the coast beyond the river Panuco.

He also gave another command to Diego de Ordás of another hundred and twenty soldiers to go and settle in the region of Coatzacoalcos, again one hundred were to be followers of Narvaez and twenty of our own men, in the same way as with Juan Velásquez de Leon. He also was to take two ships to despatch from the Rio de Coatzacoalcos to the Island of Jamaica for brood mares, calves

and swine, sheep, and chickens of Spanish breed, and goats to multiply in the country, for the province of Coatzacoalcos was well suited for it.

In order that those Captains and their soldiers could set out fully armed, Cortés had them equipped, and ordered all the prisoners who were captains under Narvaez to be set free, except Narvaez [himself] and Salvatierra who said that he was ill of the stomach. Now as to furnishing them with all their arms, as some of our soldiers had already taken some of their horses, swords and other things, Cortés ordered them all to be given back to them, and over our refusal to give them up there occurred certain angry discussions, for we soldiers said that we held them very rightfully and that we refused to give them back to them, for in the Camp of Narvaez war had been proclaimed against us with free loot, and they came to capture us with that intention and to seize what we possessed, calling us, who were such faithful servants of His Majesty, traitors, and we would not give the things back to them. Cortés still contended that we must give them up, and as he was Captain General we had to do what he ordered. I gave them a horse which I had hidden away saddled and bridled, and two swords and three poignards and a dagger. Many others of our soldiers also gave up horses and arms. Alonzo de Ávila was a captain and a person who dared to speak his mind to Cortés, and he and the Padre de la Merced together spoke privately to Cortés, and told him that apparently he desired to imitate Alexander of Macedon, who after he had accomplished with his soldiers some great exploit, was more solicitous to honour and show greater favour to those whom he had conquered than to his captains and soldiers who had gained the victory. This they said on account of what they observed during those days that we remained there after Narvaez was made prisoner, (namely) that all the golden jewels

that the Indians had presented to Cortés and all the food he gave to the Captains of Narvaez, forgetting us as though he had never known us, and it was not well done, but a very great ingratitude after we had placed him in his present position.

To this Cortés replied that all that he possessed both his person and his property was ours, but for the present he could do no more than propitiate the followers of Narvaez with gifts, good words and promises, for they were many [in number] and we were few, lest they should rise against him and us and kill him.

To this Alonzo de Ávila replied and made use of somewhat haughty expressions, so much so that Cortés told him that no one was obliged to follow him against his will, for the women in Castile have borne and still bear soldiers. Alonzo de Ávila answered in very insulting and disrespectful words that it was true enough, "soldiers and captains and governors [as well] and we deserved that he should say so."

As matters stood at that time Cortés could do nothing but keep silence and win him over to his side by gifts and promises, for he knew him to be a man of great daring and, as Cortés was always in fear that possibly some day or other he might do him some harm, he let the matter pass. From that time onward he always employed him (Alonzo de Ávila) on negotiations of importance, thus he sent him to the Island of Santo Domingo, and later on to Spain when we sent the personal property and treasure of the great Montezuma, which that great French Corsair, Joan Florin, stole, as I will relate at the proper time and place.

Let us return now to Narvaez and a black man whom he brought covered with smallpox, and a very black affair it was for New Spain, for it was owing to him that the whole country was stricken and filled with it, from which there was great mortality, for according to what the

Indians said they had never had such a disease, and, as they did not understand it, they bathed very often, and on that account a great number of them died ; so that dark as was the lot of Narvaez, still blacker was the death of so many persons who were not Christians.

Let us leave all that now and relate how the inhabitants of Villa Rica who had remained as settlers, and did not go to Mexico, demanded of Cortés the share of the gold they were entitled to, and told Cortés, that although he had ordered them to remain there at that port and town, they also were serving God and the King, as well as we who went to Mexico, for their task was to guard the country and build the fortress, and some of them had been present at the affair of Almeria and were not yet well of their wounds, and all the others were present at the capture of Narvaez, and he must give them their shares.

Cortés, seeing that what they said was very just, replied that two of the leading settlers of that town, having authority from all of them, should go [for their share,] which he had put aside and would deliver to them ; and it seems to me that he told them that it was stored at Tlaxcala, but this I do not remember clearly. So they at once despatched two settlers of that town for the gold and the shares, the leading man was called Joan de Alcántara the elder.

Let us cease speaking of this, and later on we will relate what happened to Alcántara and the gold.

Let me say how ill luck suddenly turns the wheel, and after great good fortune and pleasure follows sadness: it so happened that at this moment came the news that Mexico was in revolt, and that Pedro de Alvarado was besieged in his fortress and quarters, and that they had set fire to this same fortress in two places and had killed seven of his soldiers and wounded many others, and he sent to demand assistance with great urgency and haste.

This news was brought by two Tlaxcalans without any letter, but a letter soon arrived by two other Tlaxcalans sent by Pedro de Alvarado in which he told the same story. When we heard this bad news, God knows how greatly it depressed us.

By forced marches we began our journey to Mexico. Narvaez and Salvatierra remained as prisoners in Villa Rica, and it seems to me that Rodrigo Rangel was left as lieutenant and captain charged with the duty of guarding Narvaez and protecting many of the followers of Narvaez who were convalescent.

Just at this moment, as we were ready to start, there arrived four great chieftains sent to Cortés by the great Montezuma to complain to him of Pedro de Alvarado, and what they said, with tears streaming from their eyes, was that Pedro de Alvarado sallied out from his quarters with all the soldiers that Cortés had left with him, and, for no reason at all, fell on their chieftains and Caciques who were dancing and celebrating a festival in honour of their Idols Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, Pedro de Alvarado having given them leave to do so. He killed and wounded many of them and in defending themselves they had killed six of his soldiers. Thus they made many complaints against Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés, somewhat disgusted, replied to the messengers that he would go to Mexico and put it all to rights. So they went off with that reply to their great Montezuma, who it is said, resented it as a very bad one and was enraged at it.

Cortés also promptly despatched letters to Pedro de Alvarado in which he advised him to look out that Montezuma did not escape, and that we were coming by forced marches, and he informed him about the victory we had gained over Narvaez, which Montezuma knew about already, and I will leave off here and tell what happened later on.

BOOK VIII.

THE FLIGHT FROM MEXICO.

CHAPTER CXXV.

How we went by forced marches, Cortés as well as all his captains and all the followers of Narvaez, except Pánfilo de Narvaez himself and Salvatierra who remained prisoners.

WHEN the news came which I have recorded that Pedro de Alvarado was besieged and Mexico in revolt, the commands that had been given to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás for the purpose of going to form settlements at Panuco and Coatzacoalcos were rescinded and neither of them went, for all joined with us. Cortés spoke to the followers of Narvaez, for he felt that they would not accompany us willingly, and to induce them to give that assistance, he begged them to leave behind them their resentment over the affair of Narvaez, and he promised to make them rich and give them office, and as they came to seek a livelihood, and were in a country where they could do service to God and His Majesty and enrich themselves, now was their chance; and so many speeches did he make to them that one and all offered themselves to him to go with us, and if they had known the power of Mexico, it is certain that not one of them would have gone.

We were soon on our way by forced marches until we reached Tlaxcala, where we learnt that up to the time that Montezuma and his captains heard that we had defeated Narvaez they did not cease to attack, and had already killed seven of his [Alvarado's] soldiers and burnt his quarters, but as soon as they heard of our victory they ceased attacking him; but they added that they [Alvarado's company] were much exhausted through want of water and food, for Montezuma had failed to order food to be given to them.

Some Tlaxcalan Indians brought this news at the very moment we arrived, and Cortés at once ordered a muster to be made of the men he had brought with him and found over thirteen hundred soldiers counting both our people and the followers of Narvaez, and over ninety-six horses and eighty crossbowmen, and as many musketeers, and with these it seemed to Cortés that he had force enough to enter Mexico in safety. In addition to this the Caciques of Tlaxcala gave us two thousand Indian warriors, and we at once set out by forced marches to Texcoco which is a great city, and they paid no honour to us there and not a single chieftain made his appearance, for all were hidden away and ill disposed.

We arrived at Mexico on the day of Señor San Juan de Junio[1] 1520, and no Caciques or Captains or Indians whom we knew appeared in the streets, and all the houses were empty when we reached the quarters where we used to lodge. The great Montezuma came out to the courtyard to embrace and speak to Cortés and bid him welcome, and congratulate him on his victory over Narvaez, and as Cortés was arriving victorious he refused to listen to him, and Montezuma returned to his quarters very sad and depressed.

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[1] Midsummer day.

When each one of us was lodged in the quarters he had occupied before we set out from Mexico to go to this affair of Narvaez, and the followers of Narvaez [were lodged] in other quarters, we then saw and talked with Pedro de Alvarado and the soldiers who had stayed with him; they gave us an account of the attacks the Mexicans had made on them, and the straits in which they [the Mexicans] had placed them, and we told them the story of our victory over Narvaez.

I will leave all this and relate how Cortés tried to find out what was the cause of the revolt in Mexico, for we clearly understood that it made Montezuma unhappy if [we should think] it had been his desire or had been done by his advice. Many of the soldiers who had remained with Pedro de Alvarado through that critical time said, that if Montezuma had had a hand in it, all of them would have been killed, but Montezuma calmed his people until they ceased to attack.

What Pedro de Alvarado told Cortés about the matter was that it was done by the Mexicans in order to liberate Montezuma, and because their Huichilobos ordered it, on account of our having placed the image of our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria and the Cross in his house. Moreover he said that many Indians had come to remove the holy image from the altar where we placed it, and were not able [to move it], and that the Indians looked upon it as a great miracle and had said so to Montezuma, who had told them to leave it in the place and altar in which it stood, and not to attempt to do otherwise, and so it was left.

Pedro de Alvarado further stated that because Narvaez' message to Montezuma, that he was coming to release him from prison and to capture us, had not turned out to be true, and because Cortés had told Montezuma that as soon as we possessed ships we should go and embark and leave the country entirely, and we were not going, and it

was nothing but empty words, and because it was evident that many more Teules were arriving, it seemed well [to the Mexicans], before the followers of Narvaez or our own men re-entered Mexico to kill Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers and release the great Montezuma, and afterwards not to leave one of us or of the followers of Narvaez alive, all the more because they had taken it for granted that Narvaez and his soldiers would conquer us.

This discourse and account Pedro de Alvarado rendered to Cortés, and Cortés turned and asked him what was the reason that he attacked them when they were dancing and holding a festival, and he replied that he knew for certain that as soon as they had finished the festivals and dances and the sacrifices that they were offering to their Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, they would at once come and make an attack according to the agreement they had made between themselves, and this and all the rest he learned from a priest and from two chieftains and from other Mexicans.

Cortés said to him, "but they have told me that they asked your permission to hold festivals [areyto] and dances," he replied that it was true, and it was in order to take them unprepared, and to scare them, so that they should not come to attack him, that he hastened to fall on them.

When Cortés heard this he said to him, very angrily, that it was very ill done and a great mistake[1] and that he wished to God that Montezuma had escaped and not heard such an account from his Idols. So he left him and spoke no more to him about it.

Pedro de Alvarado himself also said[2] that when he

[1] Scratched out in the original: "and not very true."—G.G.

[2] Scratched out in the original: "I wish to state that Pedro de Alvarado said that when the Mexican Indians fought against him, many of them said that a great *Teclecigata*, that is a great lady, such another as she who was placed in the great Cue, threw earth in their eyes and blinded them, and that a *gucy Teule* (a great God) who rode

advanced against them in that conflict, he ordered a cannon, that was loaded with one ball and many small shot, to be fired, for as many squadrons of Indians were approaching to set fire to his quarters he sallied forth to fight them, and he ordered the cannon to be fired but it did not go off, and after he had made a charge against the squadrons which were attacking him, and many Indians were bearing down on him, while he was retreating to the fortress and quarters, then, without fire being applied to the cannon, the ball and the small shot was discharged and killed many Indians; and had it not so happened the enemy would have killed them all, and they did on that occasion carry off two of his soldiers alive.

Another thing Pedro de Alvarado stated, and this was the only thing that was [also] reported by the other soldiers, for the rest of the stories were told by Alvarado alone, and it is that they had no water to drink, and they dug in the courtyard, and made a well and took out fresh water, all [around] being salt; in all it amounted to many gifts that our Lord God bestowed on us.

Concerning this about the water I will add that in Mexico there was a spring where very often and at most times water[1] welled up. These things and others I heard

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on a white horse did them great damage, and that had it not been for them they would have killed them all. And it is stated that his chieftains told this to the great Montezuma, and if this were so, they were great miracles and we must always give thanks to God and to the Virgin Santa Maria Our Lady, His Blessed Mother, that he helped us in all things, and to the fortunate Señor Santiago.—G. G.

[1] Blotted out in the original: "somewhat sweeter than the rest. Some persons say that it was through greed to gain the great quantity of gold and jewels of great value which the Indians wore while dancing that Pedro de Alvarado went to attack them. I do not believe it, and never heard such a thing, nor is it credible that he would do such a thing, although the Bishop Fray Bartolomé de las Casas says so. This and other things never happened, for in truth he fell on them to terrify them and so that with the damage he did to them they should have sufficient to recover from and weep over, and would not come to attack him, and as they say "Who attacks conquers." It was appa-

related by persons of good faith and reliability, who were with Pedro de Alvarado when this happened, so I will leave off here and tell of the great attack that they promptly made on us, which was in the following manner.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

How they made war on us in Mexico, and the attacks they made on us and other things that happened.

WHEN Cortés saw that they had given us no sort of a reception in Texcoco, and had not even given us food, except bad food and with bad grace, and that we found no chieftains with whom to parley, and he saw that all were scared away and ill disposed, and observed the same condition on coming to Mexico, how no market was held and the whole place was in revolt, and he heard from Pedro de Alvarado about the disorderly manner in which he made his attack, and as it appears that on the march Cortés had spoken to the Captains of Narvaez glorifying himself on the great veneration and command that he enjoyed, and how on the road they [the Indians] would turn out to receive him and celebrate the occasion and give him gold, and that in Mexico he ruled as absolutely over the great Montezuma as over all his Captains, and that they would give him presents of gold, as they were used to do, and when everything turned out contrary to his expectations and they did not even give us food to eat, he was greatly irritated, and haughty towards the numerous

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rently much worse, for we were also credibly informed that Montezuma never ordered such an attack to be made, and, while they were fighting with Pedro de Alvarado, Montezuma ordered his people to stop. His followers replied that it was unbearable to have him kept a prisoner, or for them [the Spaniards] to come and kill them, as they had done, while they were dancing. They felt bound to release him and to kill all the Teules who were guarding him.—G. G.

Spaniards that he was bringing with him, and very sad and fretful. At this moment the great Montezuma sent two of his chieftains to beg our Cortés to go and see him, for he wished to speak to him, and the answer that he [Cortés] gave them was "go to, for a dog, who will not even keep open a market, and does not order food to be given us." Then when our Captains, that is Juán Velásquez de Leon, Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila, and Francisco de Lugo, heard Cortés say this, they exclaimed, "Señor, moderate your anger and reflect how much good and honour this king of these countries has done us, who is so good that had it not been for him we should all of us already be dead, and they would have eaten us, and remember that he has even given you his daughters."

When Cortés heard this he was more angry than ever at the words they said to him, as they seemed to be a reproof, and he said, "Why should I be civil to a dog who was treating secretly with Narvaez, and now you can see that he does not even give us food to eat." Our Captains replied, "That is to our minds what he ought to do and it is good advice." As Cortés had so many Spaniards there with him in Mexico, both of our own party and of the followers of Narvaez he did not trouble himself a whit about anything, and he spoke angrily and rudely again, addressing the chieftains and telling them to say to their Lord Montezuma that he should at once order the markets and sales to be held, if not he would see what would happen.

The chieftains well understood the offensive remarks that Cortés made about their Lord and even the reproof that our Captains gave to Cortés about it, for they knew them well as having been those who used to be on guard over their Lord, and they knew that they were good friends of their Montezuma, and according to the way they understood the matter they repeated it to Montezuma.

Either from anger [at this treatment] or because it had already been agreed on that we were to be attacked, it was not a quarter of an hour later that a soldier arrived in great haste and badly wounded. He came from a town close by Mexico named Tacuba and was escorting some Indian women who belonged to Cortés, one of them a daughter of Montezuma, for it appears that he [Cortés] had left them there in charge of the Lord of Tacuba, for they were relations of this same Lord, when we went off on the expedition against Narvaez. This soldier said that all the city and road by which he had come was full of warriors fully armed, and that they had taken from him the Indian women he was bringing and had given him two wounds and that if he had not let them [the women] go, they [the Mexicans] would already have captured him, and would have put him in a canoe and carried him off to be sacrificed, and that they had broken down a bridge.

When Cortés and some of us heard this it certainly depressed us greatly, for we, who were used to Indian fighting, understood thoroughly well what great numbers of them were wont to assemble, and that however well we fought, and notwithstanding the greater number of soldiers we had now brought with us, we should have to undergo great risk of our lives, hunger and hardship, especially as we were in such a powerful city. Let me go on and say that Cortés promptly ordered a Captain named Diego de Ordás to go with four hundred soldiers, and among them most of the crossbowmen and musketeers and some horsemen, and examine into what the soldier had reported who had arrived wounded and had brought the news, and that if he found that he could calm [the Indians] without fighting and disturbance that he should do so.

Diego de Ordás set out in the way that he was ordered with his four hundred soldiers, but he had hardly reached

the middle of the street along which he was to march, when so many squadrons of Mexican warriors fell on him and so many more were on the roofs [of the houses], and they made such fierce attacks that on the first assault they killed eight soldiers and wounded all the rest, and Diego de Ordás himself was wounded in three places, and in this manner he could not advance one step further but had to return little by little to his quarters. During the retreat they killed another good soldier named Lyscano who, with a broadsword, had done the work of a very valiant man.

At that moment, while many squadrons came out against Ordás, many more approached our quarters and shot off so many javelins, and stones from slings, and arrows, that they wounded on that occasion alone over forty-six of our men, and twelve of them died of their wounds; and such a number of warriors fell upon us that Diego de Ordás, who was coming in retreat, could not reach our quarters on account of the fierce assaults they made on him, some from the rear and others in front and others from the roofs.

Little availed our cannon, or our muskets, crossbows and lances, or the thrusts we gave them, or our good fighting, for although we killed and wounded many of them, yet they managed to reach us by pushing forward over the points of our swords and lances and closing up their squadrons never desisted from their brave attack, nor could we push them away from us.

At last, what with cannon and muskets and the damage we did them with our sword-thrusts, Ordás found an opportunity to enter our quarters, and not until then, much as he desired it, could he force a passage with his badly wounded soldiers, fourteen fewer in number. Still many of the squadrons never ceased from attacking us, and telling us that we were like women, and they called us

rogues and other abusive names. But the damage they had done us up to this time was as nothing to what they did afterwards, for such was their daring that, some attacking on one side and some on the other, they penetrated into our quarters and set fire to them, and we could not endure the smoke and the fire until it was remedied by flinging much earth over it, and cutting off other rooms whence the fire came. In truth, they believed that they would burn us alive in there. These conflicts lasted all day long, and even during the night so many squadrons of of them fell on us, and hurled javelins, stones and arrows in masses, and random stones so that what with those [that fell] during the day and those that then [fell] in all the courts and on the ground, it looked like chaff on a thrashing floor.

We passed the night in dressing wounds and in mending the breaches in the walls that they [the enemy] had made, and in getting ready for the next day. Then, as soon as it was dawn, our Captain decided that all of us and Narvaez' men should sally out to fight with them and that we should take the cannon and muskets and crossbows and endeavour to defeat them, or at least to make them feel our strength and valour better than the day before. I may state that when we came to this decision, the Mexicans were arranging the very same thing. We fought very well, but they were so strong, and had so many squadrons which relieved each other from time to time, that even if ten thousand Trojan Hectors and as many more Roldans had been there, they would not have been able to break through them.

So that it may now be understood, I will relate how it happened. We noted [their] tenacity in fighting, but I declare that I do not know how to describe it, for neither cannon nor muskets nor crossbows availed, nor hand-to-hand fighting, nor killing thirty or forty of them every

time we charged, for they still fought on in as close ranks and with more energy than in the beginning. Sometimes when we were gaining a little ground or a part of the street, they pretended to retreat, but it was [merely] to induce us to follow them and cut us off from our fortress and quarters, so as to fall on us in greater safety to themselves, believing that we could not return to our quarters alive, for they did us much damage when we were retreating.

Then, as to going out to burn their houses, I have already said in the chapter that treats of the subject, that between one house and another, they have wooden drawbridges, and these they raised so that we could only pass through deep water. Then we could not endure the rocks and stones [hurled] from the roofs, in such a way that they damaged and wounded many of our men. I do not know why I write thus, so lukewarmly, for some three or four soldiers who were there with us and who had served in Italy, swore to God many times that they had never seen such fierce fights, not even when they had taken part in such between Christians, and against the artillery of the King of France, or of the Great Turk, nor had they seen men like those Indians with such courage in closing up their ranks.

However, as they said many other things and gave explanations of them, as will be seen further on, I will leave the matter here, and will relate how, with great difficulty we withdrew to our quarters, many squadrons of warriors still pressing on us with loud yells and whistles, and trumpets and drums, calling us villains and cowards who did not dare to meet them all day in battle, but turned in flight.

On that day they killed ten or twelve more soldiers and we all returned badly wounded. What took place during the night was the arrangement that in two days' time all

the soldiers in camp, as many as were able, should sally out with four engines like towers built of strong timber, in such a manner that five and twenty men could find shelter under each of them, and they were provided with apertures and loopholes through which to shoot, and musketeers and crossbowmen accompanied them, and close by them were to march the other soldiers, musketeers and crossbowmen and the guns, and all the rest, and the horsemen were to make charges.

When this plan was settled, as we spent all that day in carrying out the work and in strengthening many breaches that they had made in the walls, we did not go out to fight.

I do not know how to tell of the great squadrons of warriors who came to attack us in our quarters, not only in ten or twelve places, but in more than twenty, for we were distributed over them all and in many other places, and while we built up and fortified [ourselves], as I have related, many other squadrons openly endeavoured to penetrate into our quarters, and neither with guns, crossbows nor muskets, nor with many charges and sword-thrusts could we force them back, for they said that not one of us should remain [alive] that day and they would sacrifice our hearts and blood to their gods, and would have enough to glut [their appetites] and hold feasts on our arms and legs, and would throw our bodies to the tigers, lions, vipers and snakes, which they kept caged, so that they might gorge on them, and for that reason they had ordered them not to be given food for the past two days. As for the gold we possessed, we would get little satisfaction from it or from all the cloths; and as for the Tlaxcalans who were with us, they said that they would place them in cages to fatten, and little by little they would offer their bodies in sacrifice; and, very tenderly, they said that we should give up to them their great Lord Montezuma, and they said other

things. Night by night, in like manner, there were always many yells and whistles and showers of darts, stones and arrows.

As soon as dawn came, after commending ourselves to God, we sallied out from our quarters with our towers (and it seems to me that in other countries where I have been[1], in wars where such things were necessary, they were called "Buros" and "Mantas") with the cannon, muskets and crossbows in advance, and the horsemen making charges, but, as I have stated, although we killed many of them it availed nothing towards making them turn their backs, indeed if they had fought bravely on the two previous days, they proved themselves far more vigorous and displayed much greater forces and squadrons on this day. Nevertheless, we determined, although it should cost the lives of all of us, to push on with our towers and engines as far as the great Cue of Huichilobos.

I will not relate at length, the fights we had with them in a fortified house, nor will I tell how they wounded the horses, nor were they [the horses] of any use to us, because although they charged the squadrons to break through them, so many arrows, darts and stones were hurled at them, that they, well protected by armour though they were, could not prevail against them [the enemy], and if they pursued and overtook them, the Mexicans promptly dropped for safety into the canals and lagoons where they had raised other walls against the horsemen, and many other Indians were stationed with very long lances to finish killing them. Thus it benefited us nothing to turn aside to burn or demolish a house, it was quite useless, for, as I have said, they all stood in the water, and between house and house there was a movable bridge, and to cross

[1] The text says "donde me he hallado en guerra," but Bernal Díaz had not been in any wars except wars in America.

by swimming was very dangerous, for on the roofs they had such store of rocks and stones and such defences, that it was certain destruction to risk it. In addition to this, where we did set fire to some houses, a single house took a whole day to burn, and the houses did not catch fire one from the other, as, for one reason, they stood apart with the water between; and, for the other, were provided with flat roofs (azoteas); thus it was useless toil to risk our persons in the attempt, so we went towards the great Cue of their Idols. Then, all of a sudden, more than four thousand Mexicans ascended it, not counting other Companies that were posted on it with long lances and stones and darts, and placed themselves on the defensive, and resisted our ascent for a good while, and neither the towers nor the cannon or crossbows, nor the muskets were of any avail, nor the horsemen, for, although they wished to charge [with] their horses, the whole of the courtyard was paved with very large flagstones, so that the horses lost their foothold, and they [the stones] were so slippery that they [the horses] fell. While from the steps of the lofty Cue they forbade our advance, we had so many enemies both on one side and the other that although our cannon [shots] carried off ten or fifteen of them and we slew many others by sword-thrusts and charges, so many men attacked us that we were not able to ascend the lofty Cue. However with great unanimity we persisted in the attack, and without taking the towers (for they were already destroyed) we made our way to the summit.

Here Cortés showed himself very much of a man, as he always was. Oh! what a fight and what a fierce battle it was that took place; it was a memorable thing to see us all streaming with blood, and covered with wounds and others slain. It pleased our Lord that we reached the place where we used to keep the image of Our Lady, and we did not find it, and it appears, as we came to know,

that the great Montezuma paid devotion to Her, and ordered it [the image] to be preserved in safety.

We set fire to their Idols and a good part of the chamber with the Idols Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca was burned. On that occasion the Tlaxcalans helped us very greatly. After this was accomplished, while some of us were fighting and others kindling the fire, as I have related, oh! to see the priests who were stationed on this great Cue, and the three or four thousand Indians, all men of importance. While we descended, oh! how they made us tumble down six or even ten steps at a time! And so much more there is to tell of the other squadrons posted on the battlements and recesses of the great Cue discharging so many darts and arrows that we could face neither one group of squadrons nor the other. We resolved to return, with much toil and risk to ourselves, to our quarters, our castles being destroyed, all of us wounded and sixteen slain, with the Indians constantly pressing on us and other squadrons on our flanks.

However clearly I may tell all this, I can never [fully] explain it to any one who did not see us. So far, I have not spoken of what the Mexican squadrons did who kept on attacking our quarters while we were marching outside, and the great obstinacy and tenacity they displayed in forcing their way in.

In this battle, we captured two of the chief priests, whom Cortés ordered us to convey with great care.

Many times I have seen among the Mexicans and Tlaxcalans, paintings of this battle, and the ascent that we made of the great Cue, as they look upon it as a very heroic deed. And although in the pictures that they have made of it, they depict all of us as badly wounded and streaming with blood and many of us dead they considered it a great feat, this setting fire to the Cue, when so many warriors were guarding it both on the battle-

ments and recesses, and many more Indians were below on the ground and the Courts were full of them and there were many more on the sides; and with our towers destroyed, how was it possible to scale it?

Let us stop talking about it and I will relate how with great labour we returned to our quarters and if many men were then following us, as many more were in our quarters, for they had already demolished some walls so as to gain an entry, but on our arrival they desisted. Nevertheless, during all the rest of the day they never ceased to discharge darts, stones and arrows, and during the night yells and stones and darts.

Let us leave the great obstinacy and persistency they were always without cessation displaying against our quarters, as I have related, and let me say how that night was passed in dressing wounds and in burying the dead, in preparations for going out to fight the following day, in strengthening and adding parapets to the walls they had pulled down, and to other breaches they had made, and in consulting how and in what way we could fight without suffering such great damage and death, and throughout the discussion we found no remedy at all.

Then I also wish to speak of the maledictions that the followers of Narvaez hurled at Cortés, and the words that they used, cursing him and the country and even Diego Velásquez who had sent them there when they were peacefully settled in their homes in the Island of Cuba, and they were crazy and out of their minds.

Let us go back to our story. It was decided to sue for peace so that we could leave Mexico, and as soon as it was dawn many more squadrons of Mexicans arrived and very effectually surrounded our quarters on all sides, and if they had discharged many stones and arrows before, they came much thicker and with louder howls and whistles on this day, and other squadrons endeavoured to force an entrance

in other parts, and cannon and muskets availed nothing, although we did them damage enough.

When Cortés saw all this, he decided that the great Montezuma should speak to them from the roof and tell them that the war must cease, and that we wished to leave his city. When they went to give this message from Cortés to the great Montezuma, it is reported that he said with great grief, "What more does Malinche want from me? I neither wish to live nor to listen to him, to such a pass has my fate brought me because of him." And he did not wish to come, and it is even reported that he said he neither wished to see nor hear him, nor listen to his false words, promises or lies. Then the Padre de la Merced and Cristóbal de Olid went and spoke to him with much reverence and in very affectionate terms, and Montezuma said, "I believe that I shall not obtain any result towards ending this war, for they have already raised up another Lord and have made up their minds not to let you leave this place alive, therefore I believe that all of you will have to die."

Let us return to the great attacks they made on us; Montezuma was placed by a battlement of the roof with many of us soldiers guarding him, and he began to speak to them [his people], with very affectionate expressions [telling them] to desist from the war, and that we would leave Mexico. Many of the Mexican Chieftains and Captains knew him well and at once ordered their people to be silent and not to discharge darts, stones or arrows, and four of them reached a spot where Montezuma could speak to them, and they to him, and with tears they said to him: "Oh! Señor, and our great Lord, how all your misfortune and injury and that of your children and relations afflicts us, we make known to you that we have already raised one of your kinsmen to be our Lord," and

there he stated his name, that he was called Cuitlahuac,[1] the Lord of Ixtapalapa, (for it was not Guatemoc, he who was Lord soon after,) and moreover they said that the war must be carried through, and that they had vowed to their Idols not to relax it until we were all dead, and that they prayed every day to their Huichilobos and Texcatepuca to guard him free and safe from our power, and that should it end as they desired, they would not fail to hold him in higher regard as their Lord than they did before, and they begged him to forgive them. They had hardly finished this speech when suddenly such a shower of stones and darts was discharged that (our men who were shielding him having neglected their duty [to shield him] for a moment, because they saw how the attack ceased while he spoke to them) he was hit by three stones, one on the head, another on the arm and another on the leg, and although they begged him to have the wounds dressed and to take food, and spoke kind words to him about it, he would not. Indeed, when we least expected it, they came to say that he was dead. Cortés wept for him, and all of us Captains and soldiers, and there was no man among us who knew him and was intimate with him, who did not bemoan him as though he were our father, and it is not to be wondered at, considering how good he was. It was stated that he had reigned for seventeen years and that he was the best king there had ever been in Mexico, and that he had conquered in person, in three wars which he had carried on in the countries he had subjugated. Let us continue.

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

When Montezuma was dead Cortés decided to tell the news to his Captains and chieftains who were making war on us, and what else took place about it.

I HAVE already told about the sorrow that we all of us felt about it when we saw that Montezuma was dead. We even thought badly of the Fraile de la Merced because he had not persuaded him to become a Christian, and he gave as an excuse that he did not think that he would die of those wounds, but that he ought to have ordered them to give him something to stupefy him. At the end of much discussion Cortés ordered a priest and a chief from among the prisoners to go and tell the Cacique whom they had chosen for Lord, who was named Cuitlahuac[1], and his Captains, that the great Montezuma was dead, and they had seen him die, and about the manner of his death and the wounds his own people had inflicted on him, and they should say how grieved we all were about it, and that they should bury him as the great king that he was, and they should raise the cousin of Montezuma who was with us, to be king, for the inheritance was his, or one of his (Montezuma's) other sons, and that he whom they had raised to be king was not so by right, and they should negotiate a peace so that we could leave Mexico; and if they did not do so, now that Montezuma was dead, whom we held in respect and for that reason had not destroyed their city, we should sally out to make war on them and burn all their houses and do them much damage. So as to convince them that Montezuma was dead, he ordered six Mexicans who were high chieftains, and the priests whom we held as prisoners, to carry him out

[1] Coadlabaca in the text.

on their shoulders and to hand him [the body] over to the Mexican Captains, and to tell them what Montezuma had commanded at the time of his death, for those who carried him out on their backs were present at his death; and they told Cuitlahuac the whole truth, how his own people killed him with blows from three stones.

When they beheld him thus dead, we saw that they were in floods of tears and we clearly heard the shrieks and cries of distress that they gave for him, but for all this, the fierce assault they made on us with darts, stones and arrows never ceased, and then they came on us again with greater force and fury, and said to us: "Now for certain you will pay for the death of our King and Lord, and the dishonour to our Idols; and as for the peace you sent to beg for, come out here and we will settle how and in what way it is to be made," and they said many things about this and other matters that I cannot now remember and I will leave them unreported, and [they said] that they had already chosen a good king, and he would not be so faint-hearted as to be deceived with false speeches like their good Montezuma, and as for the burial, we need not trouble about that, but about our own lives, for in two days there would not be one of us left;—so much for the messages we had sent them. With these words [they fell on us] with loud yells and whistles and showers of stones, darts and arrows, while other squadrons were still attempting to set fire to our quarters in many places.

When Cortés and all of us observed this, we agreed that next day we would all of us sally out from our camp and attack in another direction, where there were many houses on dry land, and we would do all the damage we were able and go towards the causeway, and that all the horsemen should break through the squadrons and spear them with their lances or drive them into the water, even though they [the enemy] should kill the horses. This was decided

on in order to find out if by chance, with the damage and slaughter that we should inflict on them, they would abandon their attack and arrange some sort of peace, so that we could go free without more deaths and damage. Although the next day we all bore ourselves very manfully and killed many of the enemy and burned a matter of twenty houses and almost reached dry land, it was all of no use, because of the great damage and deaths and wounds they inflicted on us, and we could not hold a single bridge, for they were all of them half broken down. Many Mexicans charged down on us, and they had set up walls and barricades in places which they thought could be reached by the horses, so that if we had met with many difficulties up to this time, we found much greater ones ahead of us.

Let us leave it here, and go back to say that we determined to get out of Mexico.

It was on a Thursday that we made this expedition and sally with the horsemen, and I remember that Sandoval was there, and Lares the good horseman and Gonzalo Domínguez, Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Morla and other good horsemen from among our company, and from the company of Narvaez other good horsemen went, but they were frightented and timid as they had never been in wars against the Indians.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

How we determined to flee from Mexico and what was done about it.

NOW we saw our forces diminishing every day and those of the Mexicans increasing, and many of our men were dead and all the rest wounded, and although we fought like brave men we could not drive back nor even get free

from the many squadrons which attacked us both by day and night, and the powder was giving out, and the same was happening with the food and water, and the great Montezuma being dead, they were unwilling to grant the peace and truce which we had sent to demand of them. In fact we were staring death in the face, and the bridges had been raised. It was [therefore] decided by Cortés and all of us captains and soldiers that we should set out during the night, when we could see that the squadrons of warriors were most off their guard. In order to put them all the more off their guard, that very afternoon we sent to tell them, through one of their priests whom we held prisoner and who was a man of great importance among them and through some other prisoners, that they should let us go in peace within eight days and we would give up to them all the gold; and this [was done] to put them off their guard so that we might get out that night.

In addition to this, there was with us a soldier named Botello, apparently an honest man and a Latin scholar, who had been in Rome, and it was said that he was a magician; others said that he had a familiar spirit, and some called him an Astrologer. This Botello had said four days before, that he found out by his casting of lots or Astrology, that if on that following night we did not leave Mexico, and if we waited there any longer, not one of us would get out alive; and he had even said on other occasions that Cortés would have to suffer many hardships and would be deprived of his position and honour, and would afterwards become a great and magnificent Lord, with great property, and he said many other things. Let us leave Botello, whom I will speak about again later on, and I will relate how the order was given to make a bridge of very strong beams and planks, so that we could carry it with us and place it where the bridges were broken. Four hundred Tlaxcalan Indians and one hundred and fifty

soldiers were told off to carry this bridge and place it in position and guard the passage until the army and all the baggage had crossed. Two hundred Tlaxcalan Indians and fifty soldiers were told off to carry the cannon, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, Diego de Ordás, Francisco de Sauzedo, Francisco de Lugo and a company of one hundred young and active soldiers were selected to go in the van to do the fighting. It was agreed that Cortés himself, Alonzo de Ávila, Cristóbal de Olid, and other Captains should go in the middle and support the party that most needed help in fighting. Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon were with the rearguard, and placed in the middle between them [and the preceding section] were two captains and the soldiers of Narvaez, and three hundred Tlaxcalans, and thirty soldiers were told off to take charge of the prisoners and of Doña Marina and Doña Luisa; by the time this arrangement was made, it was already night.

In order to bring out the gold and divide it up and carry it, Cortés ordered his steward named Cristóbal de Guzman and other soldiers who were his servants to bring out all the gold and jewels and silver, and he gave them many Tlaxcalan Indians for the purpose, and they placed it in the Hall. Then Cortés told the King's officers named Alonzo Dávila and Gonzalo Mejía to take charge of the gold belonging to His Majesty, and he gave them seven wounded and lame horses and one mare, and many friendly Tlaxcalans, more than eighty in number, and they loaded them with parcels of it, as much as they could carry, for it was put up into very broad ingots, as I have already said in the chapter that treats of it, and much gold still remained in the Hall piled up in heaps. Then Cortés called his secretary and the others who were King's Notaries, and said: "Bear witness for me that I can do no more with this gold. We have here in this apartment and Hall over seven hundred thousand pesos in gold, and, as

you have seen, it cannot be weighed nor placed in safety. I now give it up to any of the soldiers who care to take it, otherwise it will be lost among these dogs [of Mexicans]."

When they heard this, many of the soldiers of Narvaez and some of our people loaded themselves with it. I declare that I had no other desire but the desire to save my life, but I did not fail to carry off from some small boxes that were there, four chalchihuites, which are stones very highly prized among the Indians, and I quickly placed them in my bosom under my armour, and, later on, the price of them served me well in healing my wounds and getting me food.

After we had learnt the plans that Cortés had made about the way in which we were to escape that night and get to the bridges, as it was somewhat dark and cloudy and rainy, we began before midnight to bring along the bridge and the baggage, and the horses and mare began their march, and the Tlaxcalans who were laden with the gold. Then the bridge was quickly put in place, and Cortés and the others whom he took with him in the first [detachment], and many of the horsemen, crossed over it. While this was happening, the voices, trumpets, cries and whistles of the Mexicans began to sound and they called out in their language to the people of Tlaltelolco, "Come out at once with your canoes for the Teules are leaving; cut them off so that not one of them may be left alive." When I least expected it, we saw so many squadrons of warriors bearing down on us, and the lake so crowded with canoes that we could not defend ourselves. Many of our soldiers had already crossed [the bridge] and while we were in this position, a great multitude of Mexicans charged down on us [with the intention of] removing the bridge and wounding and killing our men who were unable to assist each other; and as misfortune is perverse at such times,

one mischance followed another, and as it was raining, two of the horses slipped and fell into the lake. When I and others of Cortés' Company saw that, we got safely to the other side of the bridge, and so many warriors charged on us, that despite all our good fighting, no further use could be made of the bridge, so that the passage or water opening was soon filled up with dead horses, Indian men and women, servants, baggage and boxes.

Fearing that they would not fail to kill us, we thrust ourselves ahead along the causeway, and we met many squadrons armed with long lances waiting for us, and they used abusive words to us, and among them they cried "Oh! villains, are you still alive?" and with the cuts and thrusts we gave them, we got through, although they then wounded six of those who were going along [with me]. Then if there was some sort of plan such as we had agreed upon it was an accursed one; for Cortés and the captains and soldiers who passed first on horseback, so as to save themselves and reach dry land and make sure of their lives, spurred on along the causeway, and they did not fail to attain their object, and the horses with the gold and the Tlaxcalans also got out in safety. I assert that if we had waited, (the horsemen and the soldiers, one for the other,) at the bridges, we should all have been put an end to, and not one of us would have been left alive; the reason was this, that as we went along the causeway, charging the Mexican squadrons, on one side of us was water and on the other azoteas,[1] and the lake was full of canoes so that we could do nothing. Moreover the muskets and crossbows were all left behind at the bridge, and as it was night time, what could we do beyond what we accomplished? which was to charge and give some sword-thrusts to those who tried to lay

[1] The flat roofs of the houses.

hands on us, and to march and get on ahead so as to get off the causeway.

Had it been in the day-time, it would have been far worse, and we who escaped did so only by the Grace of God. To one who saw the hosts of warriors who fell on us that night and the canoes [full] of them coming along to carry off our soldiers, it was terrifying. So we went ahead along the causeway in order to get to the town of Tacuba where Cortés was already stationed with all the Captains. Gonzalo de Sandoval, Cristóbal de Olid and others of those horsemen who had gone on ahead were crying out: "Señor Capitan, let us halt, for they say that we are fleeing and leaving them to die at the bridges; let us go back and help them, if any of them survive"; but not one of them came out or escaped. Cortés' reply was that it was a miracle that any of us escaped. However, he promptly went back with the horsemen and the soldiers who were unwounded, but they did not march far, for Pedro de Alvarado soon met them, badly wounded, holding a spear in his hand, and on foot, for they [the enemy] had already killed his sorrel mare, and he brought with him four soldiers as badly wounded as he was himself, and eight Tlaxcalans, all of them with blood flowing from many wounds.

While Cortés was on the causeway with the rest of the captains, we repaired to the courtyard in Tacuba. Many squadrons had already arrived from Mexico, shouting out orders to Tacuba and to the other town named Azcapotzalco, and they began to hurl darts, stones and arrows [and attack] with their long lances. We made some charges and both attacked [them] and defended ourselves.

Let us go back to Pedro de Alvarado. When Cortés and the other Captains met him in that way, and saw that no more soldiers were coming [along the causeway,] tears sprang to his eyes. Pedro de Alvarado said that Juan Velásquez de Leon lay dead with many other gentlemen

Photo by A. P. Maudslay

THE TREE OF THE NOCHE TRISTE AT POPOTLA.

Tradition says that Cortes rested under this tree and watched the remnant of his followers pass by after their escape from the causeway

both of our own company and that of Narvaez, and that more than eighty of them were at the bridge; that he and the four soldiers whom he brought with him, after their horses had been killed, crossed the bridge in great peril, over the dead bodies, horses and boxes with which that passage at the bridge was [choked]. Moreover he said that all the bridges and causeways were crowded with warriors. At the bridge of sorrow, which they afterwards called "Alvarados' leap," I assert that at the time not a single soldier stopped to see if he leaped much or little, for we could hardly save our own lives, as we were in great danger of death on account of the multitude of Mexicans charging down on us. All that Gomara says on this matter is nonsense, for as to his wishing to leap and hold himself up with his lance, the water was very deep and he could not have touched the ground with it, and, in addition to this, the bridge and the opening was very wide and high. He would not have been able to save himself had he been ever so much more active, neither on his lance nor in any other way (and one can clearly see that now), for the water was so deep at that time, and the walls were so high where the beams of the bridge were [placed] and the opening was so wide. I never heard of this leap of Alvarado until after Mexico was captured, and it was in some satirical verses[1] made by a certain Gonzalo de Ocampo, which, as they were somewhat nasty, I will not fully quote here, except that he says, "Thou shouldst remember the leap that thou tookest from the bridge"; but I will not dwell on this subject.

Let us go on and I will relate how, when we were waiting in Tabuca, many Mexican warriors came together from all those towns and they killed three of our soldiers, so we agreed to get out of that town as quickly as we

[1] Nibeles in the text, probably for *libelos*.

could, and five Tlaxcalan Indians, who found out a way towards Tlaxcala without following the [main] road, guided us with great precaution until we reached some small houses placed on a hill, and near to them a Cue or Oratory [built] like a fort, where we halted.

I wish to go back to state that as we marched along we were followed by the Mexicans who hurled arrows and darts at us and stones from their slings, and the way in which they surrounded us and continually attacked us, was terrifying, as I have already said many times and am tired of repeating it, but my readers must not consider me prolix, because every time or at every short interval that they pressed on us and wounded us and attacked us fiercely, I feel bound to turn aside and speak of the squadrons which followed us and killed many of us.

Let us give up calling so much to mind, and relate how we defended ourselves in that Cue and fortress, where we lodged and attended to the wounded and made many fires, but as for anything to eat, there was no thought of it. At that Cue or Oratory, after the great city of Mexico was captured, we built a church, which is called "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios," and is very much visited, and many of the inhabitants and ladies from Mexico now go there on pilgrimages and to hold *novenas*.[1]

Let us leave this and say that it was pitiable to see our wounds being dressed and bound up with cotton cloths, and as they were chilled and swollen they were [very] painful. However what was more to be wept over was [the loss of] the gentlemen and brave soldiers who were missing, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Sauzedo, Francisco de Morla, Lares the good horseman and many others of us followers of Cortés. I name these few only because it would be a long

[1] *Novenas*: religious exercises extending over nine days.

Photo by C. B. Waite.

THE CHURCH OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS REMEDIOS,

Built on the site of the Teocalli where the Spaniards halted after the Noche Triste.

business to write the names of the great number of our companions who were missing. Of the followers of Narvaez, the greater number were left at the bridges weighed down with gold.

I will speak now of Botello the Astrologer: his astrology availed him nothing, for he too died there with his horse, and I will go on to say that after we got into safety, there were found in the box of this Botello some papers like a book, with symbols, lines, remarks and signs, and it was said in them: "Am I to die here in this sad war in the power of these dogs of Indians?" and it said among other lines and symbols further on, "Thou wilt not die"; and it went on to say in other symbols, lines, and remarks, "Shall I die?" and the other line replied, "Thou shalt not die." It said in another place, "Will they also kill my horse?" and it said further on, "Yes, they will kill it." In a similar manner these papers, which were like a small book, contained further ciphered [notes] like fortune telling, one sentence answering the other. There was also found in the box a thing like the genitals of a man, half a span long, made of leather, in appearance neither more nor less than a man's genitals, and it had inside some flock wool from a shearer.

Let us go on to say how there were left dead at the bridges the sons and daughters of Montezuma as well the prisoners we were bringing with us, also Cacamatzin the Lord of Texcoco and other kings of provinces. Let us stop relating all these hardships and say how we were thinking of what we had in front of us, for we were all wounded, and only twenty-three horses escaped; then of the cannon and artillery and powder, we saved nothing; the crossbows were few in number and we promptly mended their cords and made arrows, but the worst of all was that we did not know what we should find the disposition of our friends the Tlaxcalans would be towards

us. In addition to this, always surrounded by Mexicans who fell on us with yells, darts and arrows and slings, we determined to get out of that place at midnight with the Tlaxcalans in front as guides, taking every precaution. We marched with the wounded in the middle and the lame [supported] with staffs, and some, who were very bad and could not walk, on the croups of the horses that were lame and were not fit for fighting. Those horsemen who were not wounded went in front or were divided some on one side, some on the other, and [marching] in this manner all of us who were most free from wounds kept our faces towards the enemy. The wounded Tlaxcalans went in the body of our squadron and the rest of them who were [sufficiently] sound faced [the enemy] in company with us. The Mexicans were always harassing us with loud cries, yells and whistles, shouting out, "You are going where not one of you will be left alive," and we did not understand why they said so, but it will be seen later on. But I have forgotten to write down how happy we were to see Doña Marina still alive, and Doña Luisa the daughter of Xicotenga, whose escape at the bridges was due to some Tlaxcalans, and also a woman named Maria de Estrada, who was the only Spanish woman in Mexico. Those who escaped and got away first from the bridges were some sons of Xicotenga, the brothers of Doña Luisa. Most of our servants who had been given to us in Tlaxcala and in the city of Mexico itself were left behind dead.

Let me go on to say how on that day we reached some farms and huts belonging to a large town named Cuautitlan,[1] a town that after the capture of Mexico belonged to Alonso de Ávila, and although they yelled and shouted at us and hurled stones, darts and arrows, we bore up against it all. Thence we went through some farms and hamlets with the Mexicans always in pursuit of us, and as many of them

[1] Cualtitan in the text.

had got together, they endeavoured to kill us and began to surround us, and hurled many stones with their slings and javelins and arrows, and with their broadswords they killed two of our soldiers in a bad pass, and they also killed a horse and wounded many of our men, and we also with cut and thrust killed some of them, and the horsemen did the same. We slept in those houses and we ate the horse they had killed, and the next day very early in the morning we began our march, with the same and even greater precautions than we observed before, half of the horsemen always going ahead. On a plain a little more than a league further on, (when we began to think that we could march in safety,) our scouts, who were on the look out, returned to say that the fields were full of Mexican warriors waiting for us. When we heard this we were indeed alarmed but not so as to be faint-hearted or to fail to meet them and fight to the death. There we halted for a short time and orders were given how the horsemen were to charge and return at a hand gallop, and were not to stop to spear [the enemy] but to keep their lances aimed at their faces until they broke up their squadrons; and that all the soldiers, in the thrusts they gave, should pass [their swords] through the bodies [of their opponents], and that we should act in such a way as to avenge thoroughly the deaths and wounds of our companions, so that if God willed it we should escape with our lives.

After commending ourselves to God and the Holy Mary, full of courage, and calling on the name of Señor Santiago, as soon as we saw that the enemy began to surround us, and that the horsemen, keeping in parties of five, broke through their ranks, we all of us [charged] at the same time.

Oh! what a sight it was to see this fearful and destructive battle, how we moved all mixed up with them foot to foot, and the cuts and thrusts we gave them, and with what fury the dogs fought, and what wounds and

deaths they inflicted on us with their lances and macanas and two-handed swords. Then, as the ground was level [to see] how the horsemen speared them as they chose, charging and returning, and although both they and their horses were wounded, they never stopped fighting like very brave men. As for all of us who had no horses, it seemed as if we all put on double strength, for although we were wounded and again received other wounds, we did not trouble to bind them up so as not to halt to do so, for there was not time, but with great spirit we closed with the enemy so as to give them sword thrusts. I wish to tell about Cortés and Cristóbal de Olid, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Gonzalo Domínguez and a Juan de Salamanca who although badly wounded rode on one side and the other, breaking through the squadrons; and about the words that Cortés said to those who were in the thick of the enemy, that the cuts and thrusts that we gave should be [aimed at] distinguished chieftains, for they all of them bore great golden plumes and rich arms and devices. Then to see how the valiant and spirited Sandoval encouraged us and cried: "Now, gentlemen, this is the day when we are bound to be victorious; have trust in God and we shall come out of this alive for some good purpose." I must diverge to say that they killed and wounded a great number of our soldiers, but let us leave that and return to Cortés and Cristóbal de Olid and Sandoval and Gonzalo Domínguez and the other horsemen whom I do not name here, and Juan de Salamanca. All of us soldiers greatly inspirited Cortés to fight, and our Lord Jesus Christ and Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria encouraged us, and the Señor Santiago certainly aided us. It pleased God that Cortés and the Captains whom I have already named who went in his Company reached the place where the Captain General of the Mexicans was marching with his banner displayed, and with rich golden

armour and great gold and silver plumes. When Cortés saw him with many other Mexican Chieftains all wearing great plumes, he said to Gonzalo de Sandoval and Cristóbal de Olid and Gonzalo Domínguez and the other Captains: "Now, Señores, let us break through them and leave none of them unwounded"; and commending themselves to God, Cortés, Cristóbal de Olid, Sandoval, Alonzo de Ávila, and the other horsemen charged, and Cortés struck his horse against the Mexican Captain, which made him drop his banner, and the rest of our Captains succeeded in breaking through the squadron which consisted of many Indians following the Captain who carried the banner, who nevertheless had not fallen at the shock that Cortés had given him, and it was Juan de Salamanca, who rode with Cortés on a good piebald mare, who gave him a lance thrust and took from him the rich plume that he wore, and afterwards gave it to Cortés, saying, that as it was he who first met him and made him lower his banner and deprived his followers of the courage to fight, that the plume belonged to him (Cortés). However, three years afterwards, the King gave it to Salamanca as his coat of arms, and his descendants bear it on their tabards.

Let us go back to the battle. It pleased Our Lord that when that Captain who carried the Mexican banner was dead, (and many others were killed there,) their attack slackened, and all the horsemen followed them and we felt neither hunger nor thirst, and it seemed as though we had neither suffered nor passed through any evil or hardship, as we followed up our victory killing and wounding. Then our friends the Tlaxcalans were very lions, and with their swords and broadswords which they there captured [from the enemy] behaved very well and valiantly.[1] When the horsemen returned from following up the victory we all

[1] Blotted out in the original: "Maravillas" (did wonders).—G.G.

gave many thanks to God for having escaped from such a great multitude of people, for there had never been seen or found throughout the Indies such a great number of warriors together in any battle that was fought, for there was present there the flower of Mexico and Texcoco and all the towns around the lake, and others in the neighbourhood, and the people of Otumba and Tepetexcoco and Saltocan, who all came in the belief that this time not a trace of us would be left. Then what rich armour they wore, with so much gold and plumes and devices, and nearly all of them were captains and chieftains. Near the spot where this hard-fought and celebrated battle took place, and where one can say God spared our lives, there stands a town named Otumba. The Mexicans and Tlaxcalans have this battle very well painted and portrayed in carvings, as well as the many other battles that we fought with the Mexicans up to the time when we captured Mexico.

Interested readers who read this will notice that I wish here to call to mind, that when we went to the assistance of Pedro de Alvarado in Mexico, we numbered in all more than thirteen hundred soldiers, counting the horsemen who numbered ninety-seven, and eighty crossbowmen and as many more musketeers, and there were more than two thousand Tlaxcalans, and we brought in with us many cannon, and our entry into Mexico was on the day of Señor San Juan de Junio[1] in the year fifteen hundred and twenty, and our escape was on the tenth of the month of July of the same year, and this celebrated battle of Otumba on the fourteenth of the month of July.

Let me say, now that we have already escaped from our perils which I have already described, that I wish to give another account of how many of us they killed both in

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[1] Midsummer Day, 24th June.

Mexico as well as on the bridges and causeways, and all the encounters including this one at Otumba, and those who were killed on the road. I assert that within a matter of five days over eight hundred and sixty soldiers were killed and sacrificed, as well as seventy-two who were killed in a town named Tustepec, together with five Spanish women (those who were killed at Tustepec belonged to the company of Narvaez), and over a thousand[1] Tlaxcalans were slain. I also wish to state how at that time they killed Juan de Alcántara the elder, with three other settlers from Villa Rica who had come [to Tlaxcala] for the share of the gold which fell to their lot, about which I have made a statement in the chapter that treats of the subject, so they lost the gold as well as their lives; and if we come to consider it, we all of us usually had bad luck about the share of gold that was given to us. If many more of the followers of Narvaez than those of Cortés died at the bridges, it was because they went forth laden with gold, and owing to its weight they could neither escape nor swim.

Let us stop talking about these matters and how we already went along very cheerfully, eating some gourds that they call *Ayotes*, and we marched along, eating as we went, towards Tlaxcala. The Mexican squadrons did not dare to assemble and sally out from the small towns, although they still shouted at us in places where we could not master them, and hurled many stones at us from slings and javelins and arrows, until we went to some other farms and a small town where there was a good Cue and strong house where we defended ourselves that night and dressed our wounds and got some rest. Although squadrons of Mexicans still followed us they did not dare to come up to us, and those who did come were as though they said "There you go out of our country."

[1] Blotted out in the original: "and five hundred."—G. G.

From that small town and house where we slept, the hills over against Tlaxcala could be seen, and when we saw them we were as delighted as though they had been our own homes. But how could we know for certain that they were loyal to us or what their disposition was, or what had happened to those who were settled at Villa Rica, whether they were alive or dead? Cortés said to us, that although we were few in number, and there were only four hundred and forty of us left with twenty horses and twelve cross-bowmen and seven musketeers, and we had no powder and were all wounded, lame and maimed, we could see very clearly how our Lord Jesus Christ had been pleased to spare our lives, and for that we should always give Him great thanks and honour. Moreover, we had come again to be reduced to the number and strength of the soldiers who accompanied him the first time we entered Mexico, [namely] four hundred soldiers. He begged us not to give annoyance to the people in Tlaxcala, and not to take anything from them, and this he explained to the followers of Narvaez, for they were not used to obey their Captains in the wars as we were. Moreover, he said he trusted in God that we should find them [the Tlaxcalans] true and very loyal, and that if it were otherwise, which God forfend, we must turn aside the blows [of fate?] with stout hearts and strong arms, and for this we must be well prepared.

With our scouts ahead of us, we reached a spring on the hillside where there were some walls and defences [made in] past times, and our friends the Tlaxcalans said that this was the boundary between them and the Mexicans, and, in welcome tranquillity after the misery we had gone through, we halted to wash and to eat. Then we soon resumed our march and went to a Tlaxcalan town named Hueyotlipan[1] where they received us and gave us to eat,

[1] Guaolipar in the text.

but not much, unless we paid them with some small pieces of gold and chalchihuites which some of us carried with us; they gave us nothing without payment. There we remained one day resting and curing our wounds and we also attended to the horses. Then as soon as they heard the news at the Capital of Tlaxcala, Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder, and Chichimecatecle and many other Caciques and Chieftains and nearly all the inhabitants of Huexotzingo promptly came to us. When they reached the town where we were [camped] they came to embrace Cortés and all of us captains and soldiers, some of them weeping, especially Mase Escasi, Xicotenga, and Chichimecatecle, and Tapaneca, and they said to Cortés: "Oh! Malinche, Malinche! How grieved we are at your misfortunes and those of all your brothers, and at the number of our own people who have been killed with yours. We have told you so many times not to put trust in the Mexican people, for one day or the other they were sure to attack you, but you would not believe us. Now it has come to pass, and no more can be done at present than to tend you and give you to eat; rest yourselves for you are at home, and we will soon go to our town where we will find you quarters. Do not think, Malinche, that it is a small thing you have done to escape with your lives from that impregnable city and its bridges, and I tell you that if we formerly looked upon you as very brave, we now think you much more valiant; and although many Indian women in our towns will bewail the deaths of their sons, husbands, brothers and kinsmen, do not trouble yourself about that. Much do you owe to your Gods who have brought you here and delivered you from such a multitude of warriors who were awaiting you at Otumba. For four days I had known that they were waiting for you to slay you. I wanted to go in search of you with thirty thousand of our own warriors, but I could not start

because they were not assembled and men were out collecting them."

Cortés and all our Captains and soldiers embraced them and told them that we thanked them, and Cortés gave to all the chieftains golden jewels and [precious] stones, and as every soldier had escaped with as much as he could [carry] some of us gave [presents] to our acquaintances from what we possessed. Then what rejoicing and happiness they showed when they saw that Doña Luisa and Doña Marina were saved, and what weeping and sorrow for the other Indians who did not come but were left behind dead. Especially did Mase Escasi weep for his daughter Doña Elvira and the death of Juan Velásquez de Leon to whom he had given her.

In this way we went to the Capital of Tlaxcala with all the Caciques, and Cortés lodged in the houses of Mase Escasi, and Xicotenga gave his quarters to Pedro de Alvarado, and there we tended our wounds and began to recover our strength, but, nevertheless, four soldiers died of their wounds and some other soldiers failed to recover.

I will leave off here, and relate what else happened to us.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

How we went to the Capital and largest town in Tlaxcala, and what happened to us there.

We stayed one day in the small town of Hueyotlipan and the Caciques of Tlaxcala whom I have named made us those overtures which are worthy of remembrance and of reward as they were made at such a critical time; and after we had gone to the Capital town of Tlaxcala, and they had assigned us quarters as I have said, it seems that Cortés asked for the gold which had been sent there,

which amounted to forty thousand dollars, which gold was the share of the settlers who remained in Villa Rica. Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder and one of our soldiers who had remained ill in Tlaxcala and had not been in the affair at Mexico when we were defeated, said that Juan de Alcántara and two other settlers had come from Villa Rica and had carried off all the gold, for they brought letters from Cortés to say that it was to be given to them, and this letter the soldier had produced and left in the possession of Mase Escasi when the gold was given to him. When they were asked how and at what time the gold was taken, and when it was understood from a count of days that it was at the time when the Mexicans were fighting us, we at once realised that they must have killed the Spaniards on the road and have seized their gold. And Cortés was very much troubled about it.[1] We were also uneasy at not knowing about the people at Villa Rica, lest some disaster had happened to them, so Cortés at once wrote to them and sent the letter by three Tlaxcalans, and told them about the great dangers to which we had been exposed in Mexico, and how and in what way we had escaped with our lives, but he did not tell them how many of us were missing, and he admonished them always to be on the alert and to keep a good look out, and [said] that if there were any soldiers among them sound in health, they should be sent to him, and that they should keep a good guard over Narvaez, and [he asked them] whether they had any powder or crossbows, because he wished to return and scour the neighbourhood of Mexico. He also wrote to the officer named Caballero whom he had left there as Captain of the Sea, that he should keep watch that neither Narvaez nor any of the ships should leave for

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "because he intended to send to the Island of Jamaica for horses and powder and crossbows."—G. G.

Cuba, and if he considered the two ships belonging to Narvaez which were in the harbour to be unfit for sea that he should destroy them and send their crews to him with all the arms they possessed.

The messengers went and returned post haste, and brought letters to say that there had been no warfare, and that as neither Juan Alcántara nor the other two settlers whom they had sent for the gold had returned, they must have been killed on the road, that they knew all about the war the Mexicans had made on us, for the fat Cacique of Compoala had told them about it. The Admiral of the sea named Caballero also wrote and said he would do what Cortés ordered him, that one of the ships was in good condition and he would destroy the other, and would send the men, but there were very few sailors, for they had sickened and died; that he was writing his reply to the letter at once, and would soon despatch the succour they were sending from Villa Rica, numbering seven in all, including four sailors who came from the town. Their Captain was a soldier named Lencero (who owned the Inn which is now called Lencero's), and when they arrived at Tlaxcala, as they arrived thin and ill, we often for our own diversion and to make fun of them spoke of "Lencero's Help," for of the seven that came five had liver complaint and were covered with boils and the other two were swelled out with great bellies.

Let us leave the jokes and I will tell what happened to us there in Tlaxcala with Xicotenga the younger and his ill will,—he who had been Captain of all Tlaxcala when they were fighting us, often mentioned by me in the chapter that treats of that subject. The truth is that when it became known in that City that we were fleeing from Mexico, and that the Mexicans had killed a great number of soldiers, both our own men and the Tlaxcalan Indians who had left Tlaxcala in our company, and that we were

coming for aid and shelter to that province, Xicotenga the younger went about appealing to all his friends and relations and to others who he thought were on his side, and said to them that on the night or day when they might be best prepared for it they should kill us and make friends with the Lord of Mexico, who by that time had been elected King, who was named Cuitlahuac,[1] and that in addition to this they should rob us of the cloaks and cloth which we had left in Tlaxcala to be taken care of, and the gold that we were now bringing from Mexico, and they would all become rich with the spoil.

This came to the ears of the elder Xicotenga, his father, who quarrelled with him and told him that no such thought should have entered his head, that it was disgraceful, and that if Mase Escasi and Chichimecatecle and the other lords of Tlaxcala should come to hear of it they would possibly slay him and those who were in league with him; but much as his father rebuked him he paid no heed nor did it stop him from talking about and working at his evil purpose. This reached the ears of Chichimecatecle, who was the mortal enemy of Xicotenga the younger, and he told it to Mase Escasi and they determined to enter into consultation and agreement about it, and they called together Xicotenga the elder and the chiefs of Huexotzingo, and ordered Xicotenga the younger to be brought prisoner before them. Then Mase Escasi made a speech to them all and asked if they could remember or had heard it said that during the last hundred years there had ever been throughout Tlaxcala such prosperity and riches as there had been since the Teules had arrived in their country, or if in any of their provinces they had ever been so well provided for. For they possessed much cotton cloth and gold and they ate salt, and that wherever the

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[1] Coadlavaca in the text.

Tlaxcalans went with the Teules, honour was paid to them out of respect to the Teules, and although many of them had now been killed in Mexico, they should bear in mind what their ancestors had said to them many years ago, that from where the sun rises there would come men who would rule over them. Why then was Xicotenga now going about with these treasons and infamies, scheming to make war on us and kill us? It was evilly done, and there was no excuse to be made for the knavery and mischief which he always had hidden in his breast, and now at the very moment when he saw us coming back defeated, when he ought to help us to recover ourselves, so as to turn again upon his enemies the towns of Mexico, he wished to carry out this treachery.

To these words that Mase Escasi and his father Xicotenga the elder said to him, Xicotenga the younger replied, that what he had said about making peace with the Mexicans was a very wise decision, and he said other things that they could not tolerate. Then Mase Escasi and Chichimecatecle and the old man, his father, blind as he was, arose and took Xicotenga the younger by the collar and by his mantle and tore it and roughly pushing him and with reproachful words they cast him down the steps, with his mantle all torn, and had it not been for his father they would have slain him. The others who had been in his confidence were made prisoners. As we were all taking refuge there, and it was not the time to punish him, Cortés said nothing more about it.

I have called this to mind so that it may be seen how loyal and good were these people of Tlaxcala, and how much we are indebted to them, and especially to the good Xicotenga the elder, who is said to have ordered his son to be killed when he knew of his plots and treason.

Let us leave this, and I will relate how we remained twenty-two days in that town curing our wounds and

recovering. Then Cortés determined that we should go to the province of Tepeaca which was near by, for there and in another town close to Tepeaca named Cachula they had slain many of our soldiers and those of Narvaez who had come to Mexico. When Cortés told this to our Captains, and they were preparing the soldiers of Narvaez to go to the war, for these men were not accustomed to fighting, and having escaped from the defeat at Mexico and at the bridges, and from the battle of Otumba, could hardly await the time for returning to the Island of Cuba, to their Indians, and their gold mines, they cursed Cortés and his conquests. Especially was this the case with Andrés de Duero, the partner of Cortés, for interested readers will have already understood, as I have twice described it in former chapters, how and in what way the partnership was formed. They cursed the gold which he [Cortés] had given to Duero and to the other Captains, all of which had been lost at the bridges, and as they had seen the fierce attacks the enemy made on us, they were very well content to have escaped with their lives. So they agreed to tell Cortés that they did not want to go to Tepeaca nor to any fighting, but wished to go back to their homes, and that they had already lost enough by leaving Cuba. Cortés talked the matter over with them very quietly and kindly, thinking to persuade them to go with us on the expedition to Tepeaca, but for all his speeches and reproaches they would not go. When they saw that words had no effect on Cortés, they drew up a formal requisition before a King's Notary demanding that he should go at once to Villa Rica and abandon the war, giving as a reason that we had neither horses nor muskets, crossbows nor powder, nor thread with which to make [crossbow] strings, nor stores, that we were all wounded, and out of all our company and the soldiers of Narvaez there only survived four hundred and forty, and that the Mexicans would hold

the strongholds, sierras and passes against us, and that if we delayed any longer the ships would be eaten by worms[1], and many other things were stated in this petition.

When they had presented the requisition and read it to Cortés he replied to the many words it contained with far more numerous contradictions, besides most of us who had come over with Cortés, told him not to give permission to any of the followers of Narvaez nor to any one else to return to Cuba, but that we should all endeavour to serve God and the King, for that was the right thing to do and not to return to Cuba.

After Cortés had given his answer to the requisition, the men who were pressing their demands upon him saw that many of us, who stood firmly by Cortés, would put a stop to the importunity with which they expressed their demands merely by insisting that it would be neither to the service of God nor His Majesty to desert their captain during war time. At the end of much discussion they gave their obedience so far as to go with us on any expeditions that might be undertaken, but it was on condition that Cortés promised that when an opportunity should occur he would allow them to return to the Island of Cuba, but not even with this did they leave off murmuring against him and his conquest, which had cost them so dearly in leaving their homes and their ease, and coming to intrude where even their lives were not safe. Moreover they said that if we entered on another war with the forces of Mexico, which sooner or later would be unavoidable, they believed and considered it certain that we could not hold our own against them in battle, as they had seen in the affair of Mexico and the bridges, and in the famous battle of Otumba. Moreover they said that

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[1] Worms: In the text the word is "broma," which is the shipworm, *Teredo navalis*.

our Cortés only aimed to keep the command and always be a lord, and we bore with him, and were his servants, because we had nothing to lose but our lives, and they said many other tactless things, but we none of us took any notice considering the circumstances in which they spoke. But not many months passed before Cortés refused them leave to return to their homes and the Island of Cuba which I will relate at the proper time and place.

Let us omit repetitions and speak of what the historian Gomara says, although I am very tired of pointing out the nonsense which he says was given him as information, for things did not happen as he writes. So as not to be detained at every chapter by going over it all again and calling to mind how and in what way it happened, I have avoided writing about (his errors), but in this matter of the requisition which he says was presented to Cortés, he does not say who those were who made it, whether they were our people or the followers of Narvaez, and it seems to me that he does this to exalt Cortés and to debase us, who stood by him. Let it be known that the true "conquistadores" when we saw this written, knew for certain that gold and other gifts must have been given to Gomara in order that he should write in this way, for in all the battles and encounters it was we who supported Cortés, and now this chronicler humbles us by what he says. Gomara also states that Cortés, in his reply to this same requisition said, so as to encourage and animate us, that he would send to summon Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, one of whom he said was settling at Panuco with three hundred soldiers, and the other was making a settlement at Coatzacoalcos with as many more soldiers. There is no truth in what he says, for as soon as we set out for Mexico to the assistance of Alvarado, the arrangements which had been made for Juan Velásquez to go to Panuco, and for Diego de Ordás to Coatzacoalcos were cancelled, as I have

extensively explained in a former chapter where I have told all about it. Those two Captains went to Mexico with us to succour Pedro de Alvarado, and in the rout Juan Velásquez de Leon was left dead at the bridge, and Diego de Ordás came out of it with three severe wounds that were given him in Mexico, and I have already related how and when it happened. If therefore the Chronicler Gomara's success in telling the truth about what happened were as excellent as the style in which he writes, it would be a very good thing. Moreover I notice that he says concerning the battle of Otumba, that if it had not been for Cortés himself we should all have been defeated, and that he alone won the battle by making (as he did) the charge against the Chieftain who carried the standard and emblem of Mexico. I have already said and will repeat it again that Cortés deserves all honour as a valiant Captain, but above all we must give thanks to God who in His great Mercy always helped us and supported Cortés by giving him such brave and valiant Captains and brave soldiers as he had with him; for we gave him his mettle and broke up the squadrons and supported him, so that with our help and that of our Captains he might fight in the way that we fought, as I have already related in the chapters which treat of the subject.

For all the Captains whom I have named always kept in company with Cortés, and I will here name them again, they were Cristóbal de Olid, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Francisco de Morla, Luis Marin, Francisco de Lugo, Gonzalo Domínguez and other good and valiant soldiers who did not own horses, for originally sixteen horses and mares were all that came from the Island of Cuba with Cortés, and they no longer existed.

And as to what Gomara says in his history, that it was Cortés himself alone who won the battle of Otumba, why did he not relate the heroic deeds that we his captains and

valiant soldiers performed in that battle? For these reasons we have obtained the certainty that, so as to induce him to praise Cortés alone, they must have greased his palms, for he makes no mention of us; if not, let inquiry be made about that very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, how many times he came to the assistance of Cortés and saved his life up to the time of our return to Mexico, when he and many other soldiers lost their lives at the bridge in order to save that of Cortés. I had forgotten the other occasion when he saved Cortés' life in the affair at Zochimilco and he himself was badly wounded, and that my statement may be clearly understood, I will add that there was both a Cristóbal de Olea and a Cristóbal de Olid.

Then as to what the historian says about the blow that Cortés gave the Mexican captain with his horse, which made him drop the banner; it is true enough, but I have already said it was Juan de Salamanca, a native of the town of Ontiveros (who, after Mexico was conquered, became chief Alcalde of Coatzacoalcos), who gave him the lance thrust that slew him, and took from him the rich plumes and the standard that he was carrying, and presented it to Cortés, and some time afterwards His Majesty granted it to Salamanca as his coat of arms.

I have called this to mind here, not to avoid praising our Captain Hernando Cortés and holding him in the highest esteem, for he deserves all honour and glory for all the battles and conquests until we gained this New Spain, such as we are used to bestow on the most famous Captains in Spain, and such triumphs as the Romans accorded to Pompey and Julius Cæsar and the Scipios, and our Cortés is more worthy of praise than these Romans This same historian Gomara also says that Cortés secretly ordered Xicotenga the younger to be killed in Tlaxcala for the treachery that he was plotting in order to kill us, as I

have already related, but it did not happen as he says it did, for when he ordered him to be hanged it was in a town near to Texcoco as I shall relate further on. This historian also says that so many thousands of Indians opposed us in our expeditions; there is neither calculation nor sense in the great numbers that he gives; he also speaks of the cities and towns and villages where there were so many thousands of houses, when there was not the fifth part of them; and if one were to add up all that he puts in his history it would come to more millions of men than the universe contains; he does not mind whether he says eight thousand or eighty thousand, and he then brags, thinking that his history will be very pleasing to those who hear it, and does not relate what really took place. Let the interested reader observe the distance between the truth in this tale of mine and the falsehood[1] by comparing events word by word, and let him ignore eloquence and ornate language which is evidently pleasanter than my coarse [manner], but the truth as it is written can support even my bad wording and [lack of] polished eloquence.

Let us leave this recounting and remembering of evident mistakes, and enough of the stories he has written, although they have given occasion for Dr. Illescas and Pablo Jovio to follow his words, for I am more bound to tell the truth about all that happened than to flatter. Let us go back to our story, and I will relate how we decided to go to Tepeaca, and what happened on the expedition.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "of his history."

BOOK IX.

THE HALT AT TEPEACA.

CHAPTER CXXX.

How we went to the province of Tepeaca, and what we did there, and other things that happened.

AS Cortés had asked the Caciques of Tlaxcala (whose names have already been given) for five thousand warriors, in order to overrun and chastise the towns where Spaniards had been killed, namely Tepeaca and Quecholac[1] and Tecamachalco, distant from Tlaxcala six or seven leagues, they got ready four thousand Indians, with the greatest willingness; for if we had a great desire to go to those towns, Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder had a still stronger desire to supply them [the Indian auxiliaries], because they [the people of Tepeaca, etc.] had come to rob some of their farms, and they were willing to send men against them. The explanation was as follows:—When the Mexicans turned us out of Mexico (in the way I have described in former chapters which give an account of it), and knew that we had taken shelter

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[1] Cachula in the text.

in Tlaxcala, they took it for certain, that as soon as we were well, we would come with all the forces of Tlaxcala to overrun the lands of the towns which lay nearest the Tlaxcalan boundary, and for this reason they sent to all the provinces where they thought we might go, many squadrons of Mexicans to keep guard and establish garrisons, and the largest garrison of all was posted in Tepeaca. Mase Escasi and Xicotenga were aware of this, and even stood in fear of them. Then as we were all ready, we began our march. On that expedition we took neither artillery nor muskets, for all had been lost at the bridges, and for the few that were saved, we had no powder. We had with us seventeen horses and six cross-bows, and four hundred and twenty soldiers, most of them armed with sword and shield, and about two[1] thousand friends from Tlaxcala and food for one day, for the country through which we were marching was thickly peopled and well supplied with maize and fowls and the dogs of the country. As was usual with us, we kept our scouts well in advance, and marching in good order, we camped that night about three leagues from Tepeaca. They had already carried off all that was movable from the farms and hamlets through which we passed, for they had heard the news that we were coming to their town. So that nothing should be done without justification, and everything in good order, Cortés sent a message by six Indians of the town of Tepeaca and four of their women, whom we captured for that very purpose in those farms, to say that we were coming to their town to inquire and find out who, and how many, were concerned in the death of more than sixteen Spaniards slain without cause when they were on their way to Mexico; and that we had also come to find out why they had again many squadrons of

[1] Blotted out in the original: "six four."—G. G.

Mexicans with them, in whose company they had been attacking and robbing some farms of the Tlaxcalans who were our allies, and he begged them at once to come in peaceably to where we were camped so as to make friends with us, and to turn the Mexicans out of their town, for if they did not do so we would come against them as rebels and murderers and highway robbers, and punish them by blood and fire, and give them into slavery. So those six Indians and four women from this same town set out, and the threatening messages we sent by them were replied to by much fiercer ones that were brought back to us by the same six Indians and two Mexicans who accompanied them, for they knew well enough that we would do no harm to any messengers who were sent to us, on the contrary we would give them beads so as to attract them. With these [replies] sent by the people of Tepeaca, came the boastful words uttered by the Mexican Captains, because they had been victorious in the battle of the bridges in Mexico. Cortés ordered each messenger to be given a mantle, and he again requested the people to come and see him and to have no fear, for the Spaniards whom they had already killed, could not be brought to life again; moreover, let them come to him peaceably, and he would forgive them for the deaths that they had caused. He also wrote them a letter on the subject, although he knew that they could not understand it, but when they saw paper from Castile, they knew for certain that it contained some orders. Cortés also begged the two Mexicans who came with the messengers from Tepeaca to go back and bring him a reply. So they went back and the reply they brought was that we should advance no further, but should return whence we had come, otherwise they meant to have a grand gorging on our bodies the next day, better than they had had in Mexico at the Bridges and at Otumba. When Cortés heard this, he repeated it to our captains and

soldiers, and it was agreed that a statement should be drawn up before a Notary which would certify all that had happened, and would give into slavery all the allies of Mexico who had killed Spaniards, because, after they had given their fealty to His Majesty, they had revolted and killed over eight hundred and seventy of our people and sixty horses, and the [people from the] other towns, and because they were highway robbers and murderers of men. When this decree had been drawn up, Cortés sent to let them know about it, threatening them, and demanding peace. They replied that if we did not at once go back, they would come out and kill us, and they got ready to do so, and we did the same.

The next day we had a fine battle with the Mexicans and Tepeacans, on a plain, and as the field of battle was among maize and maguey plantations, although the Mexicans fought fiercely, they were soon routed by those on horseback, and those who had no horses were not behindhand. Then to see with what spirit our Tlaxcalan allies attacked them and followed them up and overtook them! and many of the Mexicans and Tepeacans were slain, but of our Tlaxcalan allies only three were killed, and two horses were wounded, and one of them died, and two of our soldiers were wounded, but not in a manner to cause them any danger.

As soon as the victory was gained, many Indian women and boys joined us and were collected from the fields and the houses; we did not trouble about the men who were carried off as slaves by the Tlaxcalans.

When the people of Tepeaca saw that notwithstanding their arrogance the Mexicans who garrisoned their town were defeated, and they themselves with them, they determined without saying anything to the Mexicans, to come to where we were, and we received them in peace and they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and turned the

Mexicans out of their houses. Then we went to the town of Tepeaca and founded a town there, which was named La Villa de Segura de la Frontera, because it was on the road to Villa Rica, and it stood in a good neighbourhood of excellent towns subject to Mexico, and there was plenty of maize, and we had our allies the Tlaxcalans to guard the frontier. There, Alcaldes and Regidores were chosen, and orders were given that the neighbourhood subject to Mexico was to be raided, especially the towns where Spaniards had been killed. An iron was made with which to brand those whom we took for slaves, it was shaped thus G, which means *Guerra* [war]. From the Villa Segura de la Frontera we scoured the neighbourhood which included Quecholac and Tecamachalco, and the town of the Guayavas, and other towns of which I do not remember the names. It was in Quecholac that they had killed fifteen Spaniards in their quarters, and here we made many slaves, so that within forty days we had all these towns punished and thoroughly pacified.

At that time, in Mexico, they had raised up [to the throne] another Prince, because the Prince who had driven us out of Mexico had died of Smallpox. He whom they now made Lord over them was a nephew or very near relation of Montezuma, named Guatemoc, a young man of about twenty-five years, very much of a gentleman for an Indian, and very valiant, and he made himself so feared that all his people trembled before him, and he was married to a daughter of Montezuma, a very handsome woman for an Indian. When this Guatemoc, Prince of Mexico, learned that we had defeated the Mexican squadrons stationed in Tepeaca, and that they [the people of Tepeaca] had given their fealty to His Majesty, and served us and gave us food, and that we had settled there, he feared that we should overrun Oaxaca and other provinces and bring them all into our alliance; so he sent messengers through

all the towns and told them to be on the alert with all their arms, and he gave golden jewels to some Caciques, and to others he remitted their tribute, and above all he despatched great companies and garrisons of warriors to see that we did not enter his territory, and charged them to fight very fiercely against us, so that it should not happen again, as it did at Tepeaca and Quecholac and Tecamachalco, where we had made slaves of all. Where he sent the greatest number of warriors was to Guacachula and Izucar,[1] which were distant from Tepeaca, where we had established our town, about twelve leagues. So that one may distinguish these names clearly, one town is named Cachula [Quecholac] and the other is named Guacachula. I will postpone relating what was done in Guacachula until the proper time and place, and will tell how at that time, messengers came from Villa Rica, to say that a ship had come from Cuba with some soldiers on board.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

How a ship came from Cuba, sent by Diego Velásquez with Pedro Barba as her captain; and the method which the admiral, whom our Cortés had appointed as guardian of the sea, adopted in order to capture them, and it was in this way.

WHILE we marched about that province of Tepeaca punishing those who were concerned in the death of our companions (that is, those who killed them in these towns) and bringing them to peace, and all were giving their fealty to His Majesty, letters came from Villa Rica to say that a ship had arrived in port, and that her Captain was a gentleman named Pedro Barba, a great friend of Cortés. This Pedro Barba had been a lieutenant of Diego Velás-

[1] Oçucar in the text.

quez in the Havana, and he brought with him only thirteen soldiers, a horse and a mare, for the vessel that he came in was very small. He also brought letters for Pánfilo de Narvaez, the Captain whom Diego Velásquez had sent against us, in the belief that New Spain was now his, and in these letters Velásquez sent to tell him that if he had not already killed Cortés that he should at once send him a prisoner to Cuba, so that he could be sent to Castile, for so it had been ordered by Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, President of the Indies, that he should be made prisoner at once with our other Captains. Diego Velásquez took it for certain that we were defeated, or at least that Narvaez was Lord over New Spain.

As soon as Pedro Barba arrived in port with his ship, and let go his anchor, the Admiral of the sea whom Cortés had appointed, named Pedro Caballero or Juan Caballero (already mentioned by me as being placed there by Cortés) went off to visit and welcome him, in a boat well manned by sailors with their arms hidden. He reached Pedro Barba's ship, and after the usual polite speeches, asking how his Honour had fared, and taking off of hats and embracing one another as is the fashion, they asked Pedro Barba[1] about Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, and how they had left him. Pedro Barba answered that he was very well. Then Pedro Barba and the others whom he had brought with him, asked after the Señor Capitan Pánfilo de Narvaez and how he got on with Cortés. They replied very well, but that Cortés was in revolt and had taken flight with twenty of his companions, and that Narvaez was very prosperous and rich; and that it was a very fine country. In the course

[1] The text says, "Preguntan al Pedro Escudero," instead of "Pedro Barba": this is evidently merely a slip of the pen.

of conversation they told Pedro Barba that he could disembark as there was a town close by where they could go to sleep and take up their quarters, and food and all they needed would be brought to them, for the town had been assigned for that very purpose. They told them so many yarns that they induced them to go ashore in the boat and in others that soon put off from the other ships at anchor. When they had got them clear of their ship, they had arranged to have a large body of sailors round the Admiral, Pedro Caballero, and he said to Pedro Barba, "Surrender, in the name of the Señor Capitan Hernando Cortés, my commander." Thus they were captured, and they were thunderstruck. Then they removed from the ship its sails, rudder and compass, and sent them [Pedro Barba and his companions] to where we were stationed with Cortés in Tepeaca, and we were delighted to receive them for the help that it brought us in the very nick of time, for those expeditions which I have said that we were making were not so safe but that many of our soldiers were wounded, and others fell ill from the hardships and from the blood and dust that curdled in their bowels, and we passed nothing else from the mouth. We always wore our armour on our backs, and never rested day or night, so that five of our soldiers had already died of pleurisy within fifteen days. I also wish to say that with this Pedro Barba came Francisco López, who was afterwards a settler and Regidor of Guatemala.

Cortés paid much honour to Pedro Barba, and made him Captain of the crossbowmen. Pedro Barba brought the news that there was another small vessel in Cuba which Diego Velásquez intended to send with cassava bread and provisions, and this vessel arrived within eight days, and a gentleman named Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera, a native of Medina del Campo, came in her as Captain,

and brought with him eight soldiers and six crossbows and much twine for making bowstrings, and one mare. In exactly the same way that they had taken Pedro Barba, so did they take this Rodrigo Morejon, and they were sent at once to Segura de la Frontera, and we rejoiced to see all of them, and Cortés paid them much honour and gave them employment, and thank God we went on strengthening ourselves with soldiers and crossbows and two or three more horses, and I will leave off here and go back to say what the Mexican armies which were posted on the frontier did at Guacachula, and how the Caciques of that town came secretely to ask help from Cortés to turn them out.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

How the Indians of Guacachula came to beg help *from* Cortés, because the Mexican armies were ill-treating them and robbing them, and what was done about it.

I HAVE already said that Guatemoc, the chieftain who had recently been raised to be King of Mexico, was sending garrisons to his frontiers, and in particular he sent one very powerful and numerous body of warriors to Guacachula and another to Izucar, distant two or three leagues from Guacachula, for he feared greatly that we should raid the lands and towns subject to Mexico in that direction. It seems that as he sent such a host of warriors, and as they were under a new master, that they committed many robberies and acts of violence against the inhabitants of those towns where they were quartered; so much so, that the inhabitants of that province would not put up with them, for they said that they robbed them of their mantles and their maize and fowls, and jewels of gold and, above all, of all their daughters and wives if they were handsome, and they violated them in the presence of their husbands

and fathers and relations. So when they heard it said that the people of the town of Cholula had enjoyed peace and tranquillity since the day the Mexicans had ceased to come there, and that now it was the same at Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, and Quecholac, for this reason four chieftains of this town I have named came very secretly to Cortés and asked him to send Teules and horses to put a stop to these robberies and injuries which the Mexicans were committing, and said that all the people of that town and others in the neighbourhood would aid us in slaying the Mexican squadrons.

When Cortés heard this he proposed that Cristóbal de Olid should go as Captain with nearly all the horsemen and crossbowmen and a large force of Tlaxcalans, for the spoil the Tlaxcalans had carried off from Tepeaca had induced many more Tlaxcalans to come to our camp and town. Cortés [also] told off certain captains from among those who had come with Narvaez, to accompany Captain Cristóbal de Olid, so he took with him over three hundred soldiers and all the best horses that we had.

As he went on his way to that province with all his companions, it seems that some Indians told the followers of Narvaez that all the fields and houses were full of Mexican warriors, many more than there were at Otumba, and that Guatemoc the Prince of Mexico was there with them. It is said that they told so many stories that they frightened the followers of Narvaez, and as these had no liking for going on expeditions or to see fighting, but wanted to get back to their Island of Cuba, and as they had escaped from the affair in Mexico, and the causeways and the bridges, and that of Otumba, they did not want to find themselves in the same straits again.

Then these followers of Narvaez said many things to Cristóbal de Olid to the effect that they should not go on any further, but should turn back, and that he could see

that this war was going to be worse than the last, where so many lives were lost, and they raised many objections and gave him to understand that if he, Cristóbal de Olid, desired to go on, he might go and good luck to him, but as for themselves many of them did not wish to proceed any further. Thus, although they had a brave Captain as leader, and notwithstanding that he told them how it was not a question of going back, but of advancing with many good horses and men, and how if they turned back but a single step the Indians would make short work of them, and as the land was level he would not turn back but press on, (in which many of Cortés' soldiers backed him up and said there must be no turning back, that they had been present in other perilous expeditions and wars, and thanks to God they had always been victorious,) yet nothing that was said to them had any effect, but by means of their entreaties that they should go back and should write to Cortés from Quecholac explaining matters, they managed to confuse the mind of Cristóbal de Olid, and he turned back. When Cortés heard of it he was very angry and sent Cristóbal de Olid two more crossbowmen, and wrote to him that he marvelled that a man of his strength and courage, on account of nobodies, should fail to proceed with a thing he was ordered to do, like that. When Cristóbal de Olid saw the letter, he shouted with anger, and said to those who had advised him, that on their account he had fallen into error, and without more discussion he ordered them to accompany him, and said that any one who did not want to go, might go back to the camp as a coward, and Cortés would punish him. So like a fierce lion in his anger he set out with his people on the road to Guacachula.

About a league from the town, the Caciques of the town came out to tell them how and where the men of Culua were posted, and how they should be attacked, and in

what way the Spaniards could be assisted. When this was understood, the horsemen, crossbowmen and soldiers were told the position they were to occupy in the attack, and they fell on the troops of Culua, and although the latter fought well for a good while and wounded some of our soldiers and killed two horses and wounded eight more at some barricades and ditches that were in the town, within an hour all the Mexicans were put to flight. They say that our Tlaxcalans fought very bravely and that they killed and captured many of the enemy, and, as all the people of the town and province helped them, they made great havoc among the Mexicans who hastened in full retreat to fortify themselves in another large town called Izucar, where there was another great garrison of Mexicans who were posted in a great fortress, and they had broken down a bridge so that Cristóbal de Olid and the horses could not pass. As Olid was as angry as a tiger, he did not tarry long in that town but went on at once to Izucar, and with those who could follow him and with our allies from Guacachula he crossed the river and fell on the Mexican squadrons and quickly defeated them. There they killed two horses and gave Olid two wounds, one of them in the thigh, and his horse was badly wounded. He stayed in Izucar two days, and as the Mexicans were defeated, the Caciques and chieftains of that and of other neighbouring towns soon asked for peace and gave themselves as vassals of our Lord the King. When all was calmed down he returned with all his soldiers to our town of Frontera. Because I did not go on this expedition I state in this narrative "they say" that what I have related took place.

Cortés and all of us went out to receive them, and it gave us much pleasure, and we laughed about their having persuaded Cristóbal de Olid to turn back, and he also laughed at it himself, and said that some people thought

more about their mines in Cuba than of their arms, and he vowed to God, that if he should go on another expedition he would take with him only the poor soldiers who had followed Cortés and not the rich ones who had come with Narvaez, who wished to do more of the commanding than he did.

I will not talk any more about this, but will quote what the Historian Gomara says in his History, that Cristóbal de Olid turned back on the road to Guacachula because he did not understand the Nahuatatos and interpreters, and believed that there was some double dealing against us. It did not happen as Gomara says it did, but because the principal Captains from among the followers of Narvaez were told by some other Indians that great forces of Mexicans were assembled, even more than there had been in Mexico or Otumba, and that the Lord of Mexico named Guatemoc who had just been raised to be their king was with them. As they *"habian escapado de la de Mazagates"* (had just got out of one difficulty) as the proverb has it, they greatly feared having to fight again, and it was for that reason that they called on Cristóbal de Olid to turn back, although he contended that they should advance, and this is the truth and no lie. Gomara also says that Cortés went to that war after Cristóbal de Olid returned, and it was not so; this same Cristóbal de Olid, Maestre de Campo, is he who went, as I have stated. He also says twice that those who told the followers of Narvaez that there were so many thousands of Indians assembled, were the people of Huexotzingo, when they passed through that town. He also says many other things that are misleading.[1]

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[1] It is quite possible that Gomara is here more accurate than Bernal Díaz; Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor gives an account of the expedition; he says nothing about Cristóbal de Olid, but states that when the army turned back he himself took command and marched to Guacachula by way of Cholula and the (or a) town of Huexotzingo.

It is clear that in going from Tepeaca to Guacachula one has not to turn back to Huexotzingo. It would be as though being in Medina del Campo and wishing to go to Salamanca we should take the road to Valladolid! One would be no worse than the other, so the historian goes on his crazy way, and if all his writings in other Spanish chronicles are like this, I condemn them as a matter of lies and fables, however good his style may be.

Let us leave this subject and say what else happened at that time, which was that a ship came to the harbour of the rock of the ugly name, called what's-his-name Bernal, which was near Villa Rica, and it came from the Panuco expedition which had been sent out by Garay, and the name of the Captain who came in her was Camargo, and what happened I will go on to tell.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

How there arrived at the rock and port which is near Villa Rica, a ship, one of those that Francisco de Garay[1] had sent to form a settlement at the Rio Panuco, and what else happened about it.

While we were stationed at Segura de la Frontera, as I have already related, letters reached Cortés to say that one of the ships which Francisco de Garay had sent to form a settlement at Panuco, had come into port, and that her Captain was named somebody Camargo, and that she brought over sixty soldiers, all of them ill, and very yellow and with swollen bellies. They brought the news that the other Captain whom Garay had sent to settle at Panuco, whose name was something Álvarez

[1] Governor of Jamaica.

Pinedo, and all the soldiers and horses that had been sent to that province, had been killed by the Indians, and their ships burned. This Camargo, seeing how badly things had turned out, re-embarked his soldiers and came for help to that port, for they knew well that we had settled there. It was because they had to endure the constant attacks of the Indians of Panuco[1] that they had nothing to eat and arrived so thin and yellow and swollen. Moreover, they said that the Captain Camargo had been a Dominican Friar and had taken vows. These soldiers and their captain came on very slowly (for they could not walk, owing to their weakness) to the town of Frontera where we were stationed. When Cortés saw them so swollen and yellow he knew that they were no good as fighting men and that we should hardly be able to cure them, and he treated them with much consideration. I fancy that Camargo died very soon, but I do not well remember what became of him, and many others of them died, and then for a joke we gave the others a nickname, and called them the "verdigris bellies"[2] for they were the colour of death and their bellies were so swollen.

So as not to delay my story by telling about each incident at the time and place that it happened, I will say that all the ships that came to Villa Rica about that time were sent by Garay, although they may have come one a month in advance of the other; let us note anyhow that all of them arrived no matter whether earlier or later. I say this for one Miguel Díaz de Auz arrived soon after, an Aragonese who had been sent as one of Francisco de Garay's captains to succour Captain something Álvarez Pinedo, for he thought that Pinedo was at Panuco. When Miguel Díaz

[1] The text says, "Indios de Xamayca" (Jamaica): but this must be a slip of the pen.

[2] Pançiverdetes.

de Aus arrived at the port of Panuco and found no vestige, neither hide nor hair, of the Armada of Garay he understood at once from what he saw, that they were all dead. The Indians of that province attacked Miguel Díaz as soon as he arrived with his ship, and for that reason he came on to our port and disembarked his soldiers, who numbered more than fifty with (thirty)[1] seven horses, and he soon arrived where we were stationed with Cortés, and this help was most welcome just at the time when we needed it most.

So that it may be clearly understood who this Miguel Díaz de Aus was, I will state that he served His Majesty well on all occasions in the wars and conquest of New Spain; and it was he who after New Spain was settled brought a suit against a brother-in-law of Cortés, named Andrés de Barrios, a native of Seville whom they called the Dancer, and they gave him that name because he danced so often. The lawsuit was about the half of Mestitan.

It was this Miguel Díaz de Aus who, before the Royal Council of the Indies, in the year 1541, stated that he [Cortés] bestowed favours and Indians on some because they danced well, and from others he took their property because they had served His Majesty well by fighting. It was also he who said that Cortés gave Indians to Andrés de Barrios because he was his brother-in-law, although he did not deserve them, as he was with . . . . in Seville . . . ., and that he failed to give them to those to whom His Majesty had ordered that they should be given. It

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1 "Sus soldados que eran mas de cinquenta y *treinta* y siete caballos." The "treinta" (30) is clearly an error; it may have been written in mistake for "tres," thus:—"More than 53 soldiers and 7 horses."

In the following chapter it is stated that the three ships sent by Garay brought one hundred and twenty soldiers and seventeen horses and mares.

was he also who said most distinctly other things about the failure of justice towards those whom His Majesty had recommended, and moreover, he said other things, such as that they wanted to follow in the footsteps of the Villain of Cuba, so that the gentlemen who directed the Royal Council of the Indies were angered, of whom the President was the Reverend Fray García de Loysa, at one time Archbishop of Seville, and the Oidores were the Bishop of Lugo and his Licentiate Gutierrez Velásquez, and the Doctor Bernal Díaz de Luco and Doctor Beltran.

Let us go back to our story; then Miguel Díaz de Auz, after stating all he had a mind to, spread his cloak on the ground, and placing his dagger to his breast, laid himself down on the cloak and said: "If what I have spoken is not true, may your highnesses order my throat to be cut with this dagger, and if it is true, do severe justice." Thereupon, the President ordered him to rise and said that they were not there to kill any one, but to do justice, and that he was ill-advised in what he had said, he must go away and not say any more rude things, for otherwise he would punish him. What they decreed about the Mestitan suit was that he should be given a share of what the town produced, amounting to more than two thousand five hundred pesos, on condition that he should not enter the town for two years, for what they accused him of, was that he had killed certain Indians in that town and in others that he had owned.

Let us leave off relating this, for it is wandering from my story; and say that a few days after Miguel Díaz de Auz had come to that port in the way I have said, another ship arrived in port which Garay had also sent to help and succour his expedition, believing that they were all safe and well in the Rio de Panuco. The Captain who came in her was an old man named Ramírez, and he was far advanced in years and for this reason we called him

"the elder"[1] (for there were in our camp two Ramírezes) and he brought over forty soldiers and ten horses and mares, and crossbows and other arms. Thus, Francisco de Garay shot off one shaft after another to the assistance of his Armada, and each one went to assist the good fortune of Cortés and of us. It was of the greatest help to us, and all these men from Garay, as I have already said, came to Tepeaca where we were stationed. Because the soldiers brought by Miguel Díaz de Auz arrived very hearty and fat, we called them "the strong backs,"[2] and those who came with the elder Ramírez, who wore cotton armour so thick that no arrow could penetrate it, and it was very heavy, we called "the pack saddles."[3] When the captains and soldiers whom I have mentioned, presented themselves before Cortés, he paid them much honour. Let us stop telling about the succour that came to us from Garay, which was most acceptable, and tell how Cortés despatched Gonzalo de Sandoval on an expedition to the towns named Xalazingo and Zacatami.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

How Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to bring to peace the towns of Xalaçingo and Çacatami,[4] and to find out what Spaniards had been killed in them and what arms they had captured, and what the country was like, and to demand of the people the gold that they had stolen; for this purpose he took with him two hundred soldiers and twenty horsemen and twelve crossbowmen.

CORTÉS had now an abundance of soldiers and horses and crossbows, as he had been strengthened by the two small

[1] In Chapter CXXXVI, Ramírez the elder is mentioned as a lame old carpenter.

[2] Los de los lomos recios.

[3] Las albardillas.

[4] In this chapter (in which the place-names are printed exactly as they appear in the original text) the author gives an account of two

vessels sent by Diego Velásquez in which Pedro Barba and Rodrigo de Morejon de Lobera came as captains, bringing over twenty-five soldiers and two horses and a mare. Then came the three ships sent by Garay; in the first came Camargo as Captain, in the second Miguel Díaz de Auz, and in the last Ramírez the elder, and these captains between them brought over one hundred and twenty soldiers and seventeen horses and mares, and the mares were both for sport and for chargers.

Cortés had received the news that in some towns named Çacatami [Zocotla] and Xalaçingo [Xalatcinco] and in others in the neighbourhood, many of the soldiers of Narvaez had been killed when on their way from Mexico, and also that it was in those towns that they had killed, and stolen the gold from Juan de Alcántara and the other two settlers from the town of Villa Rica. This was the gold that had fallen to the share of all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica, as I have fully described in the chapter that treats of that subject.

Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval, the chief Alguacil, as the captain of that expedition, a valiant man of good counsel, and he took with him two hundred soldiers, nearly all of them from us, the followers of Cortés, and twenty horsemen and twelve crossbowmen and a large force of

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expeditions under Sandoval, the first to Çacatami and Xalaçingo and the second to Coçotlan. Reference to Chapter LXI will show the confusion that there originated over these names. There can be little doubt that Çacatami, Coçotlan, and Castil Blanco are one and the same place, that is, Zocotla (the Zautla of the modern maps), and that this chapter contains two accounts of the same expedition. Cortés in his second letter mentions only one expedition to Çacatami. Bernal Díaz is particular to state in Chapter CXXXII that he did not go on the expedition to Guacachula and Izucar, and illness at this time would easily account for lack of distinct memory of the events when he came to write them down so many years afterwards. In Chapter LXI Bernal Díaz mentions stopping at a small town belonging to Xalaçingo, a day's march from Castil Blanco: this may be the town visited by Sandoval, and not the site of the present town of Jalacingo, situated about forty miles to the north-east of Castil Blanco.

Tlaxcalans. Before he reached those towns he learned that they were all up in arms and had with them garrisons of Mexicans, and that they had fortified themselves strongly with breastworks and materials for defence, for they well knew that it was on account of the deaths of the Spaniards they had slain that we had come against them to punish them, as we had done to those of Tepeaca, Cachula [Quecholac] and Tecamachalco.

Sandoval arranged his troops and crossbowmen in good order, and told the horsemen how and in what manner they were to charge and break through the enemy. Before they entered the enemy's country he despatched messengers to tell them to come peaceably and give up the gold and arms they had stolen, and he would pardon them the death of the Spaniards. This sending of messengers to treat for peace was repeated three or four times, and the reply that the enemy sent was, that as they had killed and eaten the Teules who were asked about, so would they do to the Captain and all those he had brought with him. So the messages did no good, and he sent again to say that he would make slaves of them as traitors and highway robbers, and that they should get ready to defend themselves.

Then Sandoval and his companions set out, and he made the attack from two sides, and although the Mexicans and the natives of those towns fought very well, without relating anything more that happened in those battles, I may say that the enemy were defeated and the Mexicans and the Caciques of those towns were put to flight, and the pursuit was kept up and many of the common people were captured, but they did not care to keep the Indian men so as not to have to guard them.

They found in the Cues of that town clothes and armour and horses' bridles and two saddles, and other things belonging to horsemen, which had been offered to the Idols.

Sandoval determined to stay there three days; and the Caciques from those towns came to ask pardon and give their fealty to His Majesty, and Sandoval told them that they must give up the gold that they had stolen from the Spaniards they had killed, and then he would pardon them. They replied that the Mexicans had taken it, and had sent it to the Lord of Mexico who had been chosen as King, and that they had none of it. So Sandoval told them that they must go to Malinche, that is Cortés, about the pardon, and that he [Cortés] would speak to them and pardon them. Sandoval returned with a great spoil of women and boys who were branded as slaves, and Cortés was delighted when he saw him arrive strong and well, although eight soldiers had been badly wounded, and three horses killed, and Sandoval himself had one arrow wound.

I did not go on that expedition as I was very ill with fever and was vomiting blood, and thank God I got well for they bled me.

As Gonzalo de Sandoval had told the Caciques of Xalazingo [Xalatcinco] and Çacatami [Zocotla][1] to go to Cortés to sue for peace, not only did the Chieftains of those towns come, but those of many other towns in the neighbourhood, and all gave their fealty to His Majesty and brought food to the town where we were stationed. This expedition of Sandovol had the best results and brought the country to peace, and from now on Cortés had such renown throughout the towns of New Spain, on the one hand for being fair in all that he did, and on the other hand for being such a brave man, that he struck terror into them all, and most of all into Guatemoc the Prince and King lately raised to be ruler in Mexico. So great was the authority and position and command to which Cortés had attained, that they brought before him the disputes

[1] See note at beginning of chapter.

between Indians from distant lands, especially questions of chieftainship and overlordship. At that time smallpox had spread so widely in New Spain that many Caciques died, and they came to Cortés concerning questions as to whom the chieftaincy belonged, and who should be lord and should apportion lands or vassals or other property, as though he [Cortés] were the absolute master of the land, so that with his hand and authority he should raise the right claimant to be chieftain.

At that time people came from the towns of Izucar and Guacachula, already mentioned by me, because in Izucar the Lord of that town was married to a near relation of Montezuma, and they had a son who they said was a Cacique and a nephew of Montezuma and it seems that he inherited the Lordship, and others said that it belonged to another Chieftain, and they had disputes about it, and they came to Cortés and he decided that it should go to the relation of Montezuma, and they carried out his orders. In a similar manner they came from many other towns in the neighbourhood about disputes, and in each case he gave the land and vassals to the Chieftain to whom he thought it by right belonged.

About the same time Cortés also received the news that in a town six leagues away named Coçotlan [Zocotla][1], which we called Castil Blanco, nine Spaniards had been killed, and he sent the same Gonzalo de Sandoval to chastise the inhabitants and to bring them to peace. Sandoval went there with thirty horsemen and one hundred soldiers, eight crossbowmen and five musketeers, and many Tlaxcalans, and after he had made his threats and requests to induce them to come in peacefully [saying that] he would pardon them for the death of the Spaniards whom they

[1] Here apparently begins the repetition of the story that has just been told.

had killed, and after he had said many civil things to them through five Chieftains from Tepeaca, [he added] that if they did not so come he would wage war on them and make them slaves.

It seems that there were Mexican troops in the town guarding and protecting it, and they answered that they already had a Lord over them whose name was Guatemoc, and that they had no need to go or come at the word of another Chieftain, and that if the Spaniards should come there they would find them on the field [of battle], and that their forces were no weaker now than they had been in Mexico and at the bridges and causeways, and they already knew what our valour amounted to. As soon as Sandoval heard this, he formed up his men and the horsemen, crossbowmen and musketeers in order of battle, and told the Tlaxcalans not to throw themselves on the enemy at the beginning of the battle, so as not to get in the way of the horsemen or run the chance of being wounded by the crossbows and muskets, or being trampled on by the horses, but that when the squadrons had been broken up and defeated they should take the Mexicans prisoners and keep up the pursuit. Then he began his march towards the town, and two good squadrons of warriors sallied forth on the road to oppose him near some strongholds and barrancas, and there they stood firm for a time, but the crossbows and muskets did them much damage so that Sandoval was able to pass by the stronghold and stone walls with his horsemen, however they wounded nine of his horses and one of them died, and they also wounded four soldiers. When he saw that he was clear of that bad pass, and had room to gallop his horses (although the ground was not very good, for it was full of stones), he charged on the rear of the squadrons, breaking them up and driving them back on the town itself, where there was a great Court; there the enemy had another

force posted, and some Cues whither they retired to fortify themselves. Although they fought very bravely yet he conquered them, and killed seven Indians, for they were in bad passes. There was no need to order the Tlaxcalans to follow up the pursuit, for as they were warriors they undertook the task with zeal, especially because their country was not far from that town. There they captured many women and people of no consequence. Gonzalo de Sandoval stayed there two days, and he sent to summon the Caciques of that town by means of some Tepeaca Chieftains who were in his company, and they came and asked for pardon for the death of the Spaniards, and Sandoval told them that if they would give up the clothes and property that they had stolen from those they had killed, he would pardon them, and they replied that they had burned them all and had nothing left, that they had eaten most of those they had killed, but they had sent five of the Teules alive to Guatemoc their Lord, and that they had paid the penalty for this through those who had now been killed on the field of battle and in the town, and they begged him to pardon them, for they would bring them plenty to eat, and would provide the town where Malinche was stationed with food.

When Gonzalo de Sandoval saw that there was nothing more to be done, he pardoned them, and they promised to obey all commands. With this message he returned to the town, and was well received by Cortés and all those in Camp, where I will leave off talking about him and will relate how they branded all the slaves that had been taken in those towns and provinces, and what happened about it.

CHAPTER CXXXV.

How all the men and women slaves in our camp, whom we had captured in the affairs of Tepeaca, Quecholac, Tecamachalco and Castil Blanco and their territories, were collected together to be branded in the name of His Majesty, with the iron which had been made, and what happened about it.

When Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived at the town of Segura de la Frontera after having made the expeditions I have spoken of, we had all the people of that province pacified, and had for the moment no other expeditions planned, for all the towns in the neighbourhood had given their allegiance to His Majesty. So Cortés decided, with the officials of the King, that all the slaves that had been taken should be branded so that his fifth might be set aside after the fifth had been taken for His Majesty, and to this effect he had a proclamation made in the town and camp, that all the soldiers should bring to a house chosen for the purpose all the women whom we were sheltering, to be branded, and the time allowed for doing this was the day of the proclamation and one more.

We all came with all the Indian women and girls and boys whom we had captured, but the grown-up men we did not trouble about as they were difficult to watch and we had no need of their services, as we had our friends the Tlaxcalans. When they had all been brought together and had been marked with the iron which was like this G, which stands for *guerra* [war], when we were not expecting it they set aside the Royal fifth, and then took another fifth for Cortés, and, in addition to this, the night before, after we had placed the women in that house as I have stated, they took away and hid the best looking Indian women, and there was not a good-looking one left, and when it came to dividing them, they allotted us the old and ugly women, and there was a great deal of

grumbling about it against Cortés and those who ordered the good-looking Indian women to be stolen and hidden; so much so that some of the soldiers of Narvaez said to Cortés himself, that they took God to witness that such a thing had never happened as to have two Kings in the country belonging to our Lord the King, and to deduct two-fifths. One of the soldiers who said this to him was Juan Bono de Quejo, and moreover he said that they would not remain in such a country, and that he would inform His Majesty in Spain about it, and the Royal Council of the Indies. Another soldier told Cortés very clearly that it did not suffice to divide the gold which had been secured in Mexico in the way in which he had done it, for when he was dividing it he said that it was three hundred thousand pesos that had been collected, and when we were fleeing from Mexico, he had ordered witness to be taken that there remained more than seven hundred thousand; and that now the poor soldier who had done all the hard work and was covered with wounds could not even have a good-looking Indian woman; besides they [the soldiers] had given them [the Indian women] skirts and chemises, and all those women had been taken and hidden away. Moreover when the proclamation had been issued that they were to be brought and branded, it was thought that each soldier would have his women returned to him, and they would be appraised according to the value of each in pesos, and that when they had been valued a fifth would be paid to His Majesty and there would not be any fifth for Cortés; and other complaints were made worse than these.

When Cortés saw this, he said with smooth words that he swore on his conscience (for that was his usual oath) that from that time forward he would not act in that way, but that good or bad, all the Indian women, should be put up to auction, and that the good-looking ones should be

sold for so much, and those that were not [good looking], for a lower price, so that there should be no cause of quarrel with him. However, here in Tepeaca no more slaves were made, but afterwards in Texcoco it was done nearly in this manner, as I will relate further on.

I will stop talking about this and will refer to another matter almost worse than this of the slaves, which was, as I have already said in Chapter CXXVIII, that when on that night of sorrow[1] we were fleeing from Mexico, there remained in the hall where Cortés was lodged many bars of gold which were lost, because no more could be carried than what was packed on the horses and mare, and on a number of Tlaxcalans, and what our allies went away with and other soldiers carried off. As the rest would have been lost and left in the hands of the Mexicans, Cortés declared before a King's Notary that whoever should wish to take gold from what was left there, might carry it off and welcome, for their own, as otherwise it would be lost. Many of the soldiers who were followers of Narvaez loaded themselves with it, and so too did some of our men, and it cost many of them their lives, and those who escaped with the booty they carried, had been in great risk of being killed, and emerged covered with wounds. As in our camp and town of Segura de la Frontera (for so it was named), Cortés got to know that there were many bars of gold, and that they were were changing hands at play, and as the proverb has it: "*El oro y amores eran malos de encubrir*" (gold and love affairs are difficult to hide), he ordered a proclamation to be made, that under heavy penalty they should bring and declare the gold that they had taken, and that a third part of it should be returned to them, and that if they did not bring it, all would be seized. Many of the soldiers who possessed gold did not

[1] The "noche triste."

wish to give it up, and some of it Cortés took as a loan, but more by force than by consent, and as nearly all the Captains possessed gold and even the officials of the King, the proclamation was all the more ignored and no more spoken of; however, this order of Cortés' seemed to be very wrong. Let us not say anything more about it now, and I will tell how most of the Captains and principal persons who had come with Narvaez asked leave of Cortés to return to Cuba, and Cortés granted it, and what else happened about it.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

How the Captains and principal persons who had come in the Company of Narvaez asked leave of Cortés to return to the Island of Cuba, and Cortés granted it, and they set out; and how Cortés despatched ambassadors to Castile and Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, and what happened in each case.

When the Captains of Narvaez observed that now we had reinforcements both through those who had come from Cuba, and those whom Francisco de Garay had sent to join his expedition from Jamaica, as I have explained in the chapter that treats of the subject, and they saw that the towns of the province of Tepeaca were all at peace, after much discussion with Cortés, and many promises and entreaties, they begged him to give them leave to return to the Island of Cuba, as he had promised. Cortés promptly granted their request, and even promised them that if he regained New Spain and the city of Mexico that he would give his partner Andrés de Duero much more gold than he had given him before, and he made similar promises to the other Captains, especially to Augustin Bermúdez, and he ordered them to be given supplies such as could be procured at that time, maize, and salted dogs,

and a few fowls, and one of the best ships. Cortés wrote to his wife, who was named Doña Catalina Juarez, la Marcaida, and to Juan Juarez his brother-in-law, who at that time lived in the Island of Cuba, and sent them some bars and jewels of gold, and told them about all the disasters and hardships that had happened to us, and how we had been driven out of Mexico.

Let us leave this and state who were the persons who asked leave to go to Cuba. Those who went away rich were Andrés de Duero, Augustin Bermúdez, Juan Bono de Quexo, Bernaldino de Quesada, Francisco Velásquez the humpback (a relation of Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba), Gonzalo Carrasco, who after he returned to New Spain lived in Puebla, Melchior de Velasco, who was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, and one Jiménez, who lived afterwards in Oaxaca, who went to fetch his sons, and the Comendador Leon de Cervantes, who went for his daughters whom after the capture of Mexico he married off very honourably. There also went a man named Maldonado, a native of Medellin, who was ill, I do not mean Maldonado the husband of Doña Maria del Rincon, nor Maldonado the broad, nor another Maldonado called Álvaro Maldonado the fierce, who was married to a lady named Maria Rias; and there was also one Vargas, a settler of Trinidad, whom they called in Cuba, Vargas the handsome, I do not mean that Vargas who was father-in-law of Cristóbal Lobo and became a settler in Guatemala; there also went one of Cortés' soldiers named Cárdenas, a pilot, this was the Cárdenas who said to his companions, "How can we soldiers get any rest while there are two kings in New Spain?" It was he to whom Cortés gave three hundred dollars so that he could return to his wife and children. To avoid prolixity in calling them all to mind, [I will say that] many others went whose names I do not remember.

When Cortés gave them leave to go, we asked him why he gave it, as we who remained behind were so few, and he replied that it was to avoid brawls and importunities, and that we could see for ourselves that some of those who were returning were not fit for warfare, and that it was better to remain alone than in useless company. Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to despatch them from the port, and told him that after they were embarked he was to return at once to the town.

I will now say that he also sent Diego de Ordás and Alonzo de Mendoza, a native of Medellin de Cáceres, to Castile, with certain messages from himself, and I do not know if he sent any from us, for he did not tell us a thing about the business that he was negotiating with His Majesty, nor did I find out what took place in Spain, except that the Bishop of Burgos said loudly before Diego de Ordás that both Cortés and all his soldiers were bad men and traitors, and that Ordás answered very well for all of us. Then Ordás was made Comendador of the Order of Santiago, and for armorial bearings was given the Volcano which stands between Huexotzingo and near Cholula[1]; and what negotiations he carried out I will relate further on when we came to know of them by letter.

Let us leave this now and I will tell how Cortés sent Alonzo de Ávila, who was a captain and Accountant of New Spain, and with him another gentleman named Francisco Álvarez "the little,"[2] who was a man well versed in business, and ordered them to go in another ship to the Island of Santo Domingo, to give an account of all that had happened to the Royal Audiencia which was stationed there, and to the Geronimite Friars who were Governors of all the Islands, and induce them to think well of all we had done in our conquests and in the defeat of Narvaez. [They

[1] Entre Guaxoçingo y cerca de Cholula.
[2] Francisco Alvarez Chico.

were also to inform them] that slaves had been made in the towns where Spaniards had been killed and the inhabitants had renounced the allegiance that they had given to our Lord the King, and that it was intended to do so in all the other towns that belonged to the alliance and name of the Mexicans. Cortés prayed them to send a report of it [our actions] to Castile to our Great Emperor and to bring to his mind the great services we were always performing for him, and that by the intercession of the Royal Audiencia of the Geronimite Friars we might be favoured with Justice in spite of the ill will and antagonism that the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano entertained against us.

Cortés also sent another vessel to the Island of Jamaica for horses and mares, and the captain who went in her was called something de Solís, who after the capture of Mexico was called "Solís of the orchard," son-in-law of a man called the Bachelor of Arts Ortega.

I well know that some inquiring readers will ask how without money could Diego de Ordás be sent on business to Castile, for it is clear that in Castile and elsewhere money is a necessity, and in the same way [how could] Alonzo de Ávila and Francisco Álvarez el Chico be sent on business to Santo Domingo, and to the Island of Jamaica for horses and mares? I may answer this, that when we were fleeing from Mexico on the night so often mentioned by me, as there remained in the hall many bars of gold abandoned in a heap, most of the soldiers snatched some off, especially the horsemen, and much more the followers of Narvaez, and the officers of His Majesty who had charge of the gold carried off the prepared bundles, and in addition to this, by Cortés' orders more than eighty Tlaxcalan Indians were laden with gold and they were amongst the first who got clear of the bridges, so that it is clear that many loads of it were

saved, and it was not all lost on the causeway. As we poor soldiers who had no command but only lived to be commanded were at that time trying to save our lives, and later on to heal our wounds, we did not pay much attention to the gold, whether many loads of it were saved at the bridges or not, nor did we bother much about it, but Cortés and some of our Captains managed to get it from the Tlaxcalans who had carried it out, and we suspected them of getting away with the forty thousand pesos also, the share of the settlers of Villa Rica, and of spreading the report that they had been stolen.

With this gold Cortés was able to send to Castile on his personal business, and to buy horses, and to send to the Island of Santo Domingo to the Royal Audiencia, for at that time all held their tongues about the bars of gold that they possessed, although more proclamations had been issued.

Let us leave this subject, and I will say that now as all the towns in the neighbourhood of Tepeaca were at peace, Cortés settled that one Francisco de Orozco should stay in our town of Segura de la Frontera as captain, with a batch of twenty soldiers who were wounded or ill, and that all the rest of the army should go to Tlaxcala. He also gave orders that timber should be cut for the building of thirteen sloops so that we could return to Mexico again, for we knew for certain that we could never master the lake without sloops, nor carry on war, nor enter that great city another time by the causeways, without great risk to our lives.

He who was the expert to cut the wood and make the model and the measurement, and [give] instructions how they were to be fast sailers and of light draught for their special purpose, and the one who built them, was Martin López, who certainly, besides being a good soldier in all the wars, served His Majesty very well in this matter of

the sloops, and worked at them like a strong man. It seems to me, that if some ill luck had prevented his being one of the first to come in our company, we might have wasted much time in sending to Castile for a master carpenter, and then perhaps none might have come, on account of the great difficulty that the Bishop of Burgos always put in our way.

I must come back to my story and say that when we arrived at Tlaxcala our great friend Mase Escasi, that very loyal vassal of His Majesty, had died of smallpox. We all grieved over his death very much and Cortés said he felt it as though it were the death of his own father, and he put on mourning of black cloth,[1] and so did many of our Captains and soldiers. Cortés and all of us paid much honour to the children and relations of Mase Escasi. As there were disputes in Tlaxcala about the Caciqueship and command, Cortés ordered and decreed that it should go to a legitimate son of Mase Escasi, for so his father had ordered before he died, and he had also said to his sons and relations, that they should take care always to obey the commands of Malinche and his brethren, for we were certainly those who were destined to govern the country, and he gave them other good advice.

I must leave off talking about Mase Escasi, for he is dead, and will say of Xicotenga the elder and Chichimecatecle and nearly all the other caciques of Tlaxcala, that they offered their services to Cortés, both in the matter of cutting wood for the sloops and anything else he might order for the war against Mexico. Cortés embraced them with much affection and thanked them for it, especially Xicotenga the elder and Chichimecatecle, and soon persuaded them to become Christians and the good old

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "Such as was obtainable at that time."—G. G.

Xicotenga with much willingness said that he wished to be a Christian, and he was baptized by the Padre de la Merced with the greatest ceremony that at that time it was possible to arrange in Tlaxcala, and was given the name of Don Lorenzo Vargas.

Let us go back to speak of the sloops. Martin López made such speed in cutting the wood with the great assistance rendered him by the Indians, that he had the whole of it cut within a few days, and each beam marked for the position for which it was intended to occupy, after the manner that the master carpenters and boat builders have of marking it. He was also assisted by another good soldier named Ándres Nuñez, and an old carpenter who was lame from a wound, called Ramírez the elder.

Then Cortés sent to Villa Rica for much of the iron and the bolts out of the ships which we had destroyed, and for anchors, sails and rigging and for cables and tow and all the other material for building ships, and he ordered all the blacksmiths to come, and one Hernando de Aguilar who was half a blacksmith and helped in the forging. As at that time there were three men of the name of Aguilar in our camp, we called this Hernando de Aguilar *Maxa-hierro* (the iron forger). Cortés sent a certain Santa Cruz, a native of Burgos, who was afterwards Regidor of Mexico, a very hard-working man and a good soldier, as Captain to Villa Rica with orders to bring all the material I have mentioned. He brought everything, even to the cauldrons for melting the pitch, and all the things that they had taken out of the ships, and transported them with the help of more than a thousand Indians, for all the towns of those provinces were enemies of the Mexicans, and at once gave men to carry the loads. Then as we had no pitch with which to caulk [the sloops], and the Indians did not know how to extract it, Cortés ordered four sailors who under-

stood the work to go and make pitch in some fine pine woods near Huexotzingo.[1]

Let us go on, and though it does not much concern the subject I have been speaking about, certain inquisitive gentlemen, who knew Alonzo de Ávila very well, have asked me, how it was that being a Captain and a very brave one, and being Accountant of New Spain, and a warlike man, and his inclination being more towards warfare than to looking after business with the Geronimite Friars who were the governors of all the Islands, how was it that Cortés sent him when he had other men who were better versed in business, such as Alonzo de Grado, or Juan de Cáceres, the rich, or others that they mentioned to me? I contend that Cortés sent Alonzo de Ávila because he knew him to be a bold man, who would dare to answer for us in what he considered just. He also sent him because Alonzo de Ávila had had disputes with other Captains, and had the great temerity to say to Cortés anything he considered proper to tell him, and so as to avoid brawls and in order to give the command that he held to Andrés de Tápia and the Accountantship to Alonzo de Grado, which he at once did, it was for these reasons that he sent him.

Let us go back to our story. As soon as Cortés saw that the timber for the sloops was cut, and the persons named by me had started for Cuba, (that is the followers of Narvaez and those whom we considered encumbrances, especially as they were always saying to us that we had not force enough to resist the great power of the Mexicans

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "I remember that the man who had charge of the work and went as captain was Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, who was a good soldier in the Mexican War, and was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, a very honourable person who, later on, went as captain and admiral of thirteen vessels with Pedro de Alvarado and was a good servant of His Majesty in every capacity and died in his service."—G. G.

when they heard it said that we were going to besiege Mexico) freed from these anxieties, [he] Cortés settled that we should go with all our soldiers to the city of Texcoco. Over this there were many and great discussions, for some of the soldiers said that there was a better position, and better canals and ditches in which to build the sloops at Ayotzingo near Chalco than in the ditch and lake [at Texcoco], and others contended that Texcoco was the better, as it was nearer to many other towns, and that when we held that city in our power, we could make expeditions to the country in the vicinity of Mexico, and that once stationed in that city we could form a better opinion as to how things were going on.

When it was settled in the way I have said, the news reached us through letters brought by some soldiers, that a large ship had arrived from Spain and the Canary Islands, laden with a great variety of merchandise, muskets, powder, crossbows and crossbow cords, and three horses, and other arms, and there came as owner of the merchandise and of the ship Juan de Burgos, and as sailing master Francisco de Amedel, and there were thirteen soldiers in her. At that news we were greatly delighted and, if before the news of the ship reached us we were in haste to start for Texcoco, we were all the more in haste now, because Cortés sent at once to buy all the arms and powder and everything else that she carried, and even Juan de Burgos himself and Amedel and all the passengers on board soon came to our camp, and we were very well satisfied at receiving such timely assistance. I call to mind that a certain Juan de Espinar, a very rich man who was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, joined at that time, also a Biscayan named Monjaraz, said to be an uncle of Ándres de Monjaraz, and Gregorio de Monjaraz, who were soldiers of ours, and father of a woman who afterwards came to Mexico called "La Monjaraza," a very beautiful woman,

also a Sagredo, uncle of a woman called "La Sagreda" who lived in Cuba, they were natives of the town of Medellin. I recall this to mind now on account of what I shall go on to say, which is that Monjaraz never went fighting or on any expedition with us, because he was ill at that time, and when he had quite recovered he gave himself the airs of a brave man, and when we were besieging Mexico, Monjaraz said that he wished to go and see how we fought with the Mexicans, for he did not believe that the Mexicans were brave; and he went and ascended a lofty Cue like a tower, and we never found out how and in what manner the Indians killed him that same day. Many persons who had known him in the Island of Santo Domingo said that it was the Divine Will that he should die that death, for he had killed his wife, a good and honourable person, for no fault whatever, and had sought false witnesses who swore that she had bewitched him.

I must leave off telling old stories and say how we went to the city of Texcoco and what happened there.

Matlacihuatl,
Married in 1402 to
Ixtlilxóchitl, King
of Texcoco.

Netzahualcóyotl,
King of Texcoco. Born 1402.
Took the oath as King 1414.
Died 1472.

Ahuitzotl,
8th King of Mexico.
Born about 1466.
Elected 1486. Died 1502.

A daughter,
Married to
Moquihuix,
Last Lord of Tlaltelolco.

Cuauhtémoc (Guatémoc),
11th King of Mexico.
Born 1502.
Elected 1520. Died 1525.

Tlillacapantzin.
Married to her uncle
Ahuitzotl,
and was mother of
Cuauhtémoc.

Juan Cano.

Isabel Cano.

Catalina Cano,
a nun of the
Concepcion in
1553.

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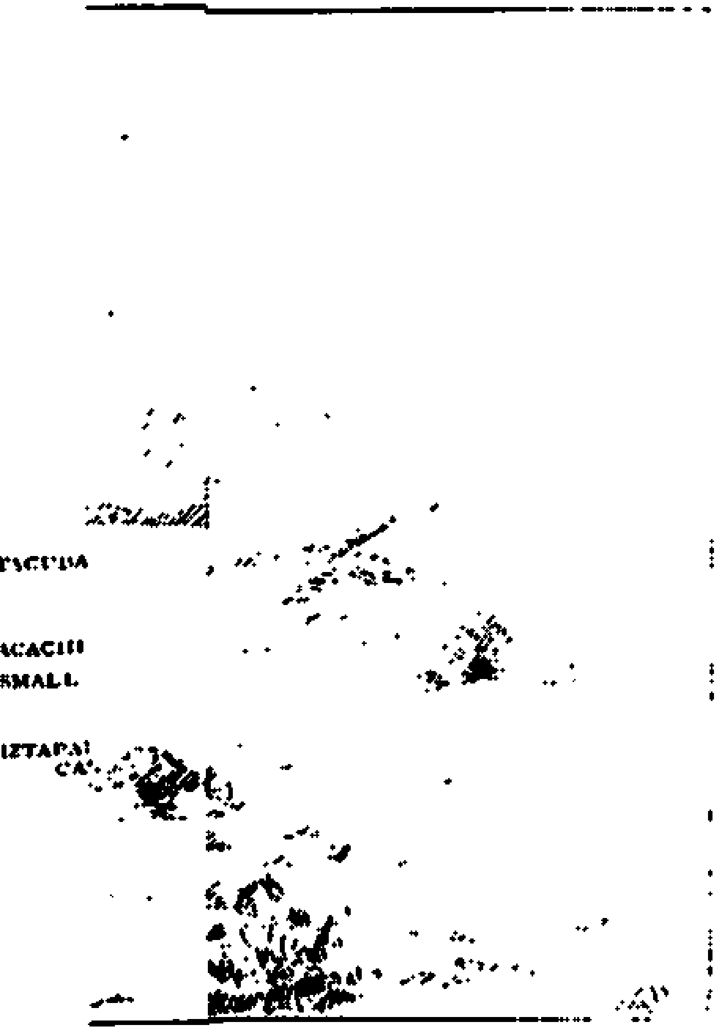
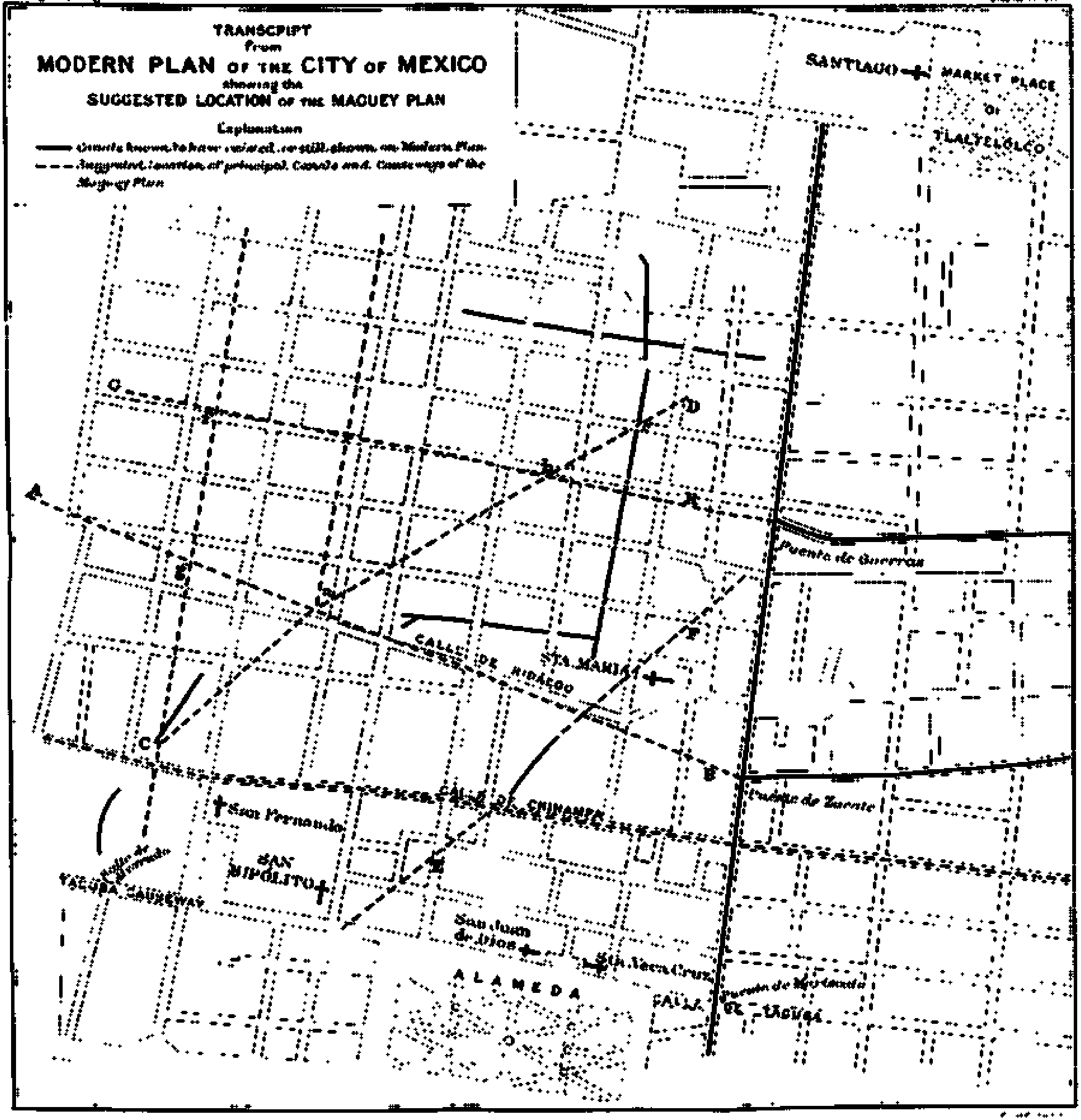
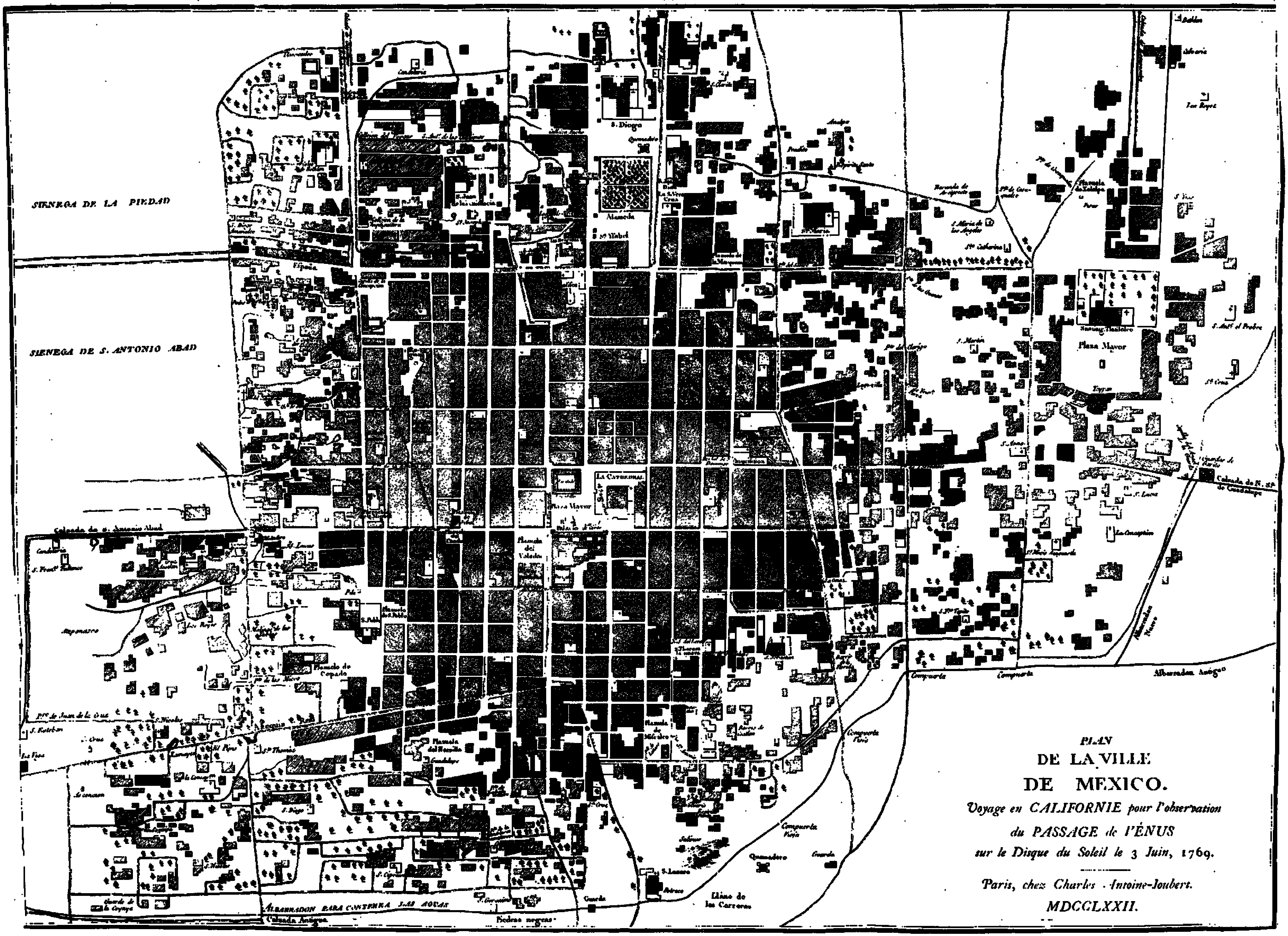
. MAUDSLAY.

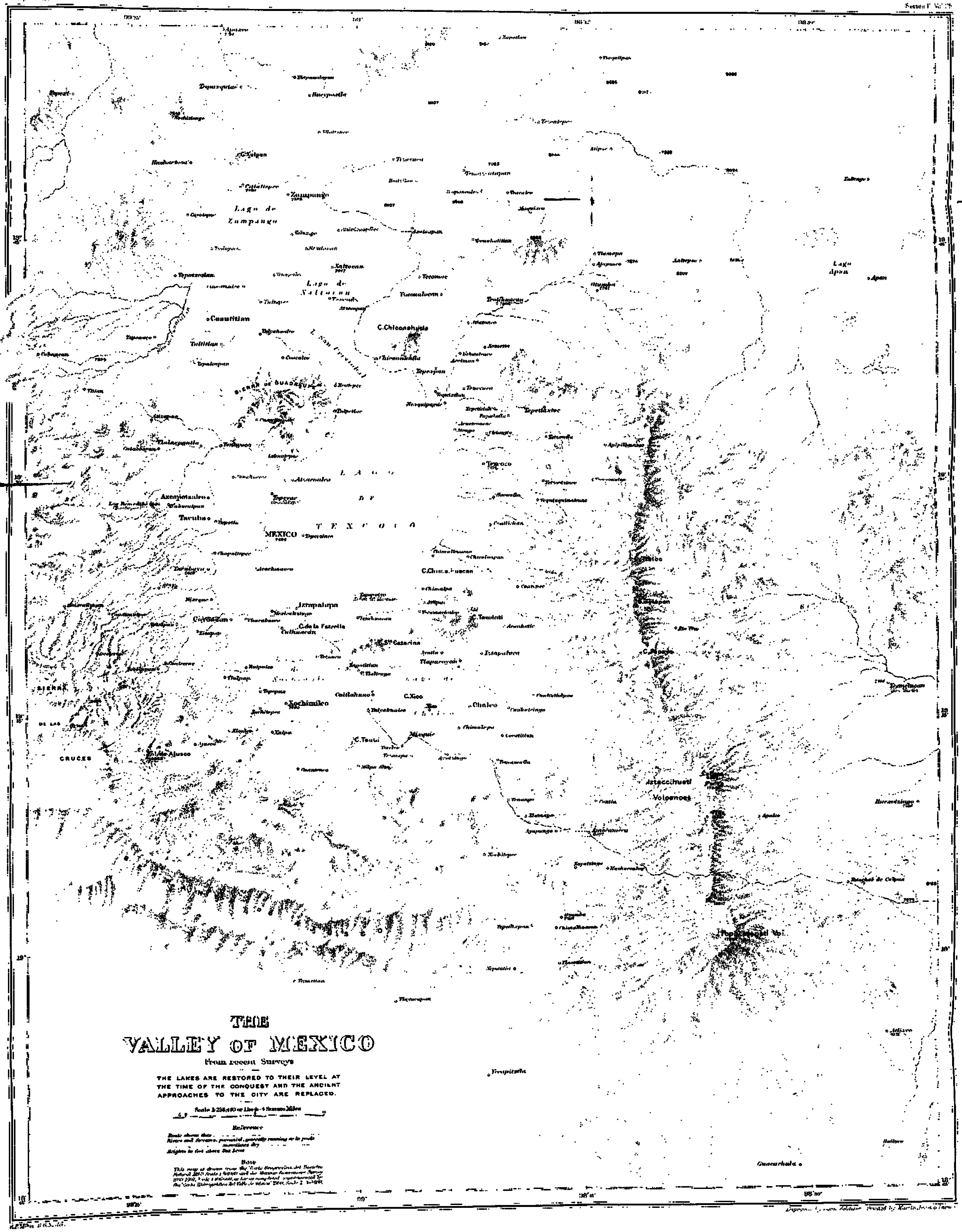
To face page 40.

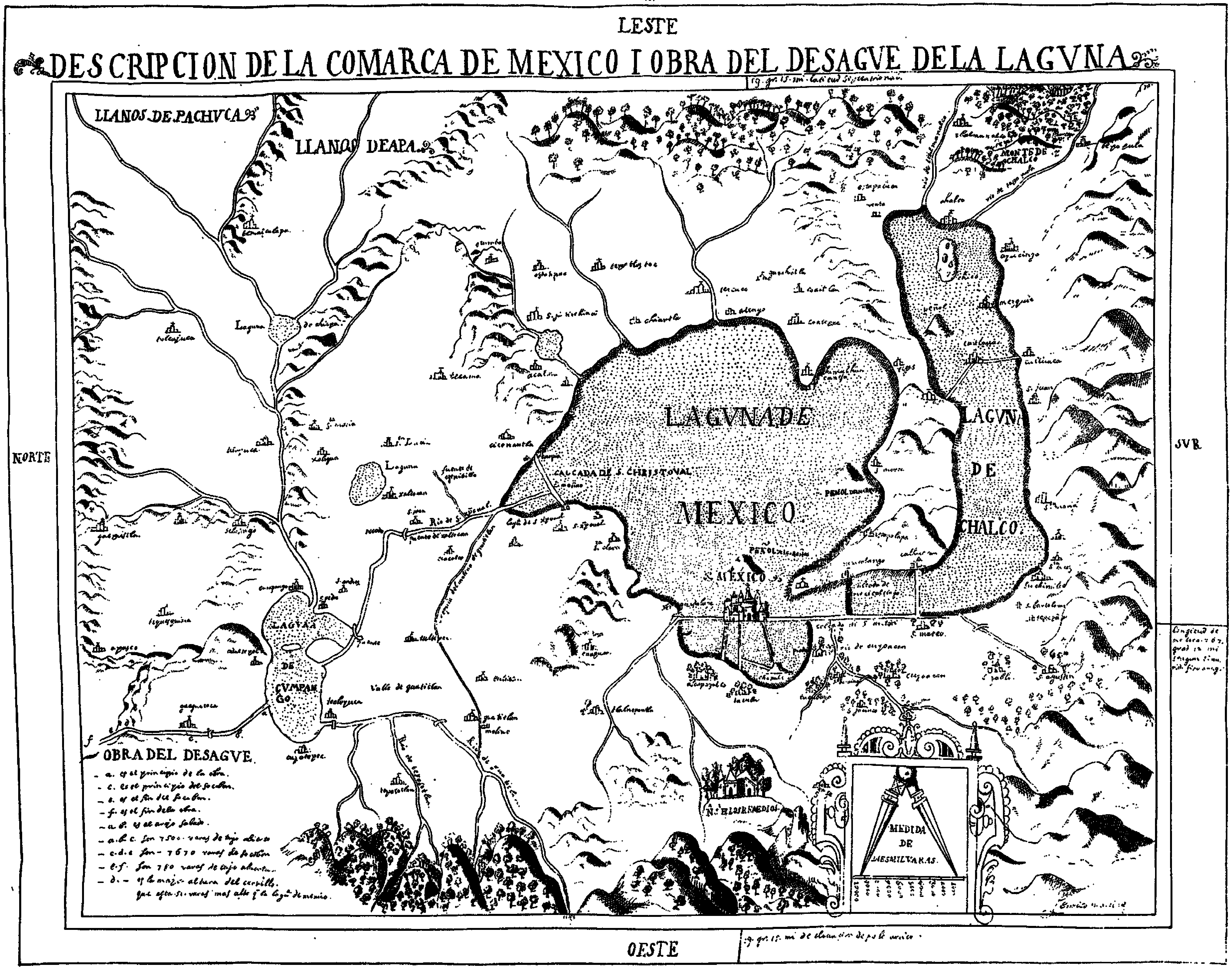


PHOTOGRAPHED BY A. P. MAUDSLAY.


TRANSCRIPT
from
MODERN PLAN OF THE CITY OF MEXICO
showing the
SUGGESTED LOCATION OF THE MAGUEY PLAN
Explanation
Canals known to have existed, or still shown, on Modern Plan
Suggested location of principal Canals and Causeways of the Maguey Plan
SANTIAGO
MARKET PLACE OF TLALTELOLCO
Puente de Guerrero
CALLE DE HIDALGO
STA MARIA
Puente de Zarate
CALLE DE CHINAMPE
San Fernando
SAN HIPOLITO
TACUBA CAUSEWAY
San Juan de Dios
Sta Vera Cruz
Puente de Mariscala
ALAMEDA
CALLE DE TACUBA

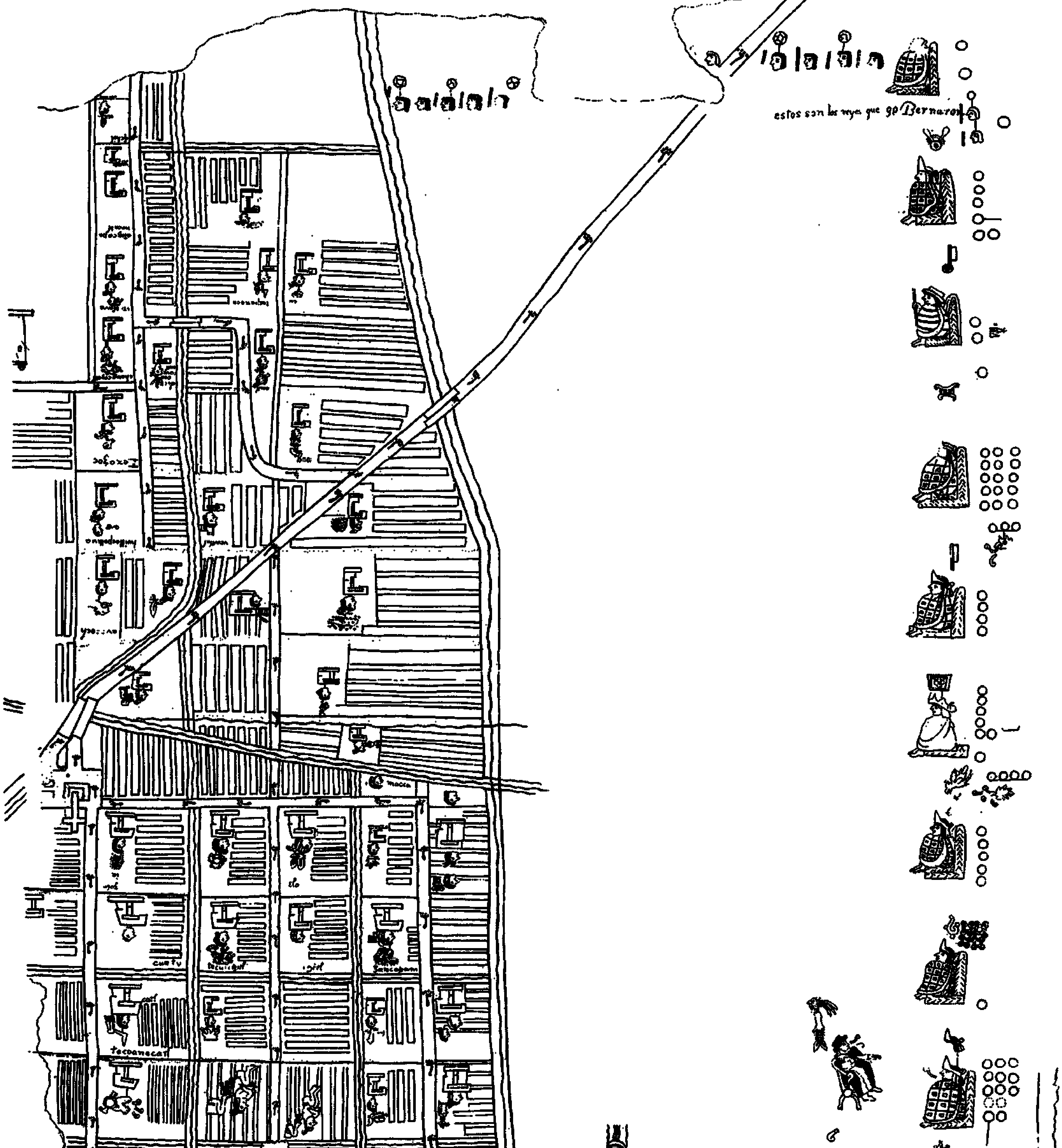

PLAN
DE LA VILLE
DE MEXICO.
Voyage en CALIFORNIE pour l'observation
du PASSAGE de VÉNUS
sur le Disque du Soleil le 3 Juin, 1769.
Paris, chez Charles Antoine-Joubert.
MDCCLXXII.
SIENEGA DE LA PIEDAD
SIENEGA DE S. ANTONIO ABAD
Alameda
S. Diego
La Cathedrale
Plaza Mayor
Plaza Mayor
Llano de los Carreras
Calzada de N. Sr. de Guadalupe
Albarradon Antiguo
Albarradon para contener las aguas
Calzada Antigua
Piedras negras


THE
VALLEY OF MEXICO
From recent Surveys
THE LAKES ARE RESTORED TO THEIR LEVEL AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST AND THE ANCIENT APPROACHES TO THE CITY ARE REPLACED.
Reference
Note
MEXICO
Lago de Zumpango
Lago de Xaltocan
LAGO DE TEXCOCO
Zumpango
Cuautitlan
Tacuba
Azcapotzalco
Tlalnepantla
Iztapalapa
Coyoacan
Xochimilco
Chalco
C. Xico
C. Teutli
C. Chiconautla
Ixtaccihuatl
Volcanoes
Popocatepetl Vol.
SIERRA DE LAS CRUCES
SIERRA DE GUADALUPE
Lago Apan
Apan
Texcoco
Tepetlaxtoc
Amecameca
Cuauhtitlan
Guacachula



MAP of the VALLEY OF MEXICO by ENRICO MARTINEZ, about 1628.

Reproduced from a MEMORIA issued in 1902 by the JUNTA DIRECTIVA DEL DESAGÜE del VALLE DE MEXICO



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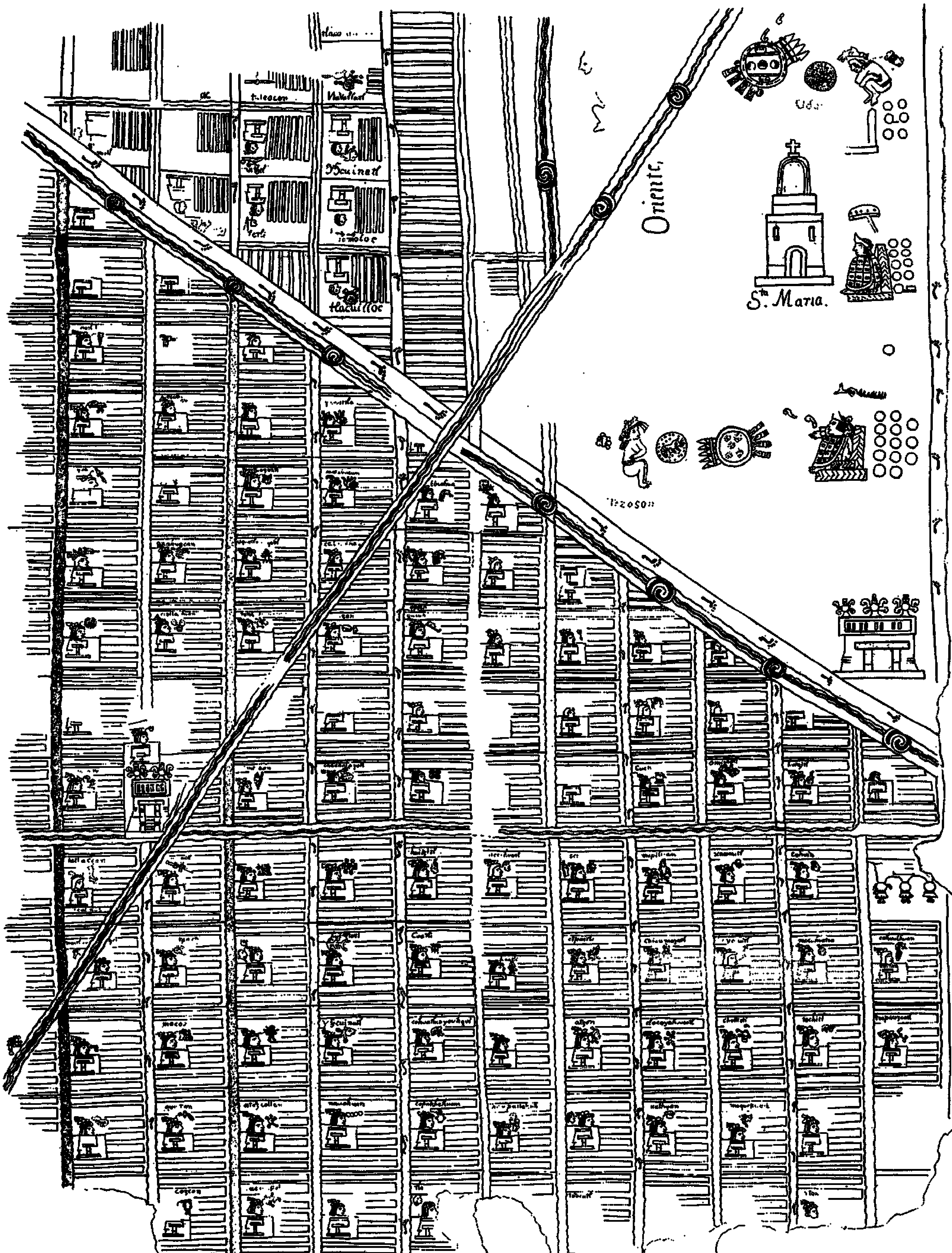

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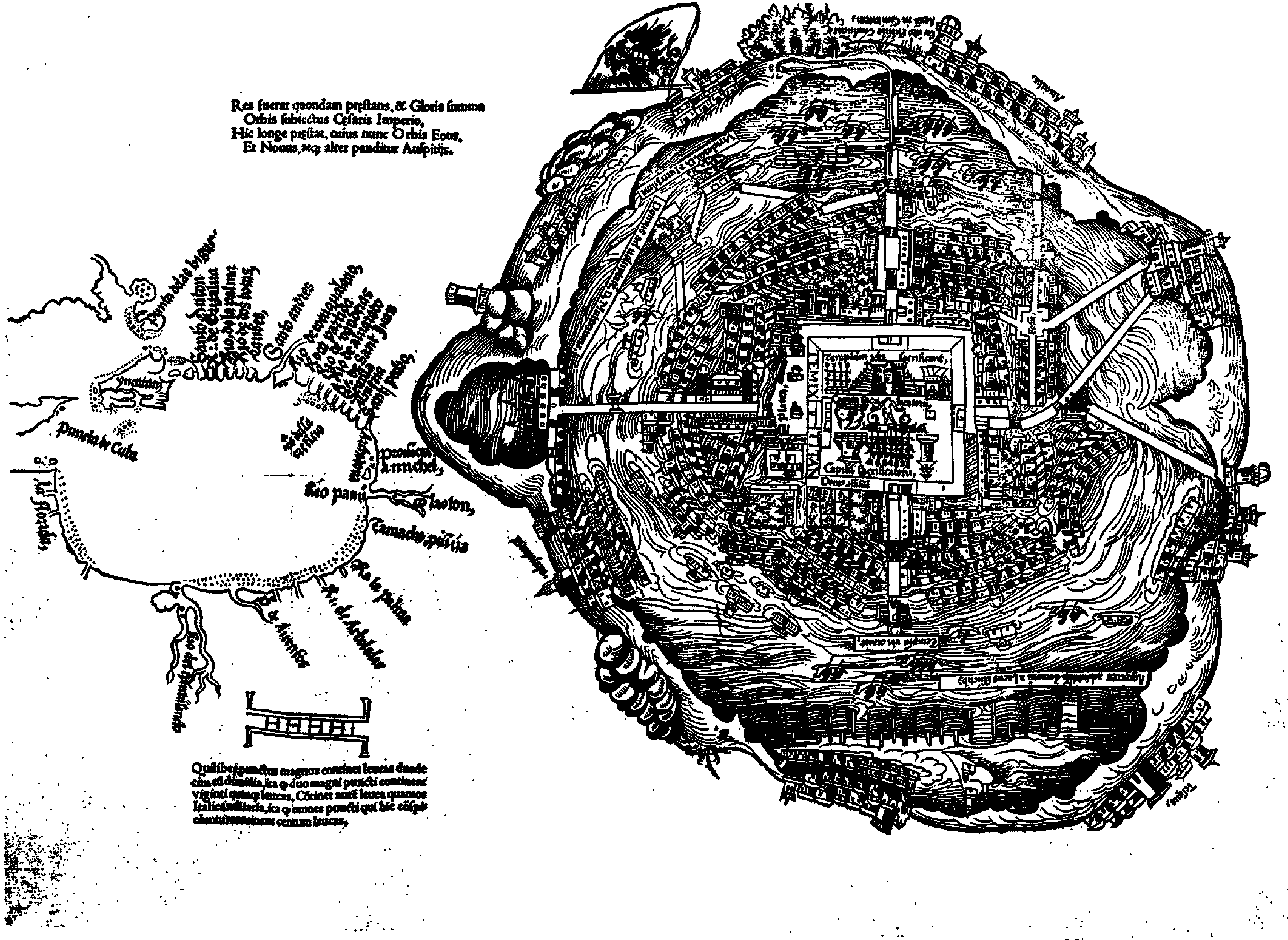
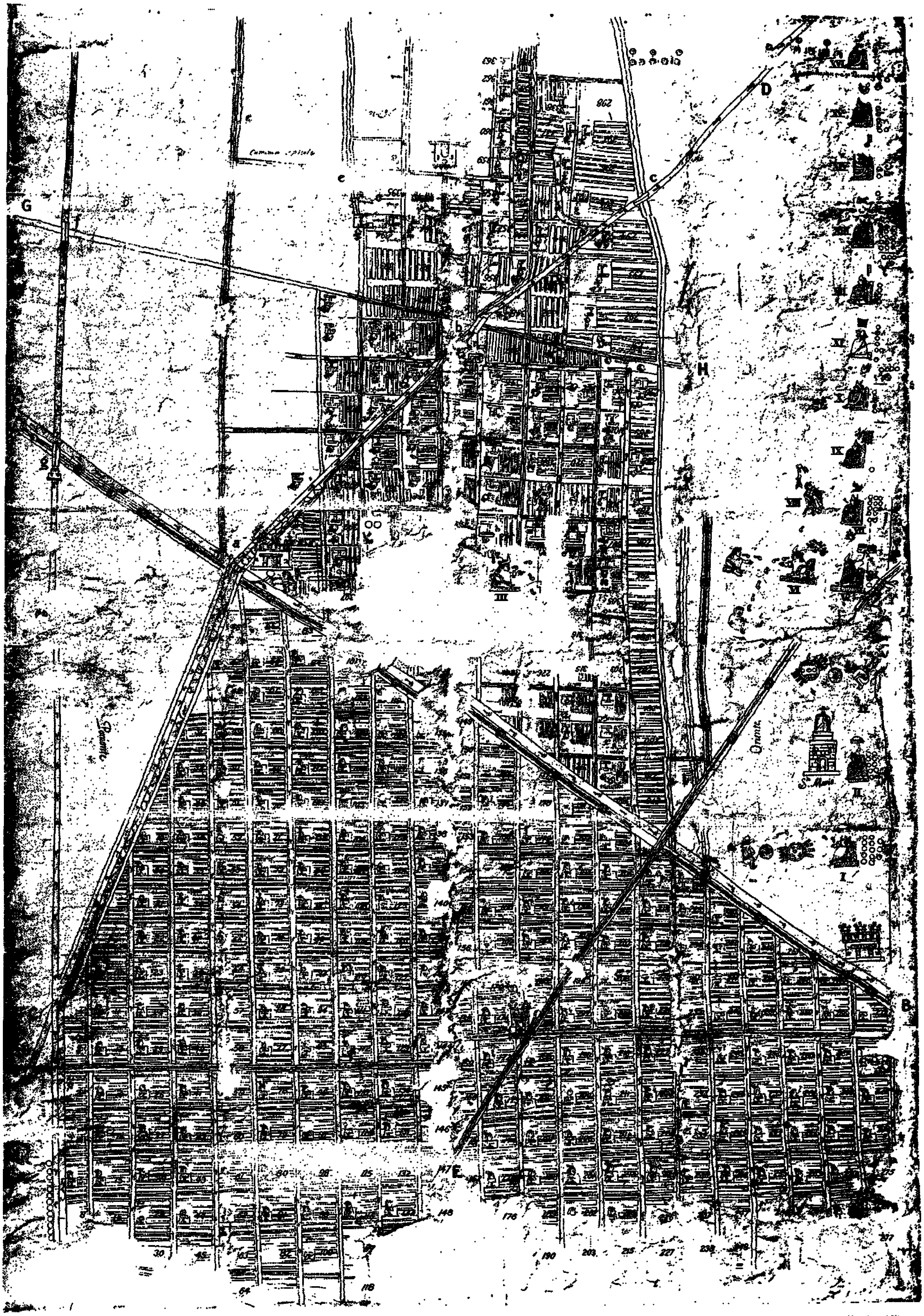


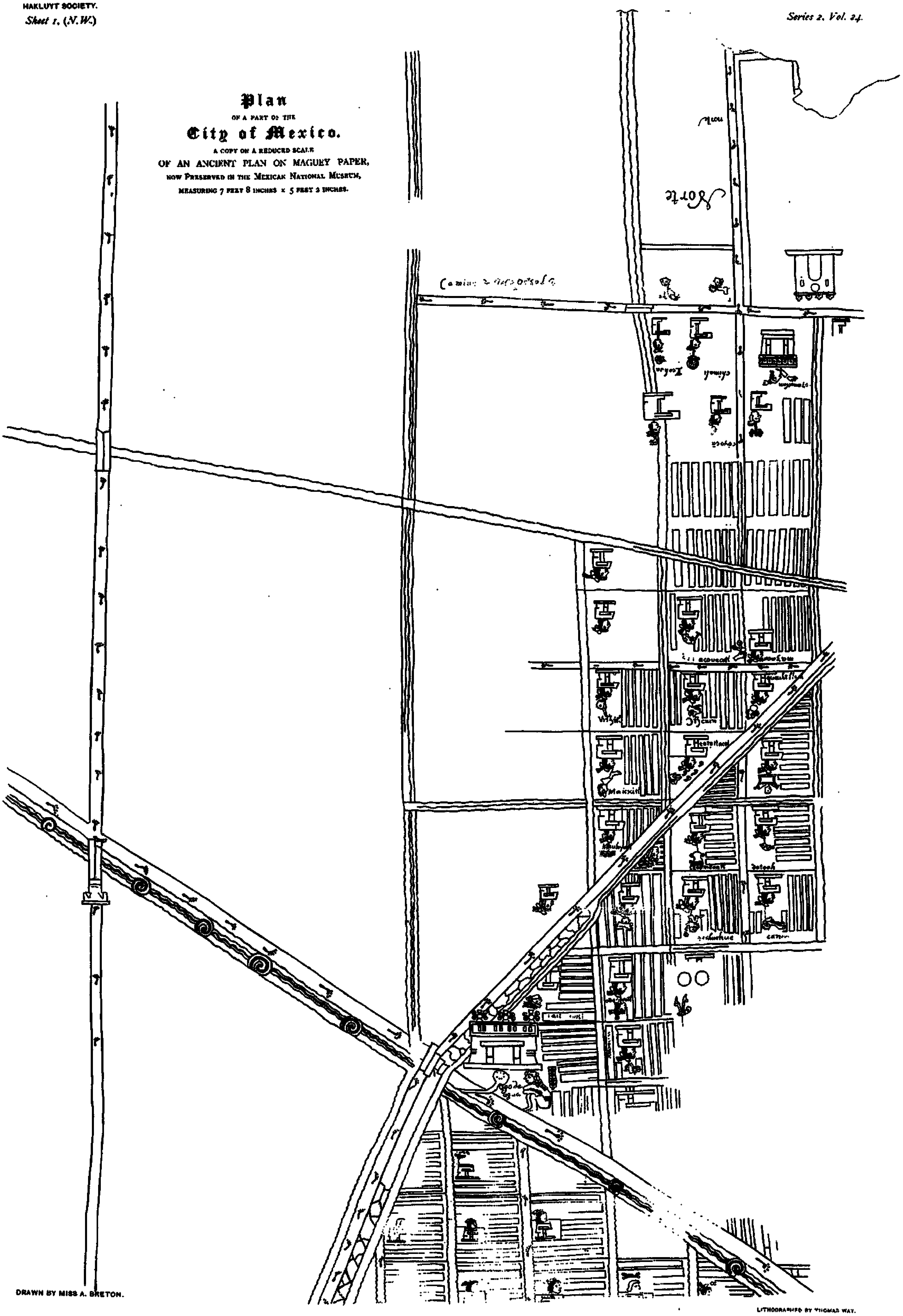
Chart of the GULF, with Plan of the LAKE and CITY OF MEXICO, from the Latin translation of CORTES' LETTERS by PIETRO SAVORGNANI, 1524.



C. B. WAITE, PHOTO. SWAN ELECTRIC ENGRAVING CO., LTD.

THE MAGUEY PLAN, reproduced from a Photographic Print on which the outline has been strengthened.

Plan
OF A PART OF THE
City of Mexico.
A COPY ON A REDUCED SCALE
OF AN ANCIENT PLAN ON MAGUEY PAPER,
NOW PRESERVED IN THE MEXICAN NATIONAL MUSEUM,
MEASURING 7 FEET 8 INCHES × 5 FEET 2 INCHES.



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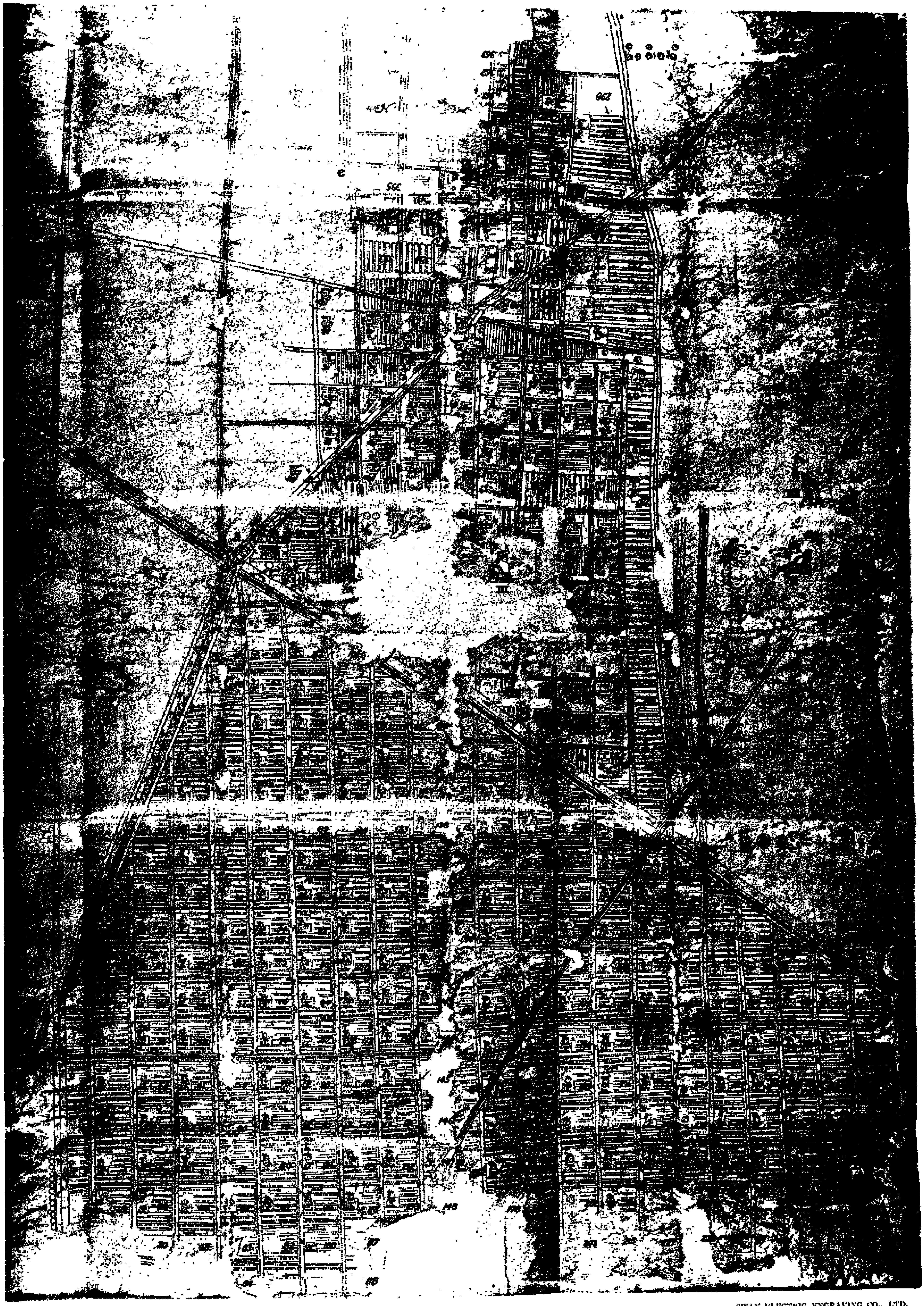

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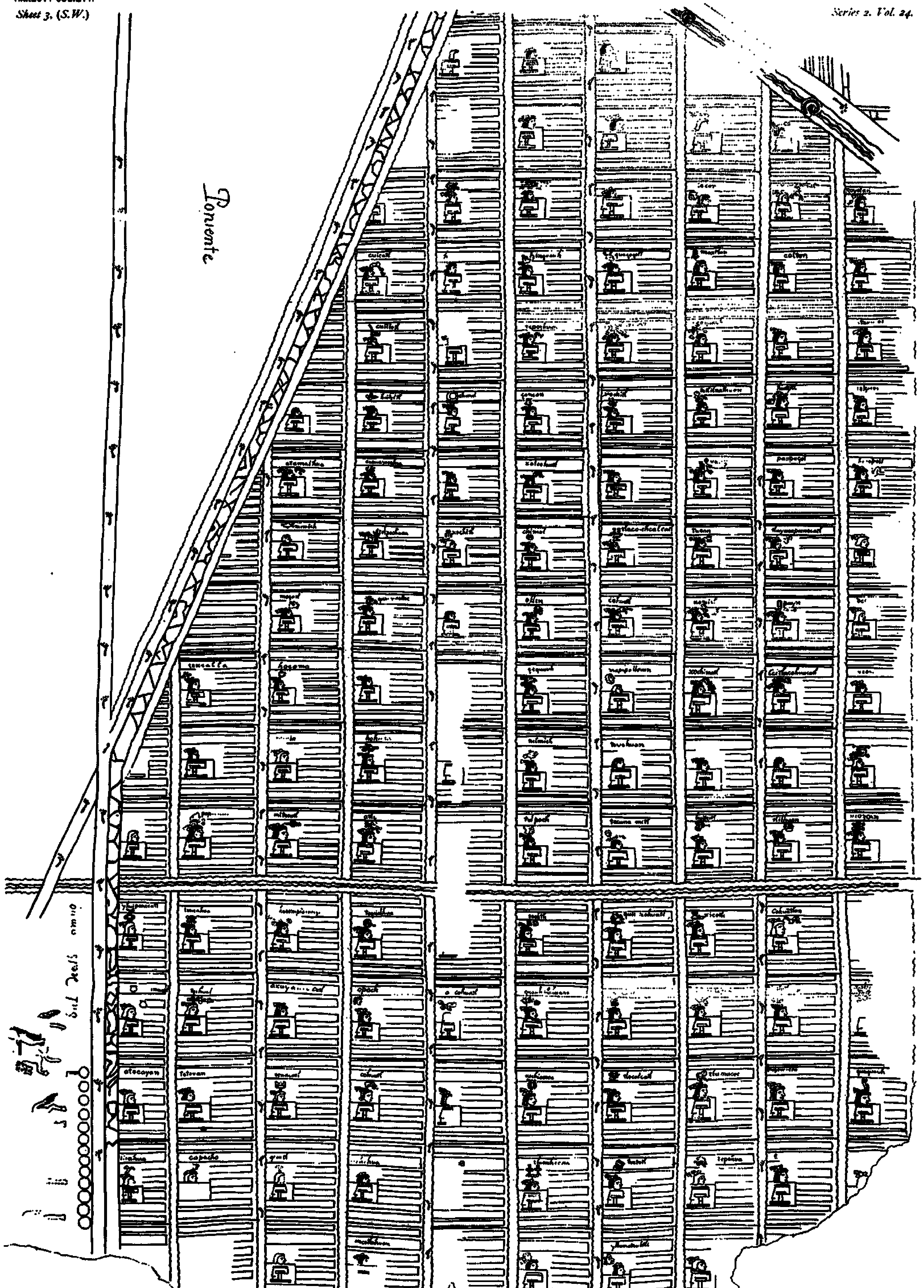

DRAWN BY MISS A. BRETON.

LITHOGRAPHED BY THOMAS WAY.

BY ALONZO DE STA. CRUZ. ABOUT 1560.

Facsimile by Miss A. Breton.

MAP OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO

BOOK X.

THE RETURN TO THE VALLEY.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

How we marched with all our Army on the way to the City of Texcoco, and what happened to us on the road, and other things that took place.

WHEN Cortés saw that he possessed such a goodly store of muskets and powder and crossbows and realised the strong desire of all of us, both Captains and soldiers, again to attack the great City of Mexico, he decided to ask the Caciques of Tlaxcala to give him ten thousand Indian warriors to join us on an expedition to Texcoco; which after Mexico is one of the largest cities in the whole of New Spain. He made them a good speech about it, and in reply to the requisition, Xicotenga the elder (who by that time had become a Christian and was called Don Lorenzo de Vargas as I have already stated), promptly said that he would give him with the utmost willingness not only ten thousand men but many more if he chose to take them, and that another valiant Cacique, our great friend Chichimocatecle would go as their captain. Cortés thanked him for this,

and after we had made our muster, (I do not well remember what was the strength of our force both of soldiers and the others,) on the day after the feast of the Nativity in the year 1520 we began our march in excellent order, as was ever our custom, and slept at a pueblo subject to Tlaxcala,[1] and the people of the town gave us what we needed. From there onward it was Mexican territory, and we went more cautiously, our artillery musketeers and crossbowmen arranged in careful order, and with four mounted scouts always [in advance], and four very active soldiers with swords and shields accompanying those horsemen, to look out for the bad places and see if they were practicable for horses, because on the road we had been warned that a dangerous pass on the Sierra had that day been blocked up by felling trees, for it was well known in Mexico and Texcoco that we were marching towards their city. That day we met no obstacles whatever and camped at the foot of the Sierra, a march of about three leagues. The night was very cold, but we got through it [safely] thanks to our patrols, sentinels, watchmen and scouts. When the dawn came we began to ascend a small pass and in some difficult places like barrancas the hillside had been cut away so that we could not pass, and many pine trees and other timber had been placed across the track, but having so many friendly Tlaxcalans with us, a clearing was soon made, and sending a company of musketeers and crossbowmen in advance we marched on with the utmost caution, our allies cutting and pushing aside trees to enable the horsemen to pass, until we got to the top

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[1] Cortés (3rd letter) gives the name of this town as Tesmoluca (San Martin Texmelucan) and the name of the village on the west side of the range, where the army slept the night before entering Texcoco, as Coatepeque, which shows that the range was probably crossed by way of Rio Frio and near the volcano of Telapon.

of the Sierra. Then we descended a little and caught sight of the lake of Mexico and its great cities standing in the water, and when we saw it we gave great thanks to God for allowing us to see it again.

Then we remembered our late defeat, when we were driven out of Mexico, and we vowed, God willing, to adopt a different method of fighting until we could blockade the city. We descended the mountain to where we saw great smoke signals, which were being made by the people of Texcoco, as well as by their subject pueblos, and marching onward we came upon a large squadron of Mexican and Texcocan warriors who were waiting for us at a bad pass through a rocky thicket where there was an apparently broken down wooden bridge, and a deep gulch and waterfall below it. However, we soon defeated the squadron and passed in perfect safety. Then to hear the shouts that they gave from the farms and from the barrancas! however they did nothing else, and that only from places where the horsemen could not reach them. Our friends the Tlaxcalans carried off fowls and whatever else they could steal, and they did not abstain from this although Cortés had ordered them not to make war on the people if they were not attacked. The Tlaxcalans answered that if the people were well disposed and peaceable they would not come out on the road and attack us as they did at the passage of the barranca and bridge, where they tried to stop our advance.

Let me go back to my story and say how we went to sleep that night at a deserted pueblo subject to Texcoco[1] and we posted our watchmen, sentinels and scouts and sent out patrols, and took every precaution lest we should be attacked that night by the numerous squadrons of warriors who were waiting for us at another bad

[1] Coatepec.

pass, which we had heard about from five Mexicans whom we had captured at the first bridge of which I have spoken, who told us what the squadrons were doing. From what we afterwards learned they did not dare to attack us, nor even to await our coming, for it seems that there were disputes and factions between the Mexicans and Texcocans, who were not yet fully recovered from the small pox, which sickness had attacked them and spread throughout the land. Moreover as they knew that in the affairs of Guacachula and Izucar, and at Tepeaca Jalacingo and Castilblanco we had defeated all the Mexican garrisons, and by this had gained great renown, and as they believed that we were bringing all the forces of Tlaxcala and Huexotzingo with us they decided not to await our coming, and in all this the Lord Jesus Christ guided us.

As soon as dawn came we ranged ourselves in good order, the artillery as well as muskets and crossbows, and with our scouts ahead on the lookout, we began our march towards Texcoco, which was about two leagues distant from where we slept. However, we had not marched half a league when we saw our scouts returning at a breakneck pace and looking very cheerful, and they told Cortés that ten Indians were approaching unarmed and carrying golden devices and banners, and that yells and shouts no longer came from all the huts and farms they had passed on the road as had happened the day before.

To all appearance everything was peaceful and Cortés and all of us captains and soldiers rejoiced at it. Then Cortés ordered a halt until seven Indian Chieftains, natives of Texcoco, came up to us. They carried a golden banner, and a long lance, and before reaching us they lowered the banner and knelt down (which is a sign of peace), and when they came before Cortés

who had our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar standing by him, they said, "Malinche, our Lord and Chieftain of Texcoco, Coanacotzin,[1] sends to beg you to receive him into your friendship, and he is awaiting you peaceably in the City of Texcoco, and in proof thereof accept this banner of gold, and he begs as a favour that you will order your Tlaxcalans and your brethren not to do any harm to his land, and that you will come and lodge in the city where he will provide you with all that you need." Moreover they said that the troops which had been stationed in the ravines and bad passes did not belong to Texcoco, but were Mexicans sent by Guatemoc.

When Cortés heard these words of peace he rejoiced greatly and so did we all, and he embraced the messengers especially three of them who were relations of the good Montezuma and were known to all of us as having been his captains. When the message had been considered Cortés at once sent for the Tlaxcalan Captains and ordered them, in the most friendly way, not to do any damage nor to take anything whatever in this country because peace had been made, and they did as he told them, but he did not forbid their taking food if it were only maize and beans, or even fowls and dogs, of which there was an abundance, all the houses being full of them.

Then Cortés took counsel with his Captains and it seemed to them all that this begging for peace (in the way it was done), was a trick, for if it had been true it would not have been done so suddenly, and they would have brought food. Nevertheless, Cortés accepted the banner, which was worth about eighty pesos, and thanked the messengers and said to them, that he was not in the

[1] Cocoyoaçin in the text.

habit of doing evil or damage to any vassals of His Majesty, on the contrary he would favour and protect them, and if they kept the peace which they had announced he would protect them against the Mexicans; that as they might have seen, he had already ordered the Tlaxcalans not to do any damage in their country, and they would avoid doing so for the future, that they well knew how in that city over forty Spaniards our brethren, and two hundred Tlaxcalans had been killed at the time when we were leaving Mexico, and many loads of gold and other spoil which belonged to them had been stolen, and that he must beg their chieftain Coanacotzin[1] and the other chiefs and captains of Texcoco to restore to us the gold and the cloths, but as to the death of the Spaniards, there was no remedy for it, he would therefore not ask them for any.

The messengers replied that they would report to their Lord as he ordered them to do, but that he who had ordered the Spaniards to be killed and who took all the spoil was a chieftain named Cuitlahuac[2] who had been chosen King of Mexico after Montezuma's death, and that they took to him in Mexico nearly all the Teules and they had been promptly sacrified to Huichilobos.

When Cortés heard that reply, he made no answer, lest he should lose his temper or threaten them, but he bade them Godspeed. One of the ambassadors remained in our company, and we went on to a suburb of Texcoco called Guatinchan or Guaxuntan,[3] I have forgotten the name, and there they gave us plenty to eat and all that we had need of, and we cast down some Idols that were in the houses where we lodged, and early the next day we went to the city of Texcoco. In none of the streets

[1] Cuacayutzin in the text.
[2] Coadlabaca in the text.
[3] Coatlinchan.

nor houses did we see any women, boys or children, only terrified looking men, more like men who were at war. We took up our quarters in some great rooms and halls, and Cortés at once summoned the captains and most of us soldiers and told us not to leave the precincts of the great courts, and to keep well on the alert until we could see how things were going, for it did not seem to him that the city was peaceful. He ordered Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid and some other soldiers, and me among them, to ascend the great Cue which was very lofty and to take twenty musketeers with us as a guard, and to look from the lofty Cue over the City and the lake, for it could all be seen from there, and we saw that all the inhabitants of those towns were moving off with their goods and chattels, and women and children, some to the hills and others to the reed thickets in the lake, and that all the lake was thronged with canoes great and small.

As soon as Cortés knew this he wanted to capture the Lord of Texcoco who had sent him the golden banner, and when certain priests whom Cortés sent as messengers went to summon him, he had already placed himself in safety, for he was the very first to flee to Mexico with many other chieftains. We passed that night with great precautions in the matter of watchmen, patrols and scouts, and very early the next day Cortés ordered all the Indian chieftains who had remained in Texcoco to be summoned before him, for as it was a very large city there were many other chieftains of the parties opposing the Cacique who had fled, with whom there had been discussions and disputes about the command and Kingship of that city. When they came before Cortés he learned from them how and since when Coanacotzin had ruled over the city. They told him that Coanacotzin in his desire to seize the power

had infamously killed his elder brother Cuicuitzcatzin[1] with the assistance given him for that purpose by the Prince of Mexico, who as I have often said was called Cuitlahuac, the one that made war on us when we were fleeing after the death of Montezuma. Furthermore, there were among them other Lords who had a better right to the kingdom of Texcoco than he who now held it, and that it should go to a youth who at that time became a Christian with much religious pomp, and was named Don Hernando Cortés, for our Captain was his Godfather.[2] They said that this youth was the legitimate son of the Lord and King of Texcoco and that his father was named Nezahualpilli,[3] and presently without any further delay, and with the greatest festive celebration and rejoicing throughout Texcoco, they appointed him their natural Lord and King, with all the ceremonies which they were accustomed to render to their so-called Kings; and in perfect peace and with the love of all his vassals, and of the neighbouring towns, he governed absolutely and was obeyed. For his better instruction in the matters of our faith and to improve his manners, and so that he should learn our language, Cortés ordered that he should have as his tutors Antonio de Villa Real, who was the husband of a very beautiful lady named Ysabel de Ojeda, and a Bachelor of Arts named Escobar; and he appointed as Captain of Texcoco, (with instructions to see that Don Hernando had no dealings with

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[1] Cuxcuxca in the text. This was the youth who had been made Cacique of Texcoco on the recommendation of Cortés when Cacamatzin had been taken prisoner, see page 122, vol. ii.

[2] According to the Historian Ixtlilxochitl, on the flight of Coanacotzin, Cortés nominated Tecocoltzin, a son of Nezahualpilli, as ruler of Texcoco, but this Cacique lived only a few weeks, and on the nomination of Cortés he was succeeded by a youthful son of Nezahualpilli named Ahuaxpitzactzin, who received in baptism the name of Hernando Cortés.

[3] NeÇabalpinçintle in the text.

any of the Mexicans) a good soldier named Pedro Sánchez Farfan, who was the husband of that good and honourable woman Maria Destrada.

Let us leave off talking about the great services of this Cacique and say how greatly loved and how well obeyed he was by his people, and let me relate how Cortés asked for a large force of Indian labourers to broaden and deepen the canals and ditches through which we were to draw the launches to the lake, when they were finished and ready to sail. He also explained to Don Hernando himself and the other chieftains what was the reason and purpose in having the launches built, and how we were going to blockade Mexico. Don Hernando offered all the assistance within his power and that of his vassals, and not only in that which he was ordered to do, but he promised to send messengers to all the neighbouring pueblos and tell them to become vassals of His Majesty, and accept our friendship and authority against Mexico. All this was arranged, and we were all well lodged, each captain by himself, and the posts and positions were settled where we were to rally in case of a sudden attack by the Mexicans, for we were to guard the margin of their lake, because from time to time Guatemoc sent great pirogues and canoes full of warriors who came to see if they could catch us off our guard.

About that time certain pueblos subject to Texcoco came to ask for peace, and for pardon if they had erred in the late wars and been concerned in the death of any Spaniards. These pueblos were called Coatlinchan[1] and . . . . . Cortés spoke to them all very kindly and pardoned them.

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[1] Guatinchan in the text. A blank space is left in the original; the names omitted were probably Huexotla and Atenco (cf. Cortés's Third Letter).

I wish to say that not a day passed that there were not seven or eight thousand Indians at work on the ditch and canal and they opened and broadened it so well that ships of great size could have floated in it. As at that time we had over seven thousand Tlaxcalans in our company and they were anxious to gain honour and fight against the Mexicans, Cortés determined, that as we had such faithful comrades, we would make an expedition and have a look at a fine town named Iztapalapa, through which we had passed when we first came to Mexico. It was the Lord of Iztapalapa who had been raised to be King of Mexico on the death of the Great Montezuma, and I have often said that his name was Cuitlahuac.[1] We knew that this town was doing us all the harm that was possible because it was very hostile to Chalco and Tlamanalco, and Amecameca and Chimaloacan which pueblos wanted to make friends with us, and the people of Iztapalapa prevented them. As we had already been twelve days in Texcoco without doing anything to record, beyond what I have already related, we made this expedition to Iztapalapa, and what happened there I will now relate.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

How we went to Iztapalapa with Cortés who took Cristóbal de Olid and Pedro de Alvarado in his company and left Gonzalo de Sandoval to guard Texcoco, and what happened to us in the capture of the town, and other things that were done there.

AFTER spending twelve days in Texcoco the Tlaxcalans, whom I have repeatedly mentioned, had exhausted their provisions, and they were so numerous that the people of Texcoco were unable to furnish them with sufficient quan-

[1] Coadlabaca in the text.

tities of food. As we were unwilling that they should become a burden to them [the people of Texcoco] and as the Tlaxcalans themselves were most desirous of fighting the Mexicans and avenging the death of the many Tlaxcalans who had been killed and offered as sacrifices during the past defeats that I have described, Cortés determined that we should set out on our march to Iztapalapa (which is distant about four leagues[1] from Texcoco,) with himself as Commander in Chief, and with Andrés de Tápia, Cristóbal de Olid, and thirteen horsemen, twenty crossbowmen, six musketeers and two hundred and twenty soldiers, and our Tlaxcalan allies, besides twenty chieftains from Texcoco given us by Don Hernando, (and we knew that these latter were the cousins and relations of this same Cacique and enemies of Guatemoc who had already been raised to be King in Mexico). I have already said before in the Chapter[2] [LXXXVII] which speaks of it, that more than half the houses [in Iztapalapa] were built in the water and the other half on dry land. We kept on our way in good order, as was our custom, and as the Mexicans always held watchmen and garrisons and warriors ready to oppose us and to reinforce any of their towns when they knew that we were going to attack them, they warned the people of Iztapalapa to be prepared, and sent over eight thousand Mexicans to help them. Like good warriors they awaited our coming on dry land, both the people of Iztapalapa and the Mexicans who had come to their assistance, and for a good while they fought very bravely against us. Then the horsemen broke through their ranks, followed by the crossbows and muskets, and all our Tlaxcalan allies who charged on them like mad dogs, and the enemy quickly abandoned the open ground and took refuge in

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[1] Really about 30 miles.

[2] There is a blank space in the original.

the town. However, this was an arranged thing and a stratagem that they had planned, and it would have caused us damage enough if we had not quickly got out of the town into which they had retired. This was the way they did it: they fled and got into their canoes which were in the water, and into the houses which stood in the lake, others retired among the reeds, and as it was a dark night, they gave us a chance, (without making a noise or showing signs of hostility) to take up quarters on dry land,[1] well contented with the spoil we had taken and still more with the victory we had gained. While we were in this situation, with watchmen posted, and spies, patrols and even scouts sent out, when we least expected it such a flood of water rushed through the whole town, that if the chieftains whom we had brought from Texcoco had not cried out, and warned us to get out of the houses to dry land as quickly as we could, we should all have been drowned, for the enemy had burst open the canals of fresh and salt water and torn down a causeway, so that the water rose up all of a sudden. As our allies the Tlaxcalans were not accustomed to water and did not know how to swim, two of them were drowned, and we, at great risk to our lives, all thoroughly drenched and with our powder spoilt, managed to get out without our belongings, and in that condition, very cold, and without any supper, we passed a bad night. Worst of all were the jeers and the shouts and whistles which the people of Iztapalapa and the Mexicans uttered from their houses and canoes. However, there was still a worse thing to happen to us, for as they knew in Mexico about the plan that had been made to drown us by breaking

[1] This is rather confusing; the Spaniards must have occupied houses built on land only a few inches above the level of the lake, and the term "dry land" must have been used to distinguish them from houses built on piles in the lake.

down the causeway and canals, we found waiting for us on land and in the lake many batalions of warriors, and, as soon as day dawned, they made such an attack on us that we could hardly bear up against it; but they did not defeat us, although they killed two soldiers and one horse, and wounded many both of us and the Tlaxcalans. Little by little the attack slackened and we returned to Texcoco, half ashamed at the trick and stratagem to throw us into the water, and also because we gained very little credit in the battle they fought against us afterwards, as our powder was exhausted. Nevertheless, it frightened them, and they had enough to do in burying and burning their dead, and curing their wounds and rebuilding their houses. There I will leave them, and relate how other pueblos came to Texcoco to make peace, and what else happened.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

How three pueblos in the neighbourhood of Texcoco sent to ask for peace and pardon for the wars that were passed, and for the death of Spaniards, and the excuses that they made about it, and how Gonzalo de Sandoval went to Chalco and Tlamanalco[1] to help them against the Mexicans, and what else happened.

When we had been two days in Texcoco after our return from the expedition to Iztapalapa, three pueblos came peaceably to Cortés to beg pardon for the past wars and the deaths of Spaniards whom they had killed. The excuses they gave were that it was by the order of the Prince of Mexico, called Cuitlahuac[2] (who was chosen after the death of Montezuma) that they went out to fight

[1] By an unfortunate oversight Tlamanalco is not marked in the Map of the Valley of Mexico; it is marked on the Map in Vol. I.

[2] Coadlavaca in the text.

in company with his other vassals, and that if they killed some Teules and captured and robbed others it was this same Prince who [had ordered it and] had commanded them to carry the Teules to Mexico, and they had done so, and taken the Teules to Mexico to be offered as sacrifices, and they had also taken there the gold and the horses and the cloths, and now they begged pardon for it, for the reason that no blame could attach to them, because they had been ordered and compelled by force to do it. These pueblos that came at this time were called Tepezcuco[1] and Otumba. The name of the other pueblo I do not remember, but I do remember that this town of Otumba was where they fought the celebrated battle against us when we were fleeing from Mexico, where we were opposed to the greatest armies of warriors that ever came against us in all New Spain, and where they thought that we could never escape alive, as I have related more fully in former chapters which treat of that subject. As those pueblos knew that they were guilty, and were aware that we had made an expedition against Iztapalapa, and that its inhabitants had been the worse for our coming (although they did try to drown us in the water and [aided by] many squadrons of Mexicans had borne the brunt of two pitched battles) in short, so as not to find themselves in similar troubles as those that had already happened, they came to sue for peace before we could go to their pueblos to punish them. As Cortés saw that there was nothing else to be done at the time, he pardoned them, but he gave them a severe reprimand, and they bound themselves by many promises always to be hostile to the Mexicans and to be the vassals of His Majesty, and to serve us, and so they did.

Let us stop talking about these pueblos, and say how

[1] Tepetexcoco?

about the same time the inhabitants of the pueblo named Mixquic,[1] which is also called Venezuela, which stands in the lake, came to beg for peace and friendship. These people had apparently never been on good terms with the Mexicans, and in their hearts they detested them. Cortés and all of us were greatly pleased at these people coming to seek our friendship, because their pueblo was in the lake, and through them we hoped to get at their neighbours who were likewise established on the water, so Cortés thanked them greatly and dismissed them with promises and gentle speeches. While this was taking place they came to tell Cortés that great squadrons of Mexicans were advancing on the four pueblos which had been the first to seek our friendship,[2] named Guatinchan or Guaxultan[3] and two other pueblos whose names I forget,[4] and they told Cortés that they did not dare to stay in their houses and that they wished to flee to the mountains or to come to Texcoco where we were, and they said so many things to Cortés to induce him to help them, that he promptly got ready twenty horsemen and two hundred soldiers, thirteen crossbowmen and ten musketeers and took with him Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid who was Maestre de Campo, and went to the pueblos which, as I have said, had sent to Cortés to make so many complaints, a distance from Texcoco of about two leagues. It appeared to be true that the Mexicans had sent to threaten them and warn them that they would be destroyed for accepting our friendship, but the point of dispute over which they uttered the worst threats concerned some large maize

[1] Mesquique in the text.
[2] See Chapter CXXXVII.
[3] Coatlinchan.
[4] These towns were probably Huexotla, to the south of Texcoco, and Atengo to the N.W.

plantations lying near the lake which were ready for the harvest, whence the people of Texcoco were providing our camp. The Mexicans wanted to take the maize, for they said that it was theirs, for it had been the custom for those four pueblos to sow and harvest the maize plantations on that plain for the priests of the Mexican Idols. Over this question of the maize field many Indians had been killed, both on one side and the other. When Cortés understood about it, after telling the people not to have any fear, but to remain in their homes, he promised them that when the time came for them to go and gather maize, either for their own needs or to supply our camp, he would send a Captain and many horsemen and soldiers to protect those who went to fetch the maize. They were well pleased with what Cortés had said to them, and we returned to Texcoco. From that time forward, whenever we had need of maize in our camp, we mustered the Indian warriors from all those towns and with our Tlaxcalan allies and ten horsemen and a hundred soldiers with some musketeers and crossbowmen, we went after the maize. I say this because I went twice for it myself and on one occasion we had a capital skirmish with some powerful Mexican Squadrons which had come in more than a thousand canoes, and awaited us in the maize fields, and as we had our allies with us, although the Mexicans fought like brave men, we made them take to their canoes, but they killed one of our soldiers and wounded twelve, and they also wounded some Tlaxcalans, but the enemy had not much to brag about for fifteen or twenty of them were lying dead, and we carried off five of them as prisoners.

Let us leave this and say how next day we heard the news that the people of Chalco and Tlamanalco and their dependencies wished to make peace, but on

account of the Mexican garrisons stationed in their towns, they had no opportunity to do so, and that these Mexicans did much damage in their country and took their women, especially if they were handsome, and violated them before their fathers and mothers or husbands.

We had also heard that the timber for building the launches had been cut and prepared at Tlaxcala, and as the time was passing, and none of the timber had yet been brought to Texcoco, most of the soldiers were a good deal worried about it. Then, in addition to this, the people came from the pueblo of Venezuela which they call Mixquic[1] and from other friendly pueblos to tell Cortés that the Mexicans were coming to attack them because they had accepted our friendship. Moreover some of our friends the Tlaxcalans, who had already grabbed clothing and salt and gold and other spoil, wished to return home, but they did not dare to do so because the road was not safe. When Cortés found that to succour some of those towns that clamoured for help and to give assistance to the people of Chalco as well, which would enable them to come and accept our friendship, would make it impossible to give security to either one or the other (for in Texcoco itself we had to be keeping constant watch and to be very much on the alert) he decided to put aside all other matters and first of all to go to Chalco and Tlamanalco. For that purpose he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo with fifteen horsemen and two hundred soldiers and musketeers and crossbowmen and our Tlaxcalan allies, with orders by all means to break up and disperse the Mexican garrisons and to drive them out of Chalco and Tlamanalco, and leave the road to Tlaxcala

[1] *Mesquique* in the text.

quite clear, so that one could come and go to Villa Rica without any molestation from the Mexican warriors. As soon as this was arranged he sent some Texcocan Indians very secretly to Chalco to advise the people about it, so that they might be fully prepared to fall on the Mexican garrison either by day or night. As they wished for nothing better, the people of Chalco kept thoroughly prepared.

When Gonzalo de Sandoval marched with his army he considered it advisable to leave a rearguard of five horsemen and as many crossbowmen with [to protect] the large number of the Tlaxcalans, who were laden with the spoil that they had seized. As the Mexicans always had watchmen and spies on the lookout, they knew that our people were marching on Chalco, and in addition to the garrison posted in Chalco, they had recently got together many squadrons of warriors, who fell on the rear-guard where the Tlaxcalans were marching with their spoil, and punished them severely, and our five horsemen and the crossbowmen could not hold out against them, for two of the crossbowmen were killed and the others were wounded, and although Gonzalo de Sandoval promptly turned round on the enemy and defeated them, and killed ten Mexicans, the lake was so near by that the enemy managed to take refuge in the canoes in which they had come. All that country is thickly peopled with subjects of Mexico.

When the enemy had been put to flight and Sandoval saw that the five horsemen, whom he had left in the rear-guard with the musketeers and crossbowmen, were wounded both they and their horses, and that two crossbowmen were dead and the others wounded, although [I repeat] he saw all this, he did not fail to say to the others whom he had left to defend the rear, that they were not worth much for not having been able to resist the enemy and defend

themselves and our allies, and that he was very angry with them; they were from among those who had lately come from Spain, and he told them that it was very clear that they did not know what fighting was like. Then he placed in safety all the Tlaxcalan Indians with their spoil, and he also despatched some letters which Cortés was sending to Villa Rica, in which Cortés told the Captain, who had remained in command there, all that had happened about our conquests, and about his intention to blockade Mexico, and that he [the Captain] should always take care to keep a good lookout, and if there were any soldiers who were disposed to take part in the fighting, that he should send them to Tlaxcala, but that they should not go beyond that town until the roads were safer, for they would run great risk.

When the messengers had been despatched and the Tlaxcalans sent off to their homes, Sandoval returned towards Chalco which was near by, marching with the utmost caution with his scouts out ahead, for he knew well that from any of the pueblos and hamlets by which he passed he might be suddenly attacked by the Mexicans. As he marched on towards Chalco he saw many squadrons of Mexicans coming against him, and on a level plain, where there were large plantations of maize and magueys (the plant from which they extract the wine that they drink), they attacked him fiercely with darts, arrows, and stones from slings, and with long lances with which to kill the horses. When Sandoval saw such a host of warriors opposed to him, he cheered on his men and twice broke through the ranks of the enemy, and with the aid of the muskets and crossbows, and the few allies who had stayed with him, he defeated them, although they wounded five soldiers and six horses, and many of our allies. However, he had fallen on them so quickly and with such fury that he made them pay well for the

damage they had first done. When the people of Chalco knew that Sandoval was near, they went out to receive him on the road with much honour and rejoicing. In that defeat eight Mexicans were taken prisoners, three of them chieftains of importance.

When all this had been done, Sandoval said that on the following day he wished to return to Texcoco, and the people of Chalco said they wanted to go with him to see and speak to Malinche and take with them the two sons of the Lord of that province who had died of small-pox a few days before, and before dying had charged all his chieftains and elders to take his sons to see the Captain, so that by his hand they might be installed Lords of Chalco, and that all should endeavour to become subjects of the Great King of the Teules, for it was quite true that his ancestors had told him that men with beards who came from the direction of the sunrise would govern these lands, and from what he had seen, we were those men.

Sandoval soon returned with all his army to Texcoco and took in his company the sons of the Lord of Chalco and the other chieftains, and the eight Mexican prisoners.

When Cortés knew of his arrival he was overjoyed, and when Sandoval had given an account of his journey, and how the Lords of Chalco had come with him, he went to his quarters. The Caciques presented themselves at once before Cortés, and, after having paid him every sign of respect, they told him of the willingness with which they would become vassals of His Majesty, as the father of these two youths had commanded them to do, [and begged] that they might receive the chieftainship from his hands. When they had made their speeches, they presented Cortés with rich jewels worth about two hundred pesos de oro. When Cortés thoroughly understood through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de

Aguilar what they had said, he showed them much kindness and embraced them, and under his hand gave the Lordship of Chalco to the elder brother with more than the half of the subject pueblos, and those of Tlamanalco and Chimal he gave to the younger brother together with Ayotzingo and other subject pueblos. After Cortés had given much advice to the principal elders and to the newly appointed Caciques, they told him that they desired to return to their country, and that in everything they would serve His Majesty and us in his Royal name against the Mexicans, such having always been their wish, but owing to the Mexican garrisons which had been stationed in their province, they could not come earlier to render their fealty. They also gave Cortés news of two Spaniards who had been sent to that province for maize, before we had been driven out of Mexico, whom (so that the Culuans should not kill them) they had one night placed in safety among our friends at Huexotzingo, so that their lives were saved. We already knew about this some time before, for one of these men was he who went to Tlaxcala.

Cortés thanked them very sincerely for this, and begged them to wait in Texcoco for two days, as he was about to send a Captain to Tlaxcala, for the timber and planking, who would take them in his company, and conduct them to their country, so that the Mexicans should not attack them on the road; for this they thanked him greatly and went away well contented.

Let us stop talking about this and say how Cortés decided to send to Mexico the eight prisoners, whom Sandoval had captured in the rout at Chalco, to tell the Prince named Guatemoc, whom the Mexicans had then chosen as king, how greatly he desired to avoid being the cause of his ruin and that of so great a city; they should therefore sue for peace, and he would pardon

them for the losses and deaths we had suffered from them in the city, and would ask nothing from them, and he [Guatemoc] should remember that it is easy to remedy a war in the beginning but very difficult towards the middle and at the end, and that finally they would be destroyed; that he [Cortés] knew all about the ditches and the warlike preparations, and the store of darts and arrows, lances, broadswords, round stones and slings and all other warlike material which they were continually making and preparing, but it was a mere waste of time and useless for them to do it, and how could he [Guatemoc] desire all his people to be slain and his city destroyed? He [Guatemoc] should bear in mind the great power of our Lord God in whom we believe and whom we worship, and who always helps us, and he should always remember that all the pueblos in the neighbourhood were now on our side, that the Tlaxcalans had no wish but for war, in order to avenge treachery to, and the deaths of their compatriots. Let them lay down their arms and make peace, and he [Cortés] would promise the Mexicans that he would always treat them with great honour. Doña Marina and Aguilar made use of many other sound arguments and gave them good advice on the subject. Those eight Indians went before Guatemoc, but he refused to send any answer whatever, and went on making dykes and gathering stores, and sending to all the provinces an order that if any of us could be captured straying, we should be brought to Mexico to be sacrificed, and that when he sent to summon them, they should come at once with their arms, and he sent to remit and free them from much of their tribute, and even made them great promises.

Let us cease talking about the preparations for war that they were making in Mexico, and say how again many Indians came from the pueblos of Guautinchon

or Guaxuntlan[1] who had been wounded by the Mexicans because they had accepted our friendship, and on account of the disputes over the maize fields, which they had been accustomed to sow for the Mexican priests during the time when they were their dependents, as I have already explained in the Chapter that treats of it. As they were situated close to the Lake of Mexico, every week the Mexicans came and attacked them and even carried off some of them prisoners to the city. When Cortés heard this, he determined to go again himself with a hundred soldiers and twenty horsemen and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen, and he had good spies on the lookout to see when the Mexican troops were coming, so that he might be promptly informed. As the distance from Texcoco was only one or two leagues, on one Wednesday morning he arrived at dawn where the Mexican squadrons were posted, and he fought them in such a manner that they were soon broken up and took refuge in their canoes on the lake. Four Mexicans were killed there and three others were taken prisoners, and Cortés returned with his people to Texcoco. From that time forward the Culuans did not attack those pueblos any more. Let us leave this subject and say how Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to Tlaxcala for the timber and planking for the launches, and what happened to him on the road.

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[1] Coatlinchan.

CHAPTER CXL.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval went to Tlaxcala to fetch the timber for the launches, and what else he did on the road at a pueblo which we named the town of the Moors (el Pueblo Morisco).

As we were always longing to get the launches finished, and to begin the blocade of Mexico our Captain Cortés, so as not to waste time to no purpose, ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go for the timber, and to take with him two hundred soldiers, twenty musketeers and crossbowmen, fifteen horsemen and a large company of Tlaxcalans as well as twenty chieftains from Texcoco; also to take in his company the youths and the elders from Chalco and to place them in safety in their towns.

Before they set out Cortéz established a friendship between the Tlaxcalans and the people of Chalco. Formerly the people of Chalco used to belong to the party and the confederation of the Mexicans, and when the Mexicans went to war against Tlaxcala they took people from Chalco to aid them, as they lived in that neighbourhood, and from that time the Tlaxcalans bore them ill will and treated them as enemies; but, as I have said, here in Texcoco Cortés made them friends again, so that a great friendship continued between them, and from that time on they helped one another.

Cortés also ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval as soon as he had taken the people of Chalco to their homes, to go to a pueblo subject to Texcoco which was near by the road, to which we had given the name in our language of "El Pueblo Morisco" [the town of the Moors], because more than forty soldiers of the followers of Narvaez and some of our own men and many Tlaxcalans had been killed in that pueblo, and the people had also stolen three loads of gold, when we were turned out of Mexico

The soldiers whom they had killed were those who were on the way from Vera Cruz to Mexico when we were going to the assistance of Pedro de Alvarado. Cortés charged Sandoval not to leave that pueblo without punishing it well, although it was the people of Texcoco who really deserved the punishment for they were the aggressors, and it was their captains who did the damage, for at that time they were brothers in arms of the people of the great city of Mexico, but as nothing else could then be done, no punishment was meted out to Texcoco.

Let us go back to our story, which is that Gonzalo de Sandoval did what his Captain ordered him, both in going to the Province of Chalco which was not much out of the way, and leaving there the two youths who were its Lords, and in going to the Pueblo Morisco.

Before our soldiers arrived at this pueblo the people already knew through their spies that they were coming down on them and they abandoned the pueblo and fled to the hills, and Sandoval followed them and killed [only] three or four of them, for he felt pity for them, but they took some women and girls and captured four chieftains. Sandoval coaxed those four whom he had captured, and asked them how they came to kill so many Spaniards, and they replied that the people of Texcoco and Mexico killed them in an ambush which they had arranged on a hill where the road was so narrow that they could only pass one by one; that there a great company of Mexicans and Texcocans fell on them and killed them or took them prisoners, and the people of Texcoco carried them off to their city where they divided them with the Mexicans; that they had been ordered to do this and could not do otherwise than as they did, for it was in revenge for the Prince of Texcoco named Cacamatzin whom Cortés had taken prisoner and

who had been killed at the affair of the bridges. Much blood of the Spaniards who had been killed was found on the walls of the Temple in that pueblo, for they had sprinkled their Idols with it, and he also found two faces which had been flayed, and the skin tanned like skin for gloves, the beards were left on, and they had been placed as offerings upon one of the altars. There were also found four tanned skins of horses very well prepared, with the hair on and the horse shoes, and they were hung up before the Idols in the great Cue. There were also found many garments of the Spaniards who had been killed hung up as offerings to these same Idols, and on the pillar of a house where they had been imprisoned, there was found written with charcoal "Here was imprisoned the unfortunate Juan Yuste and many others whom I brought in my company." This Juan Yuste was a gentleman, and one of the horsemen whom they killed here, and was one of the persons of quality whom Narvaez had brought with him. Sandoval and all his soldiers were moved to pity by all this and it grieved them greatly, but, how could the matter now be remedied except by being merciful to the people of the pueblo, however they had fled and would not wait, and had taken their women and children with them. A few women who were captured wept for their husbands and fathers, and when Sandoval saw this, he liberated four chieftains whom he had captured and all the women and sent them to summon the inhabitants of the pueblo, who came and begged for pardon and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and promised always to oppose the Mexicans and to serve us well with all possible affection and good will. When they were asked about the gold they had stolen from the Tlaxcalans who passed that way, they replied that they had taken three loads of it from them, but the Mexicans and the lords of Texcoco had carried it off,

for they said that the gold had belonged to Montezuma, who when he was a prisoner had taken it from their temples and given it to Malinche.

Let us stop talking about this and relate how Sandoval went on his way towards Tlaxcala, and when near the capital where the Caciques reside, he met eight thousand men carrying on their backs all the timber and boards for the launches, and as many more men with their arms and plumes acting as a guard, and two thousand others who brought food and relieved the carriers. There came as commanders of the whole force of Tlaxcalans, Chichimecatecle, whom I have already mentioned in former chapters, where he was spoken of as a very valiant Indian Chieftain, and two other chieftains named Teuctepil and Ayotecatl[1] and other Caciques and chieftains, and all came in the charge of Martin López who was the Master carpenter who cut the timber and gave the model and dimensions for the boards, and other Spaniards came with him whose names I forget. When Sandoval saw them approaching in this way he was delighted that they had relieved him from his task, for he expected to be detained some days in Tlaxcala waiting for them to get off with all the timber and planking. In the same order in which they came up to us, we continued our march for two days until we entered Mexican territory. The Mexicans whistled and shouted from their farms and from the barrancas and from other places where we could do them no harm either with our horsemen or our muskets.

Then Martin López, who had all in his charge, said that it would be as well to change the order in which they had hitherto marched, for the Tlaxcalans had told him they feared that the powerful forces of Mexico might make a sudden attack in that part of the road, and might

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[1] Terlipile and Tyutical in the text.

defeat them, as they were so heavily laden and hampered by the timber and food they were carrying. So Sandoval at once divided the horsemen and musketeers and cross-bowmen, so that some should go in advance and others on the flanks, and he ordered Chichimacatecle to take charge of the Tlaxcalans who were to march behind as a rearguard with Gonzalo de Sandoval himself. The Cacique was offended at this, thinking that they did not consider him a brave man, but they said so much to him on that point, that he became reconciled, seeing that Sandoval himself was to remain with him, and that he was given to understand that the Mexicans always made their attacks on the baggage which was kept towards the rear. When he clearly understood this he embraced Sandoval and said that he felt honoured by what had been done.

Let us stop talking about this and say that another two days' march brought them to Texcoco, and before entering the city they put on very fine cloaks and plumes, and marched in good order to the sound of drums and trumpets, and in an unbroken line they were half a day marching into the City, shouting, whistling and crying out "Viva, Viva for the Emperor our Lord and Castille! Castille and Tlaxcala! Tlaxcala!"

When they arrived at Texcoco, Cortés and some of his Captains went out to meet them, and Cortés made great promises to Chichimecatecle and all his Captains who were with him. All the timbers and planking and all the other things belonging to the launches were placed near the canals and creeks were the launches were to be built.

From that time forward the greatest despatch was used in building the thirteen launches. Martin López, was the Master builder, aided by other Spaniards named Andrés Nuñez, and an old man called Ramírez, who was lame from a wound, and Diego Hernández, a sawyer, and

certain Indian carpenters and two blacksmiths with their forges, and Hernando de Aguilar who helped with the hammer; and all worked with the greatest speed until the launches were put together, and they only needed to be caulked, and their masts, rigging and sails to be set up. When this was done, I want to say how great were the precautions that we took in our camp, in the matter of spies and scouts and guards for the launches, for they lay near the Lake, and three times the Mexicans tried to set them on fire, and we even captured fifteen of the Indians who had come to set fire to them, and from these men Cortés learned fully what was being done in Mexico and what Guatemoc was planning, and it was that they would never make peace but would either all die fighting, or kill every one of us.

I wish now to mention the summonses and messengers that the Mexicans sent to all their subject pueblos, and how they remitted their tribute, and the work that they carried on both by day and night, of digging ditches and deepening the passages beneath the bridges, and making strong entrenchments and preparing their darts and dart throwers and making very long lances with which to kill the horses, to which were attached the swords that they had captured from us on the night of our defeat, and getting in order their darts and dart throwers and round stones and slings, and two-handed swords and other weapons larger than swords like broadswords, and every sort of warlike material.

Let us leave this subject and go back to speak of the canal and trench by which the launches were to go out into the great Lake, and it was already very broad and deep so that ships of considerable size were able to float in it, for, as I have already said, there were eight thousand Indians always employed on the work. Enough of this, and let me say how Cortés made an expedition to Saltocan.

BOOK XI.

PRELIMINARY EXPEDITIONS.

CHAPTER CXLI.

How our Captain Cortés went on an expedition to the pueblo of Saltocan which stands in a lake about six leagues distant from the City of Mexico, and how he went from there to other pueblos, and what happened on the road I will go on to say.

AS over fifteen thousand Tlaxcalans had come to Texcoco with the timber for the launches, and had already been five days in the city without doing anything worth mentioning, and, as they had not brought supplies with them, food was getting scarce, and the Captain of the Tlaxcalans being a very valiant and proud man (I have already said his name was Chichimecatecle), said to Cortés that he wished to go and render some service to our great Emperor by fighting against the Mexicans, both to show his strength and the goodwill he bore us, as well as to avenge the deaths and robberies that the Mexicans had brought upon his brethren and his vassals, in Mexico itself and in his own country, and he begged as a favour from Cortés that he would command and instruct him in what direction he should go and encounter our enemies.

Cortés replied to him that he thought very highly of his good-will, and said that he wished to go himself, the next day, to a pueblo named Saltocan, five or six leagues distant from the City of Texcoco, where, although the houses were built in the waters of a lake, there was an entrance from the land. He had sent three times to summon the people of that pueblo to make peace and they refused to do so, and he had again sent messengers from the people of Tepetescuco[1] and Otumba who were their neighbours, and instead of making peace they ill-treated the messengers and wounded two of them, and the answer that they sent was, that if we came there we would find forces and a fortress as strong as Mexico, and come when we might, we would find them on the field of battle, for they had received word from their Idols that they would kill us there, and their Idols had advised them to send this reply.

It was for this reason that Cortés got ready to go in person on this expedition, and ordered two hundred and fifty soldiers to go in his company with thirty horsemen, and he took with him, Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid and many musketeers and crossbowmen, and all the Tlaxcalans, and a company of warriors from Texcoco, nearly all of them chieftains. He left Gonzalo de Sandoval on guard at Texcoco, and told him to keep a good look out both on the Texcocans, and the launches and the camp, and see that no attack was made on it by night for, as I have already said, we had always to keep on the alert, on the one hand to guard against the Mexicans themselves and on the other, because we were in such a great city, as was Texcoco, where all the inhabitants of the city were relations and friends of the Mexicans. He also ordered Sandoval

[1] Tepetexcoco?

and Martin López, the master carpenter of the launches, to have the vessels ready to be launched and to sail within fifteen days.

Then after hearing Mass, Cortés left Texcoco and set out on that expedition with his army; and as he marched along, not far from Saltocan, he met great squadrons of Mexicans who were awaiting him in a place where they believed that they could get the better of our Spaniards and kill the horses. Cortés ordered the horsemen (and he himself kept with them) as soon as the muskets and crossbows had been discharged, to break in upon the enemy; however, they killed only a few Mexicans, who at once took refuge in the bush, and in places where the horsemen could not follow them, but our friends the Tlaxcalans captured and killed about thirty of them.

That night Cortés went to sleep at some huts, and kept a good look-out with scouts, watchmen, patrols and spies, for they were in a thickly peopled country, and he knew that Guatemoc the Prince of Mexico had sent many squadrons of warriors to Saltocan as reinforcements, and these troops had come in canoes along some deep creeks. Early the next morning the Mexicans and the people of Saltocan began to attack our troops when they were close to the pueblo, and they shot many darts and arrows at them and slung stones from their slings, from the canals where they were posted, and they wounded ten of our soldiers and many of our Tlaxcalan allies, and our horsemen could do them no hurt, for they could not gallop nor cross the creeks which were all full of water. The causeway and road by which they were used to enter the town from the land had been destroyed and broken down by hand only a few days before, and they had so flooded it that it was as full of water as the ditches. Owing to this,

our soldiers found no way by which they could enter the town, or do any damage to its defenders, although the musketeers and crossbowmen kept up a fire against those who went about in canoes, but the canoes were protected by bulwarks of wood, and besides the bulwarks they took good care not to expose themselves. Our soldiers seeing that they could gain no advantage whatever, and that they could not hit on the road and causeway which was there before, because it was all covered with water, cursed the town and our profitless expedition, and were half ashamed because the Mexicans and townspeople shouted at them and called them women, and said that Malinche was a woman too, and that his only bravery was in deceiving them with stories and lies. Just at this moment, two of the Indians, who had come there with our people, who belonged to the pueblo Tepetezcuco and were very hostile to the people of Saltocan, said to one of our soldiers, that three days before they had seen the people of Saltocan breaking open the causeway and they made a ditch [across] it and turned the water of another canal into it, and that not very far ahead the road began again and led to the town. When our soldiers thoroughly understood this, the musketeers and crossbowmen were ranged in good order, some loading while the others fired, and thus, little by little and not altogether, sometimes skipping along and at other times wading waist deep, all our soldiers crossed over, with many of our allies following them. Cortés and the horsemen, turning their backs on our soldiers, kept guard on the land, for they feared that the Mexican squadrons might again fall on our rear. When our men had passed the canals, as I have described, the enemy fell on them with fury, and wounded many of them, but as they had made up their minds to gain the causeway which was close by, they still

forged ahead until they could attack the enemy on land, clear of the water, and then they got to the town. Without further waste of words they fell on the enemy so fiercely that they killed many of them and repaid them well for the trick they had played. Much cotton cloth and gold and other spoil was taken, but, as the town was built in the lake, the Mexicans and the inhabitants soon got into their canoes with all the property they were able to carry, and went off to Mexico.

When our people saw the town deserted, they burned some of the houses, and as they did not dare to sleep there because the town stood in the water, they returned to where Captain Cortés was awaiting them. In that town they captured some very good-looking Indian women, and the Tlaxcalans came out of it rich with cloaks and salt and gold and other spoil. Then they all went to sleep at some huts near some limekilns, about a league distant from Saltocan, and there they dressed their wounds. One soldier died within a few days of an arrow wound in the throat. Sentinels were at once posted, and scouts sent out and every precaution was taken, for all that country was thickly peopled by Culuans

The next day they marched to the great pueblo named Guautitlan, and as they went on their way, the Indians from the neighbouring villages, and many Mexicans who had joined them, yelled and whistled and shouted insults at our men, but they kept to the canals and the places where the horsemen could not gallop and no harm could be done to them. In this way, our troops arrived at the town which had been abandoned that same day and all property carried off. That night they slept there, well guarded by sentinels and patrols, and the following day marched on to the great pueblo called Tenayuca; this is the place that on our first entrance to Mexico we

called El Pueblo de las Sierpes, because in the principal temple we found the images of two great hideous-looking serpents which were the Idols they worshipped. Let us leave this and go back to this matter of the march. They found this pueblo deserted like the last, and all the Indian inhabitants had assembled together in another town further on called Tacuba. From Tenayuca they marched to Atzcapotzalco,[1] about half a league distant one from the other, and this too was deserted. This town of Atzcapotzalco was where they used to work the gold and silver for the great Montezuma, and we used to call it El pueblo de los Plateros. From there they marched to another town, which I have said was called Tacuba, a distance of half a league one from the other, and this is the place where we halted on that sad night when we came out from Mexico routed, and here they killed some of our soldiers, as I have already said in a former chapter that deals with this subject.

Let us go back to our story: Before our army could reach the town it was met in the open by a large number of troops which were lying in wait for Cortés, gathered from all the pueblos through which the army had passed, as well as those from Tacuba and Mexico, for Mexico was close by. All of them together began an attack on our people in such a manner that our Captain and the horsemen had all they could do to break through their ranks, so close did they keep together. However, our soldiers with good sword play forced them to retreat; then, as it was night-time, they went to sleep in the town after posting sentinels and watchmen.

If there had been many Mexicans gathered together that day, there were many more on the next morning, and in excellent order they advanced to attack our

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

people with such energy that they killed and wounded some of our soldiers. Nevertheless, our men forced them to retreat to their houses and fortress, so that they found time to enter Tacuba and burn and sack many of the houses. When this was known in Mexico, many more squadrons were ordered to go forth from the city to fight against Cortés, and it was arranged that when they fought with him, they should pretend to turn in flight towards Mexico, and little by little they should draw our army on to the causeway until they had them well on to it, and that they should behave as though they were retreating out of fear.

As it was arranged, so they carried it out, and Cortés believing that he was gaining a victory, ordered the enemy to be followed as far as a bridge. When the Mexicans thought that they had already got Cortés in their trap, and the bridge had been crossed, a huge multitude of Indians turned on him, some in canoes and others by land, and others on the azoteas, and they placed him in such straits and matters looked so serious that he believed himself to be defeated, for at the bridge that he had reached, they fell on him with such force that he could effect little or nothing. A standard bearer who carried a banner, in resisting the charge of the enemy, was badly wounded and fell with his banner from the bridge into the water, and was in danger of being drowned, and the Mexicans had even seized him to drag him into a canoe, but he was so strong that he escaped with his banner. In that fight they killed four or five of our soldiers and wounded many of them, and Cortés recognising the great audacity and want of forethought that he had shown in going on to the causeway in the way I have related, and feeling that the Mexicans had caught him in a trap, ordered all his followers to retire in the best order possible without turning their backs, but with

their faces towards the enemy and hand to hand as though resisting an onset. Of the musketeers and crossbowmen some loaded, while the others fired, and the horsemen made some charges, but they were very few, for the horses were soon wounded. In this way, Cortés escaped that time from the power of the Mexicans, and when he got on dry land he gave great thanks to God.

It was at that causeway and bridge that Pedro de Ircio (often mentioned by me before) said to the standard bearer named Juan Volante, who fell into the lake with his banner, to insult him (for he was not on good terms with him on account of a love affair with a woman who had come at the time of the Narvaez expedition), "that he had drowned the son and now he wished to drown the mother," for the banner that Volante was carrying bore the picture of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria. He had no reason for making that remark, for the standard bearer was a gentleman and a very valiant man, as he showed himself to be then and at many other times, and it did not go well with Pedro de Ircio for the ill-will he bore towards Juan Volante.

Let us leave Pedro de Ircio, and say that during the five days that Cortés stayed in Tacuba, he had encounters and battles with the Mexicans, and he then returned to Texcoco along the road by which he had come. On the road, the Mexicans raised shouts, believing that he was turning in flight, and they only suspected what was true; and they laid in wait for him in places where they thought to gain honour by attacking him and killing the horses; and they prepared ambushes, and when Cortés saw that, he too set an ambuscade and wounded many of the enemy, but they managed to kill two horses, and after that they did not follow him any further.

By long marches, Cortés arrived at a pueblo subject to Texcoco, named Acolman, about two leagues and a half

distant from Texcoco, and as soon as we knew that he had arrived there we went out with Gonzalo de Sandoval to see him and receive him, accompanied by many horsemen and soldiers and the Caciques of Texcoco, especially by Don Hernando, the principal Cacique of that City. We were greatly delighted at the sight of Cortés, for we had known nothing of what had happened to him for fifteen days. After welcoming him, and having some necessary conversation on military matters, we returned to Texcoco that afternoon, for we did not dare to leave the camp without a sufficient guard. Our Cortés stayed in that pueblo until the following day, when he came to Texcoco, and we gave him another reception. The Tlaxcalans, as they were now rich and came laden with spoil, asked leave to return to their homes, and Cortés granted it, and they went by a road where the Mexicans could not spy on them and saved their property.

At the end of four days, during which our Captain was resting, and hurrying on the building of the launches, the people from some pueblos on the North Coast came to ask for peace and offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty and these pueblos were named Tuxpan and Matalcingo and Nautla[1] and other small pueblos in the neighbourhood, and they brought a present of gold and of cotton cloth. They came before Cortés with the greatest reverence and when they had offered their present, they begged him to graciously admit them to his friendship, as they wished to become vassals of the King of Castile. They said that when the Mexicans had killed six Teules in the affair at Almeria, the Mexican Captain was Quetzalpopoca whom we had already burned in punishment, and that all the pueblos which had now come to him went to the help of

[1] Tuçapan y MasCalzingo y Navtlan in the text. Matalcingo is not shown on the modern map, but on an old map is marked near C. de Palmas in the neighbourhood of Tuxpan.

the Teules. When Cortés heard this, although he knew that they had been concerned with the Mexicans in the death of Juan de Escalante and the six soldiers who were slain in the affair at Almeria (as I have already related in the Chapter that treats of the matter) he showed them much good-will and accepted the present, and received them as vassals of our Lord the Emperor, and he did not demand an explanation of what had happened, nor call it to mind, for it was not a convenient time to take other steps, and with kind words and promises he dismissed them. At this same time, there came to Cortés other pueblos from among those who had become our friends, asking for help against the Mexicans, and they said that we must come and help them because great squadrons of Mexicans were coming against them and had entered their territory and were carrying off many of their Indians as prisoners, and had wounded others. There also came at the same time, people from Chalco and Tlamanalco who said that if we did not come to their assistance they would all be lost, for many garrisons of their enemies had attacked them, and they told a most pitiful tale, and brought a piece of hennequen cloth, painted with an exact representation of the squadrons of Mexicans which had come against them. Cortés did not know what to say, nor how to answer them or help them, either one way or the other, for he had seen that many of our soldiers were wounded and ill, and eight had died of pains in the back, and from throwing up clotted blood mixed with mud from the mouth and nose, and it was from the fatigue of always wearing armour on our backs, and from the everlasting going on expeditions and from the dust that we swallowed. In addition to this, he saw that three or four horses had died of their wounds, and that we never stopped going on expeditions, some coming and others going. So the answer he gave to the first pueblos

was to flatter them, and to say that he would soon come to help them, but that while he was on the way, they should get help from other pueblos, their neighbours, and should wait for the Mexicans in the open, and all of them together should attack the enemy, and that if the Mexicans should see that they showed a bold front and matched their strength against them, they would be afraid, for the Mexicans had no longer the forces with which to attack them that they used to have, as they had so many enemies to oppose. He said so much to them, through our interpreters, that he encouraged and put heart into them, and they at once asked for letters for two pueblos in their neighbourhood, which were allies of ours, ordering them to come to their assistance. They did not understand the letters at the time, but they knew well that among us it was a sure thing that when letters were sent they contained commands or signs that we were ordering something of importance. With these letters they went off well contented and showed them to their friends and summoned them to their assistance. As Cortés had ordered them, they awaited the Mexicans in the open and fought a battle with them, and with the help of our allies, their neighbours to whom they had delivered the letters, they did not do badly.

Let us return to the people of Chalco; as our Cortés saw how important it was for us that this province and the road through it should be freed from Mexicans, (for as I have already said, it was the way we had to come and go to Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and to Tlaxcala, and we had to supply our camp from that province, for it was a land that produced much Maize), he at once ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval the Chief Alguazil to get ready to start the next morning for Chalco, and he ordered him to take twenty horsemen and two hundred soldiers, twelve crossbowmen and ten musketeers and the Tlaxcalans who

were in camp, who were very few, (for as I have already said in this Chapter, the greater number of them had gone to their homes laden with spoil) and Sandoval, also took with him a company of Texcocans, and Captain Luis Marin who was his intimate friend. Cortés and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid remained behind to guard the city and the launches.

Before Gonzalo de Sandoval goes to Chalco, as had been arranged, I wish to say here, that while I was writing this story about all that had happened to Cortés in his expedition to Saltocan, there happened to be present two gentlemen who were much interested, as they had read Gomara's History, and they said to me, that there were three things that I had forgotten to write down, which the historian Gomara had written about this same expedition of Cortés; the one was that Cortés visited Mexico with thirteen launches and fought a good battle with the great forces of Guatemoc in their great canoes and pirogues on the lake; the other was that when Cortés entered on the causeway to Mexico, that he held conversations with the Mexican Lords and Caciques, and told them that he would cut off their food supply and they would die of hunger; and the other was that Cortés did not wish to tell the people of Texcoco that he was going to Saltocan lest they should give warning to the people of that town. I answered these same gentlemen that at that time the launches were not finished building, and how could they carry launches overland, or horses or so many people across the lake? It is laughable to write about such a thing. When Cortés advanced along the causeway, as I have related, he had quite enough to do to make his escape with his army, and at that time we had not blockaded Mexico so as to deprive them of food, and they were not suffering from hunger, and they were lords of all their vassals, and what happened many days later when we had

them in our grip, Gomara places here. In what he says, that Cortés went away by another road to go to Saltocan so that the people of Texcoco should not know, I say that they were obliged to go through the pueblos and lands of Texcoco, for the road lay in that direction and in no other, and what he writes is mere nonsense. As I understand it the fault is not his, but that of the man who gave him the information and who told him the story which he has written down, possibly giving him money in order to heighten the praise and glorify him and exaggerate his exploits. He was told these stories so that he should not publish our heroic deeds and that is the truth.

When these two gentlemen who had told me about it saw clearly that what I said was true, they swore that they would tear up the book and history of Gomara which they had in their possession, for so many things he describes as happening in a certain way, are not true.

Let us leave this matter and turn to Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval who left Texcoco after hearing Mass, and arrived near Chalco early in the morning, and what happened I will go on to tell.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTERS CXLII TO CXLV.

DURING the expeditions described in the four following Chapters, the Spaniards passed out of the Valley of Mexico through the gap between the Serrania of Ajusco and the slopes of Popocatapetl, and descended into the plains of Morelos and Cuernavaca. The towns of Yecapixtla, Oaxtepec, Yautepec, and Cuernavaca all stand at somewhat the same altitude, about 5000 ft. above the level of the sea and a little more than 2000 ft. below the level of the Valley of Mexico. The Serrania of Ajusco, with its innumerable extinct craters and somewhat recent lava fields, and the mass of Popocatapetl, form a lofty barrier to the north of these towns, which is edged near Tepostlan and towards the East by a fringe of broken

and abrupt conglomerate rock, forming hills and cliffs, with spurs running southward into the plains of Morelos and Cuernavaca. Just to the south of this rampart, several isolated hills of a few hundred feet in height arise somewhat abruptly from the plain, and it was on one of these hills that the Indians took refuge.

Ixtlilxochitl[1] says that Tlayacapan, which lies halfway between Yecapixtla and Teposlan, is the hill or Peñol which was so successfully defended against the attack of the Spaniards, and there is no doubt that the Peñol must have been in that neighbourhood.

Neither Bernal Díaz nor Cortés appear to have visited Yecapixtla, and their descriptions of its position are somewhat misleading. The town is not situated on a lofty eminence, but, like Cuernavaca, although on slightly rising ground, it hardly stands out from the surrounding plain. These plains slope gradually to the south, and are deeply scored by the numerous small streams which, flowing from the mountains to the north, have cut their way deep down through soil and rock, forming ravines or barrancas, which, in chosen spots, render fortifications almost unnecessary. Both Yecapixtla and Cuernavaca are nearly surrounded by such ravines.

Bernal Díaz falls into an error, with regard to Yautepec, when describing the route followed by the army; this error is corrected in a foot-note on page 67. Cortés, in his third letter, says that after leaving Yautepec they went to Gilutepeque. No such name is now known, and we can safely follow Bernal Díaz, who says that the town was Tepostlan (although Orozco y Berra says that Bernal Díaz "confounds" the name with that of Tepostlan). From the nature of the ground, the pursuit by the horsemen after leaving Yautepec must have been in the direction of Tepostlan, and that position also fits in with the march two days later to Cuernavaca.

The return march from Cuernavaca across the Serrania de Ajusco was a most laborious undertaking, as a height of at least 10,000 ft. above sea level had to be reached before descending to the valley in the direction of Xochimilco.

By an unfortunate error, Tlamanalco is not marked in the map of the Valley of Mexico, issued in Vol. III. Its position between Chalco and Amecameca is given in the map showing the route of the Spaniards from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, issued with Vol. I.

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[1] "Historia Chichimeca," Cap. 93. MS., see Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Antigua*, vol. iv, p. 541.

CHAPTER CXLII.

How Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval went to Chalco and Tlamanalco with the whole of his army; and I will go on to tell what happened on the march.

I HAVE already said in the last Chapter that the pueblos of Chalco and Tlamanalco came to ask Cortés to send them help, because there were great companies and squadrons of Mexicans in their neighbourhood who had come to attack them. They told such a tale of woe that he ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go to their aid with two hundred soldiers, twenty horsemen, ten or twelve cross-bowmen and some musketeers, and our Tlaxcalan friends, and a company of Indians from Texcoco. Sandoval took Captain Luis Marin with him as a companion, for they were great friends.

After hearing Mass, he set out on the 12th March in the year 1521, and they slept at some farms belonging to Chalco, and on the next morning arrived at Tlamanalco where the Caciques and Captains gave him a good reception and provided food, and advised him to go at once in the direction of a great pueblo called Oaxtepec,[1] for he would find the whole of the Mexican forces either assembled at Oaxtepec or on the road thither; and they said that all the warriors from the province of Chalco would accompany him.

Sandoval thought it advisable to set out at once, so the order was given, and they went on to sleep at another pueblo subject to Chalco called Chimaluacan, for the spies, sent by the people of Chalco to watch the Culuas, came to report that the enemy's forces were lying in wait for them in some rocky defiles in the neighbourhood of that town.

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[1] Guaxtepeque in the text.

As Sandoval was very crafty and well advised, he sent the musketeers and crossbowmen in advance, and ordered the horsemen to keep together in parties of three, and, when the crossbowmen and musketeers had fired their shots, to charge the enemy at a hand gallop with their lances held short, so as to strike the faces of their enemies and put them to flight, and always to keep together in parties of three. He ordered the foot soldiers always to keep their close formation and not to charge the enemy until he gave the order, for it was reported that the enemy were very numerous, and this proved to be true. As the enemy was posted in broken ground and it was not known if they had dug pits or raised barricades, Sandoval wished to keep his soldiers well in hand so as to avoid any disaster.

As he continued his march he saw the Mexican squadrons approaching him in three divisions, shouting and whistling and sounding trumpets and drums. The Indians were armed with all their usual weapons and they came on to the attack like fierce lions. When Sandoval saw how bold they were, he did not keep to the orders he had given, but told the horsemen to charge them at once before they could reach our men. Cheering on his troops by shouting "Santiago and at them," Sandoval led the charge himself, and by that movement, he nearly routed some of the Mexican squadrons, but not all of them, so that they soon turned and showed a firm front, for they were helped by the bad track and broken ground, and the horsemen owing to the rough ground were not able to gallop and could not get in rear of them. For this reason, Sandoval turned, and ordered the musketeers and crossbowmen to go ahead in good formation and told the shield bearers to keep on their flanks, and when they could see that they were wounding and damaging the enemy and should hear a shot fired from this other side of the barranca, that it would be a signal for all the horsemen to charge together and hurl

the enemy from that position, for he thought that they could be driven on to the level ground near by. He also warned his [Indian] allies to be ready to support the Spaniards. Sandoval's orders were carried out, and in that movement many of our men were wounded, for the enemies who attacked them were very numerous. To finish my story, the Mexicans were forced into retreat but their flight was towards other bad passes. Sandoval and the horsemen went in pursuit, but overtook only three or four of the enemy. During that pursuit, owing to the badness of the road, the horse of a cavalryman, named Gonzalo Domínguez, fell with his rider beneath him, and the man died from his injuries within a few days. I call this to mind because Gonzalo Domínguez was one of the best horsemen and one of the most valiant men that Cortés had brought in his Company, and we held him in as much esteem for his valour, as we did Cristóbal de Olid and Gonzalo de Sandoval, so that we all felt the loss greatly.

To go back to Sandoval and his army; they followed the enemy to the neighbourhood of a pueblo already mentioned by me which is called Oaxtepec, but before reaching the town, over fifteen thousand Mexicans emerged from it and began to surround our soldiers and wounded many of them and five horses, but as the ground was level in some places, our horsemen, making a united effort, broke up two of their squadrons, and the rest turned tail and fled towards the town in order to guard some barricades which they had raised, but our soldiers and the allies followed so close that they had no time to defend them, and the horsemen kept up the pursuit in other directions until they had shut the enemy up in a part of the town where they could not be reached. Thinking that the enemy would not again renew the attack on that day, Sandoval ordered his men to rest and tend their wounds, and they began to take their

food, and much spoil was taken in that town. While they were eating, two horsemen and two soldiers who had been told off before the men began to eat, the horsemen as scouts and the soldiers as sentinels, ran in crying "To arms, to arms; the Mexicans are coming in great force." As they were always accustomed to have their arms in readiness, the horsemen were soon mounted and they came out into a great plaza. At that moment the enemy were upon them, and there they fought another good battle. After the enemy had been for some time showing us a good front from some barricades and wounding some of our men, Sandoval fell on them so suddenly with his horsemen, that with the help of the muskets and crossbows and the sword-play of the soldiers, he drove them from the town into some neighbouring barrancas, and they did not come back again that day.

When Captain Sandoval found himself free from that struggle, he gave thanks to God and went to rest and sleep in an orchard within the town, which was so beautiful and contained such fine buildings that it was the best worth beholding of anything we had seen in New Spain.[1] There were so many things in it to look at that it was really wonderful and was certainly the orchard of a great prince, and they could not go all through it then, for it was more than a quarter of a league in length.

Let us stop talking about the orchard and say that I

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "both on account of the arrangement and diversity of the many kinds of fruit trees and of the roses and other sweet-scented plants, and for the arrangement made for the supply of water from a river which was led into the garden, and the rich chambers and the decoration of them, and the sweet-scented cedar wood and the excellent furniture, and the - - - benches, and the numerous houses, all coated with plaster and adorned with a thousand pictures, and the avenues and the weaving together of the branches, and in other parts the medicinal herbs and the vegetables, many of them very good to eat."

did not go myself on this expedition, nor did I then walk about this orchard, but I went there about twenty days later when, in company with Cortés, we made the round of the great towns of the lakes, as I shall tell later on. The reason why I did not go this first time was because I had been badly wounded by a spear-thrust in the throat, and was in danger of dying from it, and I still bear the scar. The wound was given me during the Iztapalapa affair, when they tried to drown us. As I was not in this expedition, for this reason, I say in telling the story, "they went" and "they did" so and so, and such a thing "happened to them," and I do not say, "we did" it or "I did" it, nor saw it, nor "I was there." Nevertheless, all that I have written about it, happened as I have stated, for one soon learns in camp what happens on an expedition, and one is not able to leave out or exaggerate anything that happened.

Let us stop talking of this and return to Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval, who on the following day, when he noticed that there was no sound of movement on the part of the Mexican warriors, sent to summon the Caciques of the town, despatching as messengers, five Indians, natives of the place, whom he had captured in battle, two of whom were chieftains. He ordered them to tell the Caciques to have no fear, and to come and make peace and he would pardon them for all that had happened, and used other good arguments. The messengers who were sent, treated for peace, but the Caciques did not dare to come in for fear of the Mexicans.

The same day, Sandoval sent to another large pueblo called Yecapixtla,[1] about two leagues distant from Oaxtepec, to tell the people to consider what a good thing it was to be at peace and not desire war and that they

[1] Acapistla in the text.

should bear in mind and take warning from what had happened to the squadrons of Culuas stationed in the pueblo of Oaxtepec, how they had all been defeated, and he told them that they had better make peace and expel the Mexican garrisons who were guarding their country, and that if they did not do so he would come and make war on them and chastise them. The answer returned was that they [the Spaniards] might come when they liked, for they were looking forward to feast on their flesh and provide sacrifices for their Idols.

When this reply was given, the Caciques from Chalco, who were with Sandoval, knew that there must be a large force of Mexicans in garrison at Yecapixtla ready to make war on Chalco as soon as Sandoval should retire; and for this reason they begged him to go to Yecapixtla and drive the Mexicans out of the place. However, Sandoval was not willing to go, one reason being that many of his soldiers and horses were wounded, and the other that he had already fought three battles and he did not wish to exceed the instructions that Cortés had given him. Moreover, some of the gentlemen whom he had brought in his company, men from the army of Narvaez, advised him to return to Texcoco and not go to Yecapixtla, which was strongly fortified, lest some disaster should befall him. However, the Captain, Luis Marin, counselled him not to fail to go to that fortress and do what he could, for the Caciques from Chalco said that if he turned back without defeating the force which was assembled in that fortress, that as soon as they saw or heard that he had returned to Texcoco, the enemy would at once attack Chalco.

As it was only two leagues from Oaxtepec to Yecapixtla, Sandoval decided to go there and gave orders to his soldiers and they set out. As soon as he came in sight of the town, before reaching it, a host of warriors came out and began to shoot darts and arrows and cast stones

from their slings, so that they fell like hail, and three horses and many soldiers were wounded without our men being able to do any harm to the enemy. Then the enemy climbed up among their craigs and strongholds and from thence shouted, yelled and whistled and sounded their trumpets and drums. When Sandoval heard this, he ordered some of his horsemen to dismount, and the rest to remain in the fields where it was open ground and to keep on the alert to see that no reinforcement of Mexicans should reach Yecapixtla whilst he was attacking the town. When he observed that the Caciques from Chalco and their Captains and many of the Indian warriors were manœuvring round about without daring to attack the enemy, on purpose to try them and to see what they would answer, Sandoval said to them, "What are you doing: why don't you begin to fight and get into the town and fortress, for we are here and will defend you." They replied that they did not dare to do it, that the enemy were in a stronghold, and it was for this very purpose that Sandoval and his brother Teules had come with them and that the people of Chalco had come under his protection relying on his help to drive the enemy out.

So Sandoval and all his soldiers and musketeers and crossbowmen began the attack and ascent and many were wounded as they clambered up and Sandoval himself was again wounded in the head, and many of our allies were wounded, for they too entered the town and did much damage to it, and it was the Indians from Chalco and our allies from Tlaxcala who did most damage to the enemy, for our soldiers after breaking up their ranks and putting them to flight, would not give a sword-thrust at the enemy, for it seemed to them mere cruelty, and they were chiefly occupied in looking out for pretty Indian women or seeking for plunder, and they frequently quarrelled with our allies on account of their cruelty, and took the Indian

men and women away from them to prevent their being killed.

Let us stop talking about this and say that the Indian warriors in order to defend themselves, took refuge among the crags down below, which were near the town, and as many of those who went to hide themselves in the gorge of the river were wounded and bleeding, the water became somewhat turbid with blood but the discolouration did not last long; not half an Ave Maria, but it is here that the historian Gomara says in his history that our soldiers were parched with thirst because the river ran red with blood. I say that there are so many springs and so much clear water below there, that there was no need of more water.[1]

I must go on to say that when this was over, Sandoval and all his army returned to Texcoco with much spoil, especially of good looking Indian women.

When the lord of Mexico, who was called Guatemoc, heard of the defeat of his armies it is said that he showed much resentment at it, and still more at the thought that the people of Chalco, who were his subjects and vassals, should dare to take up arms three times against his forces.

He was so angry that he resolved that as soon as Sandoval should return to his camp at Texcoco he would send out a great force of warriors, which he at once assembled in the city of Mexico, and another force which was got together from the lake, equipped with every sort

[1] Bernal Díaz need not have fallen foul of Gomara over this incident, although it was probably a gross exaggeration, for Cortés himself in his 3rd letter to the Emperor says "and as our Indian Allies pursued them, and the enemy saw that they were conquered, so great was the slaughter at the hands of our people, and of those thrown down from above, that all who were there present affirm that a small river which almost surrounds the town was tinged with blood for more than an hour and prevented them from drinking, and as it was very hot, they were in great need of water."

of arms, and would despatch this force, numbering over twenty thousand Mexicans, in two thousand large canoes to make a sudden descent on Chalco, to do all the damage that it was possible to do.

This was all accomplished with such skill and rapidity that Sandoval had hardly arrived at Texcoco and spoken to Cortés, when again messengers came in canoes across the lake begging help from Cortés, telling him that more than two thousand canoes carrying over twenty thousand Mexicans had come to Chalco, and they begged him to come at once to their assistance.

At the very moment that Cortés heard this news Sandoval came to speak to him and to give him an account of what he had done during the expedition from which he had just then returned, but Cortés was so angry with him he would not listen to him, believing that it was through some fault or carelessness on his part that our friends at Chalco were experiencing this trouble, and without any delay, and without listening to him, Cortés ordered Sandoval to leave all his wounded men in camp and to go back again in all haste with those who were sound.

Sandoval was much distressed at the words Cortés used to him, and at his refusal to listen to him, but he set out at once for Chalco where his men arrived tired out with the weight of their arms and their long march. It appears that the people of Chalco, learning through their spies that the Mexicans were coming so suddenly upon them, and that Guatemoc had determined that they should be attacked, as I have already said, before any help could reach them from us, had sent to summon aid from the people of the province of Huexotzingo which was near by, and the men from Huexotzingo arrived that same night, all equipped with their arms, and joined with those from Chalco, so that in all there were more than twenty thousand of them. As they had already lost their fear

of the Mexicans they quietly awaited their arrival in camp and fought like brave men, and although the Mexicans killed many of them and took many prisoners, the people of Chalco killed many more of the Mexicans and took as prisoners fifteen captains and chieftains and many other warriors of lesser rank. The Mexicans looked upon this battle as a much greater disgrace, seeing that the people of Chalco had defeated them, than if they had been defeated by us.

When Sandoval arrived at Chalco and found that there was nothing for him to do, and nothing more to be feared as the Mexicans would not return again to Chalco, he marched back again to Texcoco and took the Mexican prisoners with him.

Whereat Cortés was delighted but Sandoval showed great resentment towards our captain for what had happened, and did not go to see or speak to him, until Cortés sent to tell him that he had misunderstood the affair, thinking that it was through some carelessness on the part of Sandoval that things had gone wrong, and that although he had set out with a large force of soldiers and horsemen he had returned without defeating the Mexicans.

I will cease speaking about this matter, for Cortés and Sandoval soon became fast friends again and there was nothing Cortés would not do to please Sandoval.

I will stop here and tell how we resolved that all the men and women slaves should be branded, for they were becoming very numerous, and how at that time a ship arrived from Spain, and what else happened.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

How the slaves were branded in Texcoco, and how the news came that a ship had arrived at the Port of Villa Rica, and what passengers had come in her and other things that happened, which I will go on to relate.

AS Gonzalo de Sandoval had arrived in Texcoco with a great booty of slaves and there were many others which had been captured in the late expeditions, it was decided that they should at once be branded. When proclamation was made that they were to be taken to a certain house to be branded, most of us soldiers took those slaves that we possessed to be marked with the brand of His Majesty, which was a G. which was meant to signify Guerra (war), in the way that we had already arranged with Cortés, as I have already related in the Chapter that treats of that subject. We thought that they [our slaves] would be returned to us after the Royal fifth had been paid, and that a price would be put on the women slaves in accordance with the value of each one of them. However it was not so done, and if the affair was badly managed at Tepeaca, it was managed much worse here at Texcoco; for after the Royal fifth had been deducted, another fifth was deducted for Cortés, and another fraction for his captains, and during the night when the slaves had been collected together, the best looking Indian women disappeared. Cortés had stated and promised us that the best looking women should be sold by auction for what they were worth, and those that were not so attractive for a lower price, but he made no such arrangement, and the Royal officials did just as they pleased, so that if wrong was done the first time, this time it was much worse. From this time on many of us soldiers when we captured good looking Indian women, so that they should not be taken

from us, as had been done in the past, hid them away and did not take them to be branded, but gave out that they had escaped; or if we were favourites of Cortés we took them secretly by night to be branded, and they were valued at their worth, the Royal fifth paid and they were marked with the iron. Many others remained in our lodgings and we said that they were free servants from the pueblos that had made peace, or from Tlaxcala.

I also wish to say that as some of these women slaves had already been in our company for two or three months, it was well known throughout the camp which of the soldiers was kind and which brutal, and who treated his Indian women and servants well and who treated them badly, and who had the reputation of being a gentleman and who was otherwise. It often happened that when they were sold by auction and were bought by soldiers whom the Indian men and women were not content to serve, or by men who had treated them badly, the slaves at once disappeared and were not seen again. As for asking for them one might as well seek for Mahomet in Granada, or write to "my son the batchelor of Arts in Salamanca." In the end it all figured as debt in the books of the King, both the accounts of the auction and the fifths, and as for paying assessment on the gold, it came to the point that not one or very few soldiers brought their share of gold [to be assessed] for they already owed it all and much more than what the King's officials would leave to them.

Let us leave this, and I will relate how at that time a ship arrived from Spain in which came Julian de Alderete, a native of Tordesillas, as his Majesty's Treasurer, and a certain Orduña, the elder, also a native of Tordesillas who after Mexico was conquered became a settler at Puebla and brought out some daughters who made very honourable marriages. There also came a friar of San Francis named Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, a native of Seville who

brought some Bulls of Señor San Pedro[1] so that we might put ourselves right if we had fallen somewhat in his debt during the wars which we were waging. Thus in a few months the friar returned to Spain rich and contented and left others discontented behind him ; then he sent as his deputy to take charge of the Bulls Gerónimo López who was afterwards secretary in Mexico. There also arrived one Antonio de Carvajal who, now a very old man, lives in Mexico, he was captain of a launch, and Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, a native of Burgos, who after the capture of Mexico became son-in-law of Orduña, he also was captain of a launch, and a certain Briones a native of Salamanca. This Briones was hanged in this province of Guatemala as a mutineer in the army, four years after he returned from the expedition to Honduras. Many others also arrived whose names I forget, also a certain Alonzo Díaz de la Reguera who became a settler in Guatemala and now lives in Valladolid.

A great store of arms and powder was brought in this ship, in fact as was to be expected in a ship coming from Spain it came well laden, and we rejoiced at its arrival and at the news from Spain that it brought. I don't remember very well, but I think that they told us that the Bishop of Burgos had already lost [his position] and did not stand well with his Majesty since he had come to know of our many good and memorable services. As the Bishop was in the habit of writing to his Majesty in Flanders the opposite to what really took place, and in favour of Diego Velásquez, when his Majesty found out for certain that all our procurators had told him on our behalf was quite true, he would not listen to anything more that the Bishop had to say.

Let us leave this and say that Cortés now saw that

[1] *I.e.* of the Pope as successor to St. Peter.

the building of the launches was finished, and noted the eagerness of all of us soldiers to commence the siege of Mexico. At that time the people of Chalco sent again to say that the Mexicans were attacking them, and begged for help, and Cortés sent to tell them that he intended to go himself to their pueblos and territories and not to return until the enemy was finally driven from their neighbourhood. He ordered three hundred soldiers and thirty horsemen and nearly all the musketeers and cross-bowmen and the men of Texcoco to be in readiness, and Pedro de Alvarado, and Andrés de Tápia and Cristóbal de Olid went in his company as well as the Treasurer Julian de Alderete and the Friar Fray Pedro Melgarejo who by that time had arrived in our camp. I too went with Cortés for he ordered me to do so, and what happened during that expedition I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

How our Captain Cortés went on an expedition and made a circuit of the lake and of all the cities and large pueblos that were to be found in its neighbourhood, and what else happened on that expedition.

As Cortés had told the people of Chalco that he was coming to help them so that the Mexicans should no longer come and attack them, (for we had been going there and back every week to assist them) he ordered all the force of soldiers already mentioned to be prepared, and they were three hundred soldiers, thirty horsemen, twenty crossbowmen and fifteen musketeers, and the Treasurer Julian Alderete, Pedro de Alvarado, Andrés de Tápia, Cristóbal de Olid, and the Friar Pedro Melgarejo went also, and Cortés ordered me to go with him, and there were many Tlaxcalans and allies from Texcoco in

his company. He left Gonzalo de Sandoval behind with a good company of soldiers and horsemen to guard Texcoco and the launches.

On the morning of Friday the 5th April 1521 after hearing Mass we set out for Tlamanalco, where we were well received, and we slept there. The next day we went to Chalco, for the one town is quite close to the other, and there Cortés ordered all the Caciques of the province to be called together, and he made them a speech through our interpreters Doña Marina and Gerónimo de Aguilar, in which he gave them to understand that we were now going to try whether we could bring to peace some of the towns in the neighbourhood of the lake, and also to view the land and position before blockading Mexico, and that we were going to place thirteen launches on the lake, and we begged them to be ready to accompany us on the next day with all their warriors. When they understood this all with one voice promised that they would willingly do what we asked.

The next day we went to sleep at another pueblo, subject to Chalco, called Chimaluacan, and there we met more than twenty thousand allies from Chalco, Texcoco, and Huexotzingo and from Tlaxcala and other towns, and in all the expeditions in which I have been engaged in New Spain, never have I known so many of our allied warriors to accompany us as joined us now.

As I have already said before, many of them came in hope of gathering spoil, and it is also true that they came to gorge on human flesh, if there should be any fighting, for they knew for certain that we should have to fight battles. It was the same, so to say, as when in Italy an army marches from one place to another it is followed by crows and kites and other birds of prey which live on the dead bodies that are left in the field after a bloody battle, so I believe it was for the same reason that we were followed by so many thousand Indians.

Let us leave this subject and return to our story. About that time we received news, that in a plain near by, there were many companies and squadrons of Mexicans and all their allies from the country round about waiting to attack us. So Cortés held us in readiness and after hearing Mass we set out early in the morning from the pueblo of Chimaluacan where we had slept, and keeping in good formation and much on the alert, we marched among some high rocks between two hills where there were fortifications and barricades, where many Indians both men and women were safely sheltered, and from these strongholds they yelled and shouted at us, but we did not care to attack them, but kept quietly on our way towards a large pueblo called Yautepec, which we found deserted, and passed by without stopping,[1] and arrived at a plain where there were some springs with very little water, and on one side was a high rocky hill[2] with a fortress very difficult to subdue, as the attempt soon proved, and when we arrived in the neighbourhood of this hill, we saw that it was crowded with warriors, and from the summit they shouted at us and threw stones and shot darts and arrows, and wounded three of our soldiers. Then Cortés ordered us to halt there, and said "it seems that all these Mexicans who shut themselves up in fortresses make mock of us as long as we do not attack them," and he said this thinking of those whom we had left behind among the foot hills, and he ordered some horsemen and crossbowmen to go round to the other side of the hill and see if there was any other place where we could ascend and find a more convenient

[1] This is misleading; they were on their way to Yautepec, but it was not until two days later that they passed by that town without stopping. The two peñoles where the fighting took place must have been situated between Chimal and Oaxtepec (cf. Cortés Third Letter).

[2] Probably Tlayacapan (see Orozco y Berra, Vol. IV, p. 541, and Itlilxochltl, Historia Chichimeca Cap. 93).

opening whence to attack them. They returned to say that the best approach was where we then were, for there was no other place where it was possible to climb up, for it was all steep rock. Then Cortés ordered us to make an attack. The standard bearer Cristóbal del Corral led the way with other ensigns and all of us followed him while Cortés and the horsemen kept guard on the plain, so that no other troops of Mexicans should fall on the baggage or on us during our attack on the stronghold. As we began to climb up the hill, the Indians who were posted above rolled down so many huge stones and rocks that it was terrifying to see them hurtling and bounding down, and it was a miracle that we were not all of us killed. One soldier fell dead at my feet, he was one Martínez, a Valencian who had been Maestrasala to a Señor de Salva, in Castile; he had a helmet on his head but he gave no cry and never spoke another word. Still we kept on, but as the great *Galgas*, as we call these big rocks in this country, came rolling and tearing and bounding down and breaking in pieces, they soon killed two more good soldiers, Gaspar Sánchez, nephew of the Treasurer of Cuba, and a man named Bravo, but still we kept on. Then another valiant soldier named Alonzo Rodríguez was killed, and two others were wounded in the head, and nearly all the rest was wounded in the legs, and still we persevered and pushed on ahead.

As I was active in those days, I kept on following the Standard bearer Corral, and we got beneath some hollows and cavities which there were in the hillside so as to avoid a chance rock hitting me and I clambered up from hollow to hollow to escape being killed. The standard bearer Cristóbal del Corral was sheltering himself behind some thick trees covered with thorns which grow in these hollows, his face was streaming with blood

and his banner was broken, and he called out, "Oh Señor Bernal Díaz del Castillo, it is impossible to go on any further, keep in the shelter of the hollow and take care that none of those galgas or boulders strike you, for one can hardly hold on with one's hands and feet, much less climb any higher." Just then I saw that Pedro Barba, a captain of the crossbowmen, and two other soldiers were coming up in the same way that Corral and I had done, climbing from hollow to hollow. I called out from above, "Señor Capitan, don't come up any further, for you can't hold on with hands and feet, but will roll down again." When I said this to him he replied as though he were very valiant, or some great lord and could make no other reply, "Go ahead." I took that reply as a personal insult, and answered him, "let us see you come to where I am," and I went up still higher. At that very moment such a lot of great stones came rolling down on us from above where they had stored them for the purpose, that Pedro Barba was wounded and one soldier killed, and they could not climb a single step higher.

Then the Standard bearer Corral cried out that they should pass the word to Cortés, from mouth to mouth, that we could not get any higher, and that to retreat was equally dangerous.

When Cortés heard this he understood what was happening, for there below where he stood on the level ground two or three soldiers had been killed and seven of them wounded by the great impetus of the boulders which they hurled down on them, and Cortés thought for certain that nearly all of us who had made the ascent must have been killed or badly wounded, for from where he stood he could not see the folds in the hill. So by signs and shouts and by the shots that they fired, we up above knew that they were meant as signals for us to

retreat, and in good order we descended from hollow to hollow, our bodies bruised and streaming with blood, the banners rent, and eight men dead. When Cortés saw us he gave thanks to God and they related to him what had happened between Pedro Barba and me. Pedro Barba himself and the Standard Bearer Corral were telling him about the great strength of the hill and that it was a marvel that the boulders did not carry us away as they flew down, and the story was soon known throughout the camp.

Let us leave these empty tales and say how there were many companies of Mexicans lying in wait in places where we could neither see nor observe them, hoping to bring help and succour to those posted on the hill, for they well knew that we should not be able to force our way into the stronghold, and they had arranged that while we were fighting, the warriors on the hill on one side, and they on the other, would make an attack on us, and as it had been arranged so they came to the assistance of those on the hill. When Cortés knew that they were approaching, he ordered the horsemen and all of us to go and attack them, and this we did, for the ground was level in places as there were fields lying between the small hills, and we pursued the enemy until they reached another very strong hill.

We killed very few Indians during the pursuit for they took refuge in places where we could not reach them. So we returned to the stronghold which we had attempted to scale, and seeing that there was no water there, and that neither we nor the horses had had anything to drink that day, for the springs which I have spoken about as being there contained nothing but mud, because the many allies whom we had brought with us crowded into them and would not let them flow. For this reason orders were given to shift our camp, and we went down

through some fields to another hill which was distant from the first about a league and a half, thinking that we should find water there, but we found very little of it. Near this hill were some native mulberry trees and there we camped, and there were some twelve or thirteen houses at the foot of the stronghold. As soon as we arrived the Indians began to shout and shoot darts and arrows and roll down boulders from above.

There were many more people in this fortress than there were in the first hill, and it was much stronger, as we afterwards found out.

Our musketeers and crossbowmen fired up at them but they were so high up and protected by so many barricades that we could not do them any harm, besides there was no possibility of climbing up and forcing our way in. Although we made two attempts, from the houses that stood there, over some steps by which we could mount up for two stages, beyond that, as I have already said, it was worse than the first hill, so that we did not increase our reputation at this stronghold any more than at the first, and the victory lay with the Mexicans and their allies.

That night we slept in the mulberry grove and were half dead with thirst. It was arranged that on the next day all the musketeers and crossbowmen should go to another hill which was close by the large one, and should climb up it, for there was a way up although it was not an easy one, to see if from that hill their muskets and crossbows would carry as far as the stronghold on the other, so that they could attack it. Cortés ordered Francisco Verdugo and the Treasurer Juan de Alderete who boasted that they were good crossbowmen, and Pedro Barba who was a Captain, to go as leaders, and all the rest of the soldiers to attack from the steps and tracks of [above] the houses which I have already spoken of, and to climb up as best we could. So we began the ascent, but they

hurled down so many stones both great and small that many of the soldiers were wounded, and in addition to this it was quite useless to attempt the ascent, for even using both our hands and feet we could climb no further. While we were making these attempts the musketeers and crossbowmen from the other hill of which I have spoken, managed to reach the enemy with their muskets and crossbows but they could only just do it, however they killed some and wounded others. In this way we went on attacking them for about half an hour when it pleased our Lord God that they agreed to make peace. The reason why they did so was that they had not got a drop of water, and there was a great number of people on the level ground on the hill top and the people from all the neighbourhood round had taken refuge there both men, women and children and slaves. So that we down below should understand that they wished for peace, the women on the hill waved their shawls and clapped the palms of their hands together as a sign that they would make bread or tortillas for us and the warriors ceased shooting arrows and darts and hurling down stones.

When Cortés observed this he ordered that no more harm should be done to them, and by signs he made them understand that five of their chiefs should come down to treat for peace. When they came down with much reverence they asked Cortés to pardon them for having protected and defended themselves by taking refuge in that stronghold. Cortés replied somewhat angrily through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar that they deserved death for having begun the war, but as they had come to make peace, they must go at once to the other hill and summon the Caciques and chiefs who were stationed there and bring in the dead bodies, and that if they came in peace he would pardon what had happened, if not, that we should attack them and besiege them until

they died of thirst, for we knew well that there [too] they had no water, for there is very little in all that part of the country. So they went off at once to summon the Caciques as they were told to do.

I will stop talking about this until they come back with the reply and will relate that Cortés was standing talking to the Friar Melgarejo and the Treasurer Alderete about the wars that we had already waged before they came, which were just as bad as the attack on the hill, and of the great power of the Mexicans and about the great cities that we had seen since leaving Spain, and was saying that if our Lord the Emperor was told the truth, (instead of the Bishop of Burgos writing to him the reverse) that he would send and give us great rewards, for no other king in the world had had such services done for him as we had performed in winning so many cities for him without his knowing anything whatever about it.

Let us leave out much more conversation that took place and relate how Cortés sent the Standard bearer Corral, and two other captains namely Juan Jaramillo and Pedro de Ircio and me, who happened to be there with them, to ascend the hill and see what the stronghold was like, whether there were many Indians wounded or killed by the arrows and muskets and how many people were gathered there.

When he gave us these orders he said, "Look to it, Sirs, that you do not take from them a single grain of maize, and as I understood it he meant that we should help ourselves, and it was for that reason that he sent us and told me to go with the others. We ascended the hill by a track, and I must say that it was stronger than the first hill for it was sheer rock, and when we reached the top the entrance into the stronghold was no wider than the two mouths of a silo or an oven. At

the very top it was level ground and there was a great breadth of meadow land all crowded with people, both warriors and many women and children, and we found twenty dead men and many wounded, and they had not a drop of water to drink. All their clothes and other property was done up in bundles and there were many bales of cloaks which were the tribute they paid to Guatemoc, and when I saw so many loads of cloths and knew that it was intended for tribute I began to load four Tlaxcalans, my free servants whom I had brought with me, and I also put four other bales on the backs of four other Indians who were guarding the tribute, one bale on each man's back. When Pedro de Ircio saw this he said that [the bales] should not be taken, and I contended that they should, but as he was a Captain, I did as he ordered, for he threatened to tell Cortés about it. Pedro de Ircio said to me that I had heard what Cortés had said, that we should not take a single grain of maize, and I replied that was true, and that it was on account of those very words I wished to carry off these robes. However, he would not let me carry off anything at all, and we went down to tell Cortés what we had seen concerning the things on which he had sent us to report. Then Pedro de Ircio told Cortés about the contention that I had had with him which pleased Cortés greatly, after giving an account of what there was there, Pedro de Ircio said, "I took nothing from them although Bernal Díaz del Castillo had already laden eight Indians with cloth and would have brought them away loaded had I not stopped him." Then Cortés replied, half angrily "Why did he not bring them, you ought to have stayed there with the cloth and the Indians" and he added "See how they understand me, I sent them to help themselves, and from Bernal Díaz who did understand me, they took away the spoil which he was taking from those dogs who

will sit there laughing at us in the company of those whom we have killed and wounded."

When Pedro de Ircio heard this he wished to go up to the stronghold again, but he was told that there was no reason for his going, and that on no account should he return there.

Let us leave this talk and say that the people from the other hill came in, and, after much discussion about their being pardoned for their past deeds, all gave their fealty to His Majesty. As there was no water in that place we went at once to a fine pueblo already mentioned by me in the last chapter, called Oaxtepec, where is the garden which I have said is the best that I have ever seen in all my life, and so said the Treasurer Alderete and the monk Fray Pedro Melgarejo and our Cortés. When they saw it and walked about in it they admired it greatly and said that they had never seen a better garden in Spain. I must add that we all found quarters in the garden that night. The Caciques of the town came to speak and offer their services to Cortés, for Gonzalo de Sandoval had already brought them to peace when he entered the town, as I have written fully in the chapter which treats of that event. That night we slept there and the next morning very early we left for Cuernavaca[1] and we met some squadrons of Mexicans who had come out from that town and the horsemen pursued them more than a league and a half until they took refuge in another large pueblo called Tepostlan where the inhabitants were so completely off their guard that we fell upon them before their spies whom they had sent to watch us could reach them.

Here we found some very good-looking Indian women and much spoil, but none of the Mexicans nor any of the

[1] Coadlabaca in the text (Mex. Cuauhnahuac). In this instance the name is given in mistake for Yautepec. (Cf. Cortés's Third Letter.)

inhabitants waited for us in the town, so Cortés sent three or four times to summon the Caciques to come and make peace, and said that if they did not come he would burn the town and go in search of them. They replied that they did not mean to come, therefore, so as to strike fear into the other pueblos, Cortés ordered half the houses round about to be set on fire. At that very moment the Caciques from the pueblo that we had passed that day which I have said is called Yautepec came and gave their fealty to His Majesty. The next day we took the road for a much better and larger town named Coadlabaca (at the present time we usually alter the spelling and call it Cuernavaca), and it was garrisoned by many warriors both Mexican and Native, and was very strong on account of the Barrancas more than eight fathoms deep, with running water at the bottom, but the volume of water is small. However, they made the place into a stronghold and there was no way of entering for horses except by two bridges which had already been broken down. This protection was sufficient to prevent our forcing an entrance so we fought with them from across the stream and ravine, and they shot many arrows and lances at us and hurled stones from their slings, so that they fell thicker than hail. While this was happening Cortés was informed that about half a league further on there was a place where horses could pass, and he at once set off with all the horsemen while all of us remained looking for some way to get across, and we saw that by means of some trees which stood near the edge one could get over to the other side of that deep ravine, and although three soldiers fell from the trees into the water below, and one of them broke his leg, nevertheless we did cross over although the danger was great. As for me I will say truly that when I was crossing and saw how bad and dangerous the passage was, I turned quite giddy, still I got across, I and others of our soldiers and

A View from Cuernavaca
Looking E.N.E.

many Tlaxcalans, and we fell on the rear of the Mexicans who were shooting stones and darts and arrows at our people, and when they saw us they could not believe it, and thought that we were more numerous than we were. At that moment Cristóbal de Olid and Andrés de Tápia and other horsemen who at great risk had crossed by a broken bridge, arrived on the scene and we fell on the enemy so that they turned their backs and fled into the thickets about the deep ravine where we could not reach them. Soon afterwards Cortés himself arrived with the rest of the horsemen.

In this town we took great spoil both of large bales of cloth as well as good-looking women. Cortés ordered us to remain there that day and we all found quarters in the beautiful garden of the chief of the town.

Although I feel bound to speak many times in the course of this story about the great precautions of sentinels, spies and scouts which were taken wherever we were, whether encamped or on the march, it would be tedious to repeat it too often, and for this reason I will go on and say that our scouts came to tell Cortés that twenty Indians were approaching, and that from their movements and appearance they seemed to be Caciques and chieftains who were bringing messages or coming to seek for peace. They proved to be the Caciques of the town, and when they arrived where Cortés was standing they paid him great respect and presented him with some gold jewels and asked him to pardon them for not meeting him peacefully, but they said the Lord of Mexico commanded them to stay in their stronghold and thence to make war on us, and had sent a large force of Mexicans to aid them, but from what they had now seen, there was no place, however strong it might be, that we would not attack and dominate, and they begged him [Cortés] to have mercy and make peace with them. Cortés received

them graciously, and told them that we were the vassals of a great Prince, the Emperor Don Carlos, who was good to all those who wished to serve him and that in his Royal Name he would receive them in peace, and they then gave their fealty to His Majesty. I remember that those Caciques said that our gods had warned their gods that their persons and property and towns would be chastized. We must leave them there and relate how very early on the next day we set out for another great town named Xochimilco and what happened on the road and in the city, and the attacks that were made on us I will go on to tell about, up to our return to Texcoco.

CHAPTER CXLV.

About the great thirst that we endured on the march and the great danger that we were in at Xochimilco from the many battles and skirmishes which we fought against the Mexicans and the natives of that city, and the many other warlike encounters which we went through before returning to Texcoco.

So we set out towards Xochimilco, which is a great city where nearly all the houses are built in a fresh water lake, distant about two and a half leagues from Mexico. We marched with great circumspection and in close order as it was always our custom to do, and we passed through some pine forests, but there was no water whatever along the road. As we carried our arms on our backs and it was already late and the sun was very hot we suffered much from thirst, but we did not know if there was any water ahead of us, for we had marched two or three leagues and we were still uncertain how far off was the pool which we had been told was on the road. When Cortés saw that the whole of the army was tired out and our allies the Tlaxcalans were dispirited, and one of them

had died of thirst, and I believe one of our soldiers who was old and ailing also died of thirst, he ordered a halt to be made in the shade of some pine trees and sent six horsemen ahead on the road to Xochimilco to see how far off the nearest village, or farm, or pool of water might be, so that we might know if it were near and might go and sleep there.

When the horsemen (who were Cristóbal de Olid and a certain Valdenebro, and Pedro González de Trujillo and some other energetic men) set out, I made up my mind to step aside so that neither Cortés nor the horsemen should see me, and with my three strong and active Tlaxcalan servants I followed behind the horsemen until they observed me coming behind them, and stopped in order to turn me back for fear that there should be some unexpected attack by Mexican warriors from which I could not defend myself. Nevertheless I preferred to go on with them, and Cristóbal de Olid, as he was a friend of mine, said that I might go but should keep my hands ready to fight and my feet ready to place myself in safety if there was any fear of warriors, however, my thirst was so great that I would have risked my life to satisfy it. About half a league ahead there were a number of farms and cottages on the hillsides belonging to the people of Xochimilco. The horsemen left me and went to search for pools of water and they found some and satisfied their thirst, and one of my Tlaxcalans brought out of a house a large pitcher of very cold water (for they have very large pitchers in that country) from which I quenched my thirst, and so did they.

Then I determined to return to where Cortés was resting, for the dwellers in the farms were already giving the call to arms and shouting and whistling at us. With the help of the Tlaxcalans I carried along the pitcher full of water and I found Cortés who was beginning to

march again with his army. I told him that there was water at the farms near by and that I had already had a drink and was bringing water in a pitcher which the Tlaxcalans were bringing very carefully hidden, so that it should not be taken from me, for thirst has no laws, and Cortés and some of the other gentlemen drank from it, and he was well satisfied and all were rejoiced and hastened on their march so that we arrived at the farms before the sun had set.

Water was found in the houses, but not very much of it, and owing to the hunger and thirst that they suffered some of the soldiers ate some plants like thistles which hurt their tongues and mouths.

Just then the horsemen returned and reported that the pool of water was a long way off, and that all the country was being called to arms, and that it would be advisable to sleep where we were. So sentinels and watchmen and scouts were at once posted and I was one of the watchmen, and I remember that it rained a little that night and there was a very high wind.

The next day very early in the morning we began our march again and about eight o'clock we arrived at Xochimilco. I cannot estimate the great number of the warriors who were waiting for us, some on the land and others in a passage by a broken bridge, and the great number of breast works and barricades which had been thrown up, and the lances which they carried made from the swords captured from us during the great slaughter on the causeways at Mexico. Many of the Indian captains carried shining swords, taken from us, fixed on the end of long lances, and there were archers and those who used double-pointed javelins and slings with stones and two handed swords like broadswords edged with stone knives. I say that all the mainland was covered with them, and at the passage of that bridge we were fighting

them for more than half an hour and could not get through, neither muskets nor crossbows nor the many great charges that we made were of any avail, and the worst of all was that many other squadrons of them were already coming to attack us on our flanks. When we saw that, we dashed through the water and bridge, some half swimming and others jumping, and here some of our soldiers, much against their will, had perforce to drink so much of the water beneath the bridge that their bellies were swollen up from it.

To go back to the battle, at the passage of the bridge many of our soldiers were wounded, but we soon brought the enemy to the sword's point along some streets where there was solid ground ahead of us. Cortés and the horsemen turned in another direction on the mainland where they came on more than ten thousand Indians, all Mexicans, who had come as reinforcements to help the people in the city, and they fought in such a way with our troops that, with their lances in rest, they awaited the attack of the horsemen and wounded four of them. Cortés was in the middle of the press and the horse he was riding, which was a very good one, a dark chestnut called "el Romo"[1] either because he was too fat, or was tired, (for he was a pampered horse,) broke down, and the Mexican warriors who were around in great numbers laid hold of Cortés and dragged him from the horse; others say that by sheer strength they threw the horse down. Whichever way it may have happened, Cortés and the horse fell to the ground, and at that very moment many more Mexican warriors pressed up to see if they could carry him off alive. When some Tlaxcalans and also a very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea (a native of

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[1] The flat nosed.

Old Castille in the neighbourhood of Medina del Campo) saw what had happened, they at once came up and with good cuts and thrusts they cleared a space so that Cortés could mount again although he was badly wounded in the head. Olea was also very badly wounded with three sword cuts. By that time all of us soldiers who were anywhere near came to their help. At that time, as every street in the City was crowded with squadrons of warriors and as we were obliged to follow their banners, we were not able all to keep together, but some of us to attack in some places and some of us in others as Cortés commanded us. However we all knew from the shouts and cries, yells and whistles that we heard, that where Cortés and the horsemen were engaged the fight was hottest, and, without further explanation, although there were swarms of warriors round us, we went at great risk to ourselves to join Cortés. Fifteen horsemen had already joined him and were fighting near some canals where the enemy had thrown up breastworks and barricades. When we came up we put the Mexicans to flight, but not all of them turned their backs on us, and because the soldier Olea who had helped our Cortés was very badly wounded with three sword cuts and was bleeding, and because the streets of the city were crowded with warriors, we advised Cortés to turn back to some barricades, so that he and Olea and the horse might be attended to.

So we turned back, but not without anxiety on account of the stones, arrows and javelins which they fired at us from the barricades, for the Mexicans thought that we were turning to retreat and they followed us with great fury. At this moment Andrés de Tápia and Cristóbal de Olid came up, and all the rest of the horsemen who had gone off with them in other directions. Blood was streaming down Olid's face, and from his

horse and from all the rest of them, for everyone was wounded, and they said that they had been fighting against such a host of Mexicans in the open fields that they could make no headway against them, for when we had passed the bridge which I have mentioned it seems that Cortés had divided the horsemen so that half went in one direction and half in the other, one half following one set of squadrons and the other half another set of squadrons.

While we were treating the wounds by searing them with oil, there was a great noise of yells, trumpets, shells and drums from some of the streets on the mainland, and along them came a host of Mexicans into the court where we were tending the wounded, and they let fly such a number of javelins and stones that they at once wounded many of our soldiers. However, the enemy did not come very well out of that incursion for we at once charged on them and with good cuts and thrusts we left most of them stretched out on the ground.

The horsemen too were not slow in riding out to the attack and killed many of them, but two of the horses were wounded. We drove them out of that place or court, and when Cortés saw that there were no more of the enemy we went to rest in another great court where stood the great oratories of the city.

Many of our soldiers ascended the highest temple where the Idols were kept, and from thence looked over the Great City of Mexico and the lakes, for one had a commanding view of it all, and they could see approaching more than two thousand canoes full of warriors who were coming straight towards us from Mexico. Later on we learnt that the Prince of Mexico named Guatemoc had sent them to attack us that night or next day, and at the same time he sent another ten thousand warriors by land so that by attacking us both on one side and the other,

not one of us should go out of that city alive. He had also got ready another ten thousand men as a reinforcement when the attack was made. All this we found out on the following day from five Mexican captains who were captured during the battle.

However, our Lord ordained that it should be otherwise, for when that great fleet of canoes was observed and it was known that they were coming to attack us, we agreed to keep a very good watch throughout the camp, especially at the landing places and canals where they had to disembark. The horsemen were waiting very much on the alert all night through, with the horses saddled and bridled on the causeway and on the mainland, and Cortés and all his captains were keeping watch and going the rounds all night long. I and two other soldiers were posted as sentinels on some masonry walls, and we had [got together] many stones where we were posted, and the soldiers of our company were provided with crossbows and muskets and long lances, so that if the enemy should reach the landing place on the canals we could resist them and make them turn back; other soldiers were posted as guards on other canals.

While my companions and I were watching we heard a sound of many canoes being paddled, although they approached with muffled paddles, to disembark at the landing place where we were posted, and with a good shower of stones and with the lances we opposed them so that they did not dare to disembark. We sent one of our companions to give warning to Cortés, and while this was happening there again approached many more canoes laden with warriors, and they began to shoot many darts and stones and arrows at us, and as we again opposed them, two of our soldiers were wounded in the head, but as it was night time and very dark the canoes went to join the captains of the whole fleet of canoes and

they all went off together to disembark at another landing place where the canals were deeper. As they were not used to fight during the night, they all went to join the squadrons that Guatemoc had sent by land which already numbered more than fifteen thousand Indians.

I also wish to relate, but not for the purpose of boasting about it, that when our companion went to report to Cortés that many canoes full of warriors had reached the landing place where we were watching, Cortés himself accompanied by ten horsemen came at once to speak to us, and as he came close to us without speaking we cried out, I and Gonzalo Sánchez, a Portuguese from Algarve, and we shouted "who comes there, are not you able to speak, what do you want?" and we threw three or four stones at him. When Cortés recognised my voice and that of my companion he said to the Treasurer Julian de Alderete and to Fray Pedro Melgarejo and the Maestre de Campo, Cristóbal de Olid, who were accompanying him on his rounds "We need no further security here than the two men who are here stationed as watchmen, they are men who have been with me from the earliest times and we can fully trust them to keep a good look out even in a case of still greater danger" and then they spoke to us and explained the danger that was threatening us.

In the same way without saying more to us they went on to examine the other outposts and when I was least expecting it, we heard how they flogged two soldiers who were lounging through their watch, these were some of Narvaez's men.

There is another matter which I call to mind, which is that our musketeers had no more powder, and the crossbowmen no arrows, for on the day before they had fired so quickly that all had been used up. That same night Cortés ordered the crossbowmen to get ready all [the arrows] they possessed and to feather them and

fix on the arrow heads, for on these expeditions we always carried many loads of materials for arrows and over five loads of arrow heads made of copper, so that we could always make arrows when they were needed. So all that night every crossbowman was occupied feathering and putting heads on the arrows, and Pedro Barba, who was their Captain never ceased from overseeing the work and from time to time Cortés assisted him.

Let us leave this and relate that as soon as there was daylight we saw all the Mexican squadrons closing in on the court where we were encamped, and, as they never caught us napping, the horsemen in one direction where there was firm ground, and we and our Tlaxcalan allies in another, charged through them and killed and wounded three of their captains who died the next day, and our allies made a good capture and took as prisoners five chieftains, from whom we learnt what orders had been given by Guatemoc, as I have already related.

Many of our soldiers were wounded in that battle, but this encounter was not the end of the fighting, for our horsemen following on the heels of the enemy, came on the ten thousand warriors whom Guatemoc had sent as reinforcements to help and support those whom he had sent in advance. The Mexican Captains who came with this force carried swords captured from us, and made many demonstrations of the valour with which they would use them saying that they would slay us with our own arms. When our horsemen who were few in number found themselves close to the enemy and saw the great number of squadrons, they feared to attack them, and they moved aside so as not to meet them until Cortés and all of us could come to their aid. When we heard of this, without a moment's delay, all the horsemen who were left in mounted their horses although both men and horses were wounded, and all the soldiers and crossbowmen and our

Tlaxcalan allies marched out and we charged in such a way that we broke the ranks of the enemy and got at them hand to hand and with good sword play made them abandon their unlucky enterprise and leave us the field of battle.

Let us leave this and go on to say that we captured some other chieftains there and heard from them that Guatemoc had ordered another great flotilla of Canoes to be despatched and was sending many more warriors by land, and had said to his warriors that when we were weary from our recent encounters and had many dead and wounded, we would become careless, thinking that no more squadrons would be sent against us, and that with the large force he was then sending they would be able to defeat us. When this was known, if we had been on the alert before we were much more so now, and it was agreed that the next day we should leave the city and not wait for more attacks. That day we spent in attending to the wounded, and in cleaning our arms and making arrows.

It appears that in this city there were many rich men who had very large houses full of mantles and cloth and Indian cotton shirts, and they possessed gold and feather work and much other property. It so happened that while we were occupied as I have described, the Tlaxcalans and some of our soldiers chanced to find out in what part of the town these houses were situated, and some of the Xochimilco prisoners went with them to point them out. These houses stood in the fresh water lake and one could reach them by a causeway, but there were two or three small bridges in the causeway where it crossed some deep canals, and as our soldiers went to the houses and found them full of cloth and no one was guarding them, they loaded themselves and many of the Tlaxcalans with the cloth and the gold ornaments and came with it to the camp. Some of the other soldiers when they saw this,

also set out for the houses, and while they were inside taking the cloth out of some huge wooden boxes, at that very moment a great flotilla of canoes arrived full of Indians from Mexico who fell upon them and wounded many of the soldiers, and carried off four of them alive and took them to Mexico, but the rest escaped.

One of those who was carried off was Juan de Lara and another Alonzo Hernández, but I forget the names of the others. When these four soldiers were taken to Guatemoc he learnt how few of us we were who had come with Cortés and that many of us were wounded, and all that he wished to know about our journey. When he had thoroughly informed himself about all this, he ordered the arms, feet and heads of our unfortunate companions to be cut off and sent them to the towns of our allies, to those that had already made peace with us, and he sent to tell them that he did not think there would be one of us left alive to return to Texcoco. The hearts and blood were offered to the Idols.

Let us leave this and say how he at once sent many fleets of canoes full of warriors, and other companions by land, and told them to see to it that we did not leave Xochimilco alive. As I am tired of writing about the many battles and encounters which we fought against the Mexicans in those days, and yet cannot omit to mention them, I will say that as soon as dawn broke there came such a host of Culuans, that is Mexicans, by the waterways and others by the causeways and by the mainland that we could hardly break them up. So we then went out from the city to a great Plaza which stood at a little distance from the town, where they were used to hold their markets, and halted there with all our baggage ready for the march. Cortés then began to make us a speech about the danger in which we were placed, for we knew for certain that in the bad passes on the roads, at the creeks and on the

canals the whole power of Mexico and its allies would be lying in wait for us, and he told us that it would be a good thing, and it was his command, that we should march unencumbered and should leave the baggage and the cloths so that it should not impede us when it came to fighting. When we heard this with one voice we answered that, please God we were men enough to defend our property and persons and his also, and that it would show great cowardice to do such a thing. When Cortés knew our wishes and heard our reply he said that he prayed God to help us, and then knowing the strength and power of the enemy, we arranged the order of march, the baggage and the wounded in the middle, the horsemen divided so that half of them marched ahead and half as a rearguard. The crossbowmen and our native allies we also placed near the middle as a security, for the Mexicans were accustomed to attack the baggage. Of the musketeers we did not take much count for they had no powder left.

In this order we began our march, and when the squadrons of Mexicans whom Guatemoc had sent out that day saw us retreating from Xochimilco they thought that it was from fear and that we did not dare to meet them, which was true, and so great a host of them started off at once and came directly against us that they wounded eight soldiers of whom two died within eight days, and they thought to defeat us and break into the baggage, but as we marched in the order I have described they were not able to do it. However, all along the road until we reached a large town called Coyoacan, about two leagues distant from Xochimilco, the warriors never ceased to make sudden attacks on us from positions where we could not well get at them, but whence they could assail us with javelins and stones and arrows, and then take refuge in the neighbouring creeks and ditches.

When we arrived at Coyoacan about ten o'clock in the morning we found it deserted.

I wish now to say that there are many cities standing about two leagues apart from one another, near the Great City of Mexico, such as Xochimilco, Coyoacan, Churubusco, Iztapalapa, Cuitlahuac and Mexquic[1] and two or three other pueblos, (the greater part of them built in the water,) which stand a league and a half or two leagues one from the other, and from all of them many Indian warriors had assembled in Xochimilco to fight against us. I will go on to say that when we arrived at this large town and found it deserted, as it stands on level ground, we determined to rest there that day and the next so as to attend to the wounded and to make arrows, for we understood very well that we should have to fight more battles before returning to our camp at Texcoco.

Next day early in the morning we began our march in the same formation that we were accustomed to keep, following the road to Tacuba, which stands about two leagues from our starting place. At one place on the road many squadrons of warriors divided into three parties came out to attack us, but we resisted all three attacks, and the horsemen followed the enemy over the level ground until they took refuge in the creeks and canals.

As we kept on our way in the manner I have described, Cortés left us with ten horsemen to prepare an ambush for the Mexicans who came out from the creeks and made attacks on us. He took with him four pages and the Mexicans pretended that they were running away and Cortés with the horsemen and servants followed them. Then Cortés saw that there was a large force of the enemy placed in ambush who fell upon him and his horsemen

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[1] Suchimillco, Cuyuacan, Huichilubusco, Yztalapa, Cuedlavaca and Mezquique in the text.

and wounded some horses and if they had not retreated at once they would all have been killed or taken prisoners. As it was, the Mexicans carried off alive two out of the four soldiers who were pages to Cortés, and they carried them to Guatemoc who had them sacrificed.

Let us stop talking about this disaster and say that we arrived at Tacuba with our banners flying and with all the army and the baggage. The rest of the horsemen had come in with Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, but Cortés and the ten horsemen who were with him did not appear, and we had an uncomfortable suspicion that some disaster might have overtaken him. Then Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid and other horsemen went in search of him, in the direction of the creeks where we had seen him turn off. At that moment the other two pages who had gone with Cortés and who had escaped with their lives came into camp, (one who was named Monroy and the other Tomás de Rijoles,) and they told us all that I have already related, and said that they had escaped because they were fleet of foot, and that Cortés and the others were following slowly because their horses were wounded. While we were talking Cortés appeared, at which we all rejoiced, although he had arrived very sad and almost tearful. The two pages who were carried off to Mexico to be sacrificed were called one of them Francisco Martin Bendaval (and this name of Bendaval was given to him because he was a little mad) and the other was called Pedro Gallego.

When we arrived at Tacuba it rained heavily and we took shelter for nearly two hours in some large courts, and Cortés with some other captains and the treasurer Alderete, who was unwell, and the Friar Melgarejo and many of us soldiers ascended the lofty temple of that town whence one had a good view of the city of Mexico which is quite near, and of the lake and the other cities

that I have spoken of, which are built in the water. When the Friar and the treasurer Alderete saw so many and such great cities all standing in the water, they were astonished, and when they looked at the Great City of Mexico and the lake and the great multitude of canoes, some going laden with food, others out fishing and others empty, much more did they marvel, and said that our coming to this New Spain, was not an act of human beings but that it was the great Mercy of God who had ordained that we should hold the country and protect it, and that they had already said that they never remembered to have read in any writing of any vassals who had done such great services for their King as we had done, and that now they said it the more positively and that they would send an account of it to His Majesty.

I will omit the rest of the conversation that took place there, and how the Friar consoled Cortés for the loss of his pages, for he was deeply grieved about them, and will say how Cortés and all of us stood there viewing from Tacuba the great Temple of Huichilobos and Tlatelolco and the buildings where we had been used to lodge, and we could see all the city and the bridges and the causeway along which we had fled. At that moment Cortés heaved a sigh of great sadness, very much greater than he had felt before, thinking of his men who had been killed before he descended that lofty temple. From this originated the song or romance:—

En Tacuba esta Cortés	Cortés stood in Tacuba
Con su esquadron esforzado	With his valiant company
Triste estaba y muy penoso	Sad he was, and very anxious
Triste y con gran cuydado	Sad and weighed down with care
Una mano en la mexilla	One hand was to his face
Y la otra en el costado, etc.	The other to his side, etc.

I remember that then a soldier called the Bachelor Alonzo Pérez, who after New Spain was conquered was

the fiscal and a settler in Mexico, said to him, "Señor, do not feel so sad—such things must happen in war, and it will not be said of your honour:

Mira Nero de Tarpeya	Nero from the Tarpean rock
A Roma como se ardia	Watched Rome as it was burning"

Cortés answered him, "you have seen how many times I have sent to Mexico praying them to make peace, for I am not grieving over one matter only, but at the thought of the great hardships through which we must pass before we gain the mastery, and that with the help of God we will soon set to the work."

Enough of these dialogues and romances, for it was not the right time for them; let me say that there was a suggestion made among our soldiers and captains to go and take a look at the causeway, as it ran so close to where we were in Tacuba. However as we had no powder, and very few arrows, and nearly all the soldiers in the army were wounded, and remembering that it was little more than a month since Cortés had been there and had tried to pass along the causeway with a large number of soldiers, and had been in such great danger that there was fear of his being defeated, (as I have related in the chapter which treats of that matter), it was agreed that we should keep on our march, for fear lest some day or night we should become involved in a contest with the Mexicans, for Tacuba is very close to the great city of Mexico and Guatemoc might exert his great powers so as to carry off some of our soldiers alive.

So we began our march, and passed by Atzcapotzalco[1] which we found to be deserted, and went on to Tenayuca which is the large town we were accustomed to call El pueblo de las Sierpes, for I have already said in the

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

chapter that treats of it, that there were three serpents in the chief oratory in which they worshipped and they had them for their Idols. This town was also deserted. From thence we went to Guatitlan, and throughout the day it never ceased raining with heavy rainstorms, and as we marched with our arms shouldered and never took off [our harness] by day or night, what with the weight and the soaking we got, we were quite broken down. We arrived at that large town when night was falling but it also was deserted. It never ceased raining all night long and the mud was very deep. The natives of the place and some squadrons of Mexicans yelled at us all night from the canals and other places where we could do them no harm. As it was raining and very dark no sentinels could be posted or rounds made, and no order was kept, nor could we find those who were posted, and this I can myself assert for they stationed me as a watchman for the first watch, and neither officer nor patrol visited me, and so it was throughout the camp.

Let us leave this carelessness and say that the next day we continued our march to another large pueblo[1] of which I do not remember the name; the mud was very deep in it, and we found it deserted. The following day we passed by other deserted pueblos and the day after we reached a pueblo called Aculman, subject to Texcoco. When they knew in Texcoco that we were coming, they came out to receive Cortés, and there were many Spaniards who had lately come from Spain. Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval with many soldiers also came out to receive us and with him came the Lord of Texcoco, who as I have already said was called Don Fernando.

Cortés had a good reception both from our own people

[1] Gilotepeque (Cortés Third Letter), *i.e.*, Citlaltepec.

and from those recently come from Spain, and a still more cordial reception from the natives of the neighbouring towns who at once brought us food.

That night Sandoval returned to Texcoco with all his soldiers to protect his camp, and the next morning Cortés and all of us continued our march to Texcoco. So we marched on weary and wounded, and having left many of our soldier companions behind us dead, or in the power of the Mexicans to be sacrificed, and instead of resting and curing our wounds we had to meet a conspiracy organized by certain persons of quality who were partisans of Narvaez, for the purpose of killing Cortés and Gonzalo de Sandoval, Pedro de Alvarado and Andrés de Tápia.

What else happened I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

How when we arrived at Texcoco with Cortés and all our army from the expedition after making a circuit of the towns of the lake, it had been settled among certain of those persons who came with Narvaez to kill Cortés and all who should go to his defence. And he who was the principal author of this farce was one who had been a servant of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, and Cortés ordered this soldier to be hanged; and how the slaves were branded, and all the camp and the friendly towns were got ready, and a review was held, and orders given and other things that happened.

As I have already said we returned broken up and wounded from the expedition that I have recorded. It appears that a great friend of the Governor of Cuba named Antonio de Villafaña, a native of Zamora or Toro, planned with other soldiers of the party of Narvaez, (I will not mention their names for their honour's sake), that when Cortés should thus return from that expedition

they would kill him with dagger thrusts. As a Spanish ship had arrived at that time it was to happen in this way: when Cortés should be seated at table dining with his Captains, one of the persons who had made the plot should bring him a letter firmly closed up and sealed as though it came from Castile, and should say that it came from his father Martin Cortés, and while he was reading it they should stab him with daggers, both Cortés and all the Captains and soldiers who should happen to be near Cortés and would defend him.

When all that I have spoken about had already been talked over and prepared, it pleased Our Lord that those who had arranged it should give a share in the affair to two important persons (I wish also to avoid mentioning their names) who had gone on the expeditions with us, and in the plan that had been made they had named one of these persons to be captain general when they had killed Cortés, and other soldiers of the party of Narvaez they appointed chief alguazil and ensign, and alcaldes, magistrates, treasurer and inspector and other officers of that sort; and they had even divided among themselves our property and horses, and this plot was kept secret until two days after our arrival at Texcoco.

It pleased our Lord God that such a thing should not come to pass, for New Spain would have been lost and all of us, for parties and follies would have sprung up at once.

It seems that a soldier divulged it [the plot] to Cortés, who at once put a stop to it before more fuel could be added to the fire, for that good soldier asserted that many persons of quality were concerned in it. When Cortés knew of it, after making great promises and gifts, which he gave to the man who disclosed it to him, he at once secretly informed all our Captains, namely, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Lugo, Cristóbal de Olid,

Andrés de Tápia, Gonzalo de Sandoval and me, and the two alcaldes who were on duty that year, namely, Luis Marin and Pedro de Írcio and all of us who were adherents of Cortés.

As soon as we knew about it we got ready, and without further delay went with Cortés to the lodging of Antonio Villafaña, and there were present with him many of those who were in the conspiracy, and with the aid of four alguaciles whom Cortés had brought with him we promptly laid hands on Villafaña, and the Captains and soldiers who were with him at once began to flee and Cortés ordered them to be seized and detained. As soon as we held Villafaña prisoner Cortés drew from his [Villafaña's] breast the memorandum which he possessed with the signatures of all who were in the conspiracy, and after he had read it and had seen that there were many persons of quality in it, so as not to dishonour them, he spread the report that Villafaña had swallowed the memorandum and that he [Cortés] had neither seen nor read it, and he at once brought him to trial. When his [Villafaña's] statement was taken he spoke the truth and with the many witnesses of good faith and credibility whose evidence they took on the case, the regular Alcaldes jointly with Cortés and the Quarter Master Cristóbal de Olid gave sentence, and after he had confessed with the priest Juan Díaz, they hanged him from the window of a room where he had lodged.

Cortés did not wish that anyone else should be dishonoured in that affair, although at that time many were made prisoners in order to frighten them, and to make a show that he wished to punish others, but as the time was not suitable he overlooked it.

Cortés at once agreed to have a guard for his person, and the Captain of it was a gentleman named Antonio

de Quiñones a native of Zamora, with six soldiers, good and valiant men who guarded him [Cortés] day and night. And he begged us, whom he knew belonged to his party, to look after his person. Although from that time forth he showed great kindness to those who were in the conspiracy, he distrusted them.

Let us leave this subject and say that he at once ordered it to be proclaimed that, within two days, all the Indian men and women that we had captured on those expeditions should be brought to be branded, and a house was designated for the purpose.

So as not to waste more words in this story about the way that they were sold at the auction, (beyond what I have said at other times on the two other occasions when they were branded,) if it were done badly before, it was done much worse this time, for, after taking out the royal fifth, Cortés took his fifth and further thefts for Captains, and if those we sent to be branded were handsome and good Indian women they stole them by night from the crowd, so that they should not reappear from then till doomsday and on this account many women were left out, who we afterwards kept as free servants.

Let us leave this subject and say what orders were afterwards given in our camp.

BOOK XII.

THE SIEGE AND FALL OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

How Cortés ordered all the pueblos which were friendly to us in the neighbourhood of Texcoco to make a store of arrows and copper arrow heads, and what other orders he gave in our camp.

AFTER Antonio de Villafaña had been punished, and those had quieted down who jointly with him had conspired to kill Cortés and Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval and such of us as should try to defend them, as I have already more fully written in the last Chapter, and when Cortés saw that the sloops were already built and their rigging, sails and oars were in place, and that there were spare oars for each sloop, and that the canal by which they were to pass out to the lake was very broad and deep, he sent to advise all the friendly pueblos near Texcoco to make eight thousand arrow heads of copper in each pueblo, and they were to be good ones like some others from Castile which they were given as patterns. And he also ordered them to make and trim for him in each pueblo eight thousand arrows of a very good kind of wood, and for these they also carried away a sample, and

he gave them a limit of eight days in which to bring both the arrows and arrow heads to our camp. They brought them within the time allotted, and there were more than fifty thousand arrow heads and as many thousand arrows, and the arrow heads were better than those from Castile. Then Cortés immediately commanded Pedro Barba, who was at that time captain of the crossbowmen, to divide both arrows and arrow heads among all the crossbowmen, and to order them to polish and oil them, and to put feathers on them with a paste, (which sticks better than that from Castile) which is made from some roots called Zacotle. He also gave an order to Pedro Barba that each crossbowman should have two clean and well plaited cords for his crossbow, and as many spare nuts,[1] so that if a cord should break or a nut fly off, they could at once put another in its place, and that they should always shoot at a mark, and see to what distance the crossbow would carry, and for this purpose he gave them a quantity of Valencia thread for the cords, for in the ship belonging to Juan de Burgos, which I have said arrived from Spain a few days before, much thread was brought and a large quantity of powder and crossbows and many other arms and horseshoes and muskets. Cortés also ordered the horsemen to have their horses shod, and to get their lances ready and to parade every day on horseback and gallop and train their horses to turn swiftly, and to skirmish.

When this was done he sent messengers and letters to our friend Xicotenga the elder, who, I have said at other times, had already become a Christian and was called Don Lorenzo de Vargas, and to his son Xicotenga the younger and to his brothers, and to Chichimecatecle, informing them that when the day of Corpus Christi was passed, we were going to leave this city to proceed against Mexico

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[1] Nuez = the catch made of bone into which the cord was hooked.

and to invest it. He told them to send him twenty thousand warriors from their own people at Tlaxcala, and from those of Huexotzingo and Cholula, for all were now friends and brothers in arms, and they all knew the time of meeting and the plan, as he had informed them by their own Indians who were continually leaving our camp laden with the spoils from the expeditions we had made.

He also gave warning to the people of Chalco and Tlamanalco and their vassals, to be prepared when we should send to summon them, and he gave them to understand that we were about to invest Mexico, and the time when we should set out, and he said the same to Don Fernando the Lord of Texcoco and to his chieftains and to all his vassals, and to all the other towns friendly to us. One and all replied that they would do exactly what Cortés sent to order them, and that they would come. The people from Tlaxcala came when the feast of Espíritu Santo was over. When this was done he determined to hold a review on one of the feast days. I will go on to tell the arrangement that he made.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

How a review was held in the City of Texcoco, in the great courts of that city, and what horsemen and crossbowmen and musketeers and soldiers were present, and the orders that were proclaimed and other things that were done.

AFTER the orders were given, in the manner I have already stated, and messengers and letters had been sent to our friends the people of Tlaxcala and of Chalco, and warning given to the other towns, Cortés decided with our Captains and soldiers that on the second day of the feast of Espíritu Santo (this was the year one thousand five hundred and

twenty one) a review should be held. This review was held in the great Courts of Texcoco and there were present eighty-four horsemen, six hundred and fifty soldiers with swords and shields and many with lances, and one hundred and ninety four crossbowmen and musketeers. From these there were chosen to man the thirteen launches those that I will now mention :—for each launch, twelve crossbowmen and musketeers; these men were not to row, for in addition to them there were also set apart another twelve men, six on each side as rowers for each launch. These are the dozen I spoke about, and besides these there was a Captain for each launch, so that with the Captain, every launch carried twenty-five soldiers. Thirteen launches each with twenty-five soldiers comes to two hundred and eighty-eight soldiers, and with the artillerymen, which were given them in addition to the twenty-five soldiers, there were in all the launches, three hundred soldiers, according to the account which I have given.[1]

He [Cortés] also divided among them all the boat guns and falconets we possessed and the powder he thought they would need. When this was done, he ordered the [following] rules, which we all had to observe, to be proclaimed.

First, no man should dare to blaspheme our Lord Jesus Christ, nor Our Lady, His Blessed Mother, nor the Sainted Apostles, nor any other saints under heavy penalty.

Second, no soldier should illtreat our allies, since they went to help us, or should take anything away from them even if they should be spoils gained by

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[1] The arithmetic is confusing, as is also that of Cortés, who says—(Second Letter) "For the thirteen sloops, I left three hundred men, nearly all of them skilful sailors, so that in each sloop there were twenty-five Spaniards, and each vessel carried a Captain, a Veedor, and six Crossbowmen and Musketeers."

war, whether Indian men or women or gold or silver or Chalchihuites.

Another was, no soldier should dare to depart either by day or night from our camp to go to any pueblo of our allies, or anywhere else, either to fetch food or for any other matter, under heavy penalties.

Another, all the soldiers should wear very good armour, well quilted, a neck guard, head piece, leggings, and shield, for we knew about the great number of javelins and stones and arrows and lances, and for all of them it was necessary to wear the armour which the proclamation mentioned.

Another, no one should gamble for a horse or arms on any account, under heavy penalty.

Another, no soldier, horseman, crossbowman, or musketeer should go to sleep unless he were fully armed and shod with his sandals, unless it were under the stress of wounds or because he was suffering from illness, so that we might be fully prepared whatsoever time the Mexicans might come to attack us.

In addition to these, the laws were proclaimed which were ordered to be observed in soldiering; that is, that anyone who sleeps when on guard or leaves his post should be punished with death, and it was proclaimed that no soldier should go from one camp to another without leave from his Captain under pain of death.

Another, that any soldier deserting his Captain in war or battle, should suffer death.

This proclamation being issued, I will relate what else was settled.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

How Cortés sought the rowers who were needed to row the launches, and appointed the Captains who were to go in them, and other things that were done.

AFTER the review (which I have already spoken of several times) had taken place, Cortés saw that not enough men who knew how to row could be found to row the launches, although those who had been brought in the ships which we destroyed when we came with Cortés were thoroughly experienced and the sailors from the ships of Narvaez and those from Jamaica also knew how to row, and all of them were placed on the list, and had been warned that they would have to row. Yet counting all of them, there was not a supply for all the thirteen launches. As many of the men refused, and even said that they would not row, Cortés made enquiries to find out who were seamen, or had been seen to go out fishing, and if they came from Palos or Moguer or from Triana or 'El Puerto', or from any other port or place where there were sailors, he ordered them under pain of heavy penalties to go on board the launches. However high born they might say they were, he made them go and row, and in this way he got together one hundred and fifty men as rowers, and they were much freer from hardships than we were who were stationed on the causeways fighting, and they became rich from plunder as I will relate further on.

After Cortés had decided who should go in the launches, he divided the crossbowmen and musketeers and the powder, cannon and arrows and everything else that was necessary among them and ordered them to place in each launch the royal banners and other banners with the name that was given to each launch, besides other things which were needed, and he named as Captains

for each one of them those whom I will now mention here:—Garcí Holguin, Pedro Barba, Juan de Linpias Carvajal the deaf, Juan Jaramillo, Jerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, his companion Caravajal, who is now very old and lives in the street of San Francisco, and one . . . . . . Portillo who had just come from Castile, a good soldier who had a handsome wife, and a Zamora who was a ship's mate and now lives in Oaxaca, a Colmenero who was a seaman and a good soldier, a Lema, a Jínes Nórtes, a Briones a native of Salamanca, another Captain whose name I do not remember, and Miguel Díaz de Auz.

After he had named them, and ordered all the cross-bowmen and musketeers, and the other soldiers who had to row to obey the Captains whom he was placing over them, and not to leave their commands under heavy penalties, he gave instructions to each Captain what he was to do, and to what part of the causeways he was to go, and with which one of the Captains who were on land [he was to co-operate]. When he had finished arranging all that I have mentioned, they came to tell Cortés that the Captains from Tlaxcala with a great number of warriors were approaching, and that Xicotenga, the younger, was coming as their commander in chief, the same who was commander during the wars in Tlaxcala, and it was he who plotted the treachery in Tlaxcala when we came out in flight from Mexico, as I have many other times recounted, and that he was bringing in his Company his two brothers, sons of the good old man Don Lorenzo de Vargas. He [Xicotenga] was also bringing a great force of Tlaxcalans under the command of Chichimecatecle and men from Huexotzingo, and another regiment of Cholulans, although they were few in number, because, from what I always observed after we had punished the people of Cholula (already spoken about by me in the Chapter treating of it), they never afterwards sided with

Mexicans nor yet with us, but were keeping on the look out,[1] and even when we were expelled from Mexico they were not found in opposition to us.

Let us leave this, and go back to our story. When Cortés knew that Xicotenga and his brothers and other Captains were approaching, (and they were coming one day before the time he had told them to come,) Cortés went out a quarter of a league from Texcoco to receive them with Pedro de Alvarado and others of our Captains, and as soon as he met Xicotenga and his brothers, Cortés paid them great respect and embraced them and all the other Captains. They approached in fine order, all very brilliant with great devices, each regiment by itself with its banners unfurled, and the white bird, like an eagle with its wings outstretched, which is their badge. The ensigns waved their banners and standards, and all carried bows and arrows, two handed swords, javelins and spear throwers; some carried macanas and great lances and others small lances. Adorned with their feather head-dresses, and moving in good order and uttering shouts, cries, and whistles, calling out, "Long live the Emperor our Master", and "Castile, Castile, Tlaxcala, Tlaxcala". they took more than three hours entering Texcoco.

Cortés ordered them to be lodged in good quarters, and to be supplied with everything we had in our camp. After many embraces and promises to enrich them, he took leave of them and told them that next day he would give them orders what they were to do, and that now they were tired and should rest.

At the very moment that these chiefs from Tlaxcala, of whom I have spoken, arrived, letters reached our camp sent by a soldier named Hernando de Barrientos, from a town named Chinantla, distant about ninety leagues

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[1] A la mira, *i.e.*, on the look out to see which side to take.

from Mexico, and what was said in them was, that at the time when we were expelled from Mexico, the Mexicans had killed his three companions who were at the farm and mines where the Captain Pizarro (for so he was called) had left them to search and explore all the neighbourhood for rich gold mines, as I have related in the Chapter that treats of that subject, and that Barrientos had taken refuge in the town of Chinantla where he remained, for they [the people of Chinantla] were enemies of the Mexicans. This [Chinantla] was the town whence they brought the pikes when we went against Narvaez ; and because other particulars which were given in the letter, do not concern our story, they will be omitted. Cortés wrote to him [Barrientos] in reply, giving an account of how we were marching to invest Mexico, and telling him to give his compliments to all the chieftains of those provinces, and to take care not to leave that country until he should learn by letter from him what he was to do, lest the Mexicans should kill him on the road. Let us leave this and say how Cortés gave orders as to the way we should go to invest Mexico and who were to be the Captains.

CHAPTER CL.

How Cortés ordered three divisions [each composed] of cavalry crossbowmen and musketeers to go and invest the great city of Mexico, and the Captains that he named for each division, and the soldiers, horsemen, crossbowmen, and musketeers that he divided between them, and the positions and cities where we were to establish our camps.

HE [Cortés] appointed Pedro de Alvarado Captain of one hundred and fifty sword and shield soldiers (and many of them carried lances) and thirty horsemen and eighteen musketeers and crossbowmen, and he named his brother

Jorge de Alvarado, and Gutiérrez de Badajoz and Andrés de Monjaraz to go together with him, and these he appointed to be Captains of fifty soldiers and to divide among the three of them the musketeers and crossbowmen, as many in one Company as in the other. Pedro de Alvarado was to be Captain of the horsemen and General of the three companies, and he gave him eight thousand Tlaxcalans and their Captains, and he selected me and ordered me to go with Pedro de Alvarado, and told us to go and take up our position in the City of Tacuba. He ordered that the armour we took with us should be very good headpieces, neck coverings and leggings, for the Mexicans fought against us with arrows, lances and macanas and other arms such as two handed swords, and the darts and stones were as numerous as hail-stones, and our defence was to go well armoured. Notwithstanding all this, every day that we were fighting there were deaths and wounds, as I will relate further on.

Let us go on to the next division. He gave to Cristóbal de Olid, who was quartermaster, other thirty horsemen and one hundred and seventy-five soldiers and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen all provided with armour, in the same way as the soldiers he gave to Pedro de Alvarado, and he appointed three other Captains who were Andrés de Tápia, Francisco Verdugo, and Francisco de Lugo, and between all three Captains were divided all the soldiers and crossbowmen and musketeers. Cristóbal de Olid was Captain General of the three Captains and of the horsemen, and he gave him another eight thousand Tlaxcalans, and ordered him to go and establish his camp in the city of Coyoacan, which is two leagues from Tacuba.

Cortés made Gonzalo de Sandoval, the chief Alguacil, Captain of the other division of soldiers, and gave him twenty-four horsemen, fourteen musketeers and cross-

bowmen, one hundred and fifty sword, shield and lance soldiers, and more than eight thousand Indian warriors from the people of Chalco and Huexotzingo and of some other friendly pueblos through which Sandoval had to pass, and he gave him as companions and captains, Luis Marin and Pedro de Ircio who were Sandoval's friends, and ordered the soldiers, crossbowmen and musketeers to be divided between the two captains, and that Sandoval should have the horsemen under his command and be the General, and that he should place his camp near to Iztapalapa, and attack it and do it all the damage he could, until Cortés should send him other orders. Sandoval did not leave Texcoco until Cortés, who was Commander in chief of the regiments and of the launches, was quite ready to set out for the lake with the thirteen launches in which he carried three hundred soldiers with crossbowmen and musketeers.

The plan of operation having been thus arranged, directing Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid to march in one direction and Sandoval in the other, I will now explain, in order that those who do not know these cities and the lake may understand it, that although one party went to the right and the other followed a different route, this was because they came round so as nearly to meet again.

Let us stop speaking further about this and say that to each Captain, he [Cortés] gave instructions about what his orders were, and how we were to set out next day in the morning, and so as to avoid confusion on the road, we sent on ahead all the regiments of Tlaxcalans, until they should reach Mexican Territory.

As the Tlaxcalans with their Captain, Chichimecatecle and other Captains with their men, marched carelessly, they did not notice whether Xicotenga, the younger, who was their Captain General, accompanied them and when

Chichimecatecle asked and enquired what had become of him, and where he had stopped, they found out that he had that night returned secretly to Tlaxcala, and was going to seize forcibly the caciqueship and vassals and lands of Chichimecatecle himself. The Tlaxcalans said that the reasons for his so doing were that when Xicotenga, the younger, saw the Captains of Tlaxcala, especially Chichimecatecle, going to the war, [he knew that] there would be nobody to oppose him, for he did not fear his father Xicotenga, the blind, who, being his father would aid him, and our friend Mase Escaci was already dead, and the [only] man he feared was Chichimecatecle. They also said that they always knew that Xicotenga had no wish to go to the war against Mexico, for they heard him say many times that all of us and of them would be killed. As soon as the Cacique Chichimecatecle, to whom the lands and vassals belonged that he [Xicotenga] was going to seize, heard and understood this, he turned back from the march more than swiftly and came to inform Cortés about it.

As soon as Cortés knew of it he at once ordered five Texcocan chieftains and two from Tlaxcala, friends of Xicotenga, to go and force him to return, and to tell him that Cortés begged him to come back at once and go against his enemies the Mexicans, and to reflect that if his father Don Lorenzo de Vargas were not so old and blind he would come against Mexico himself and as all Tlaxcalans were and are very loyal servants of His Majesty, that it did not become him to dishonour them as he was now doing. And he sent to make him many offers and promises that he would give him gold and cloths if he would return. The reply he [Xicotenga] sent was that if the old man his father, and Mase Escasi would have believed him, that he [Cortés] would not have so lorded it over them and made them do all that he wished, and

not to waste more words, he said that he did not intend to return. When Cortés heard that answer he at once gave an order for an Alguacil and four horsemen and five Indian chieftains from Texcoco to go in all haste and wherever they should overtake him to hang him, and he said, "There is never any improvement in this Cacique, but he must always be a traitor and ill-disposed towards us and of bad council", and that there was no time to put up with him any longer, or to ignore what had passed. When Pedro de Alvarado knew of it he petitioned strongly on his [Xicotenga's] behalf, and Cortés gave him a favourable answer, and secretly he ordered the Alguacil and the horsemen not to leave him [Xicotenga] alive. And so it was done and in a town subject to Texcoco they hanged him, and thus his treason was put an end to. There was some Tlaxcalans who said that Don Lorenzo de Vargas, the father of Xicotenga, sent to tell Cortés that this son of his was a bad man and he would not vouch for him, and that he begged Cortés to kill him.

Let us leave this story as it is, and say that for this reason we remained that day without setting out from Texcoco, and the next day the 13th May 1521[1] we set out, both divisions together, for Cristóbal de Olid and Pedro de Alvarado had both to take the same road. We went to sleep at a pueblo subject to Texcoco named Acolman,[2] often mentioned by me before, and it happened that Cristóbal de Olid sent on ahead to that pueblo to secure quarters, and had green branches placed above the roof of each house as a sign. When we arrived with Pedro de Alvarado we found no place where we could lodge, and over this [matter] the men of our

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[1] This date is probably wrong, see appendix "A Diary of the Siege."

[2] Acuylma in the text.

Company had already put hands to their weapons against those of Cristóbal de Olid and even the Captains were defying one another, but there were not wanting on both sides gentlemen who got between us and somewhat appeased the clamour, yet not so much but that we still all remained dissatisfied, and from that place they sent to inform Cortés, and he at once despatched Fray Pedro de Melgarejo, and the Captain Luis Marin in all haste, and wrote to the Captains and all of us reproving us on the subject, and when they arrived we made friends, but from that time on, the Captains, Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid were not on good terms.

The next day[1] the two Divisions continued their March together and we went to sleep at a large town[2] which was deserted, for we were already in Mexican territory. The day following[3] we went to sleep in another large town named Cuautitlan,[4] which I have already mentioned at other times, and it also was without inhabitants, and the next day[5] we passed through two other towns named Tenayuca and Atzcapotzalco,[6] which were also deserted, and at the hour of vespers we arrived at Tacuba and at once took up our quarters in some large houses and rooms, for this town also was deserted, and there, too, all our friends the Tlaxcalans found quarters, and that very afternoon they went through the farms belonging to those towns and brought in food to eat. We slept there that night [after stationing] good watchmen, sentinels and scouts, for as I have already said at other times, Mexico was close by Tacuba, and when night fell we

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[1] Thursday, 23rd May.
[2] Zitlaltepec, north of the Lake of Zumpango.
[3] Friday, 24th May.
[4] Gualtitlan in the text.
[5] Saturday, 25th May.
[6] Escapuçalco in the text.

heard great shouts which they [the Mexicans] raised at us from the lake, crying out much abuse, that we were not men enough to come out and fight them. They had many of their canoes full of warriors and the causeways also were crowded with fighting men, and these words that they said were with the idea of provoking us so that we would come out that night and fight; but as we had gained experience from the affair of the causeways and bridges often mentioned by me, we did not wish to go out until the next day, which was Sunday.[1]

After hearing Mass, which was said by Father Juan Díaz, and commending ourselves to God, we agreed that with the two Divisions together, we should go and cut off the water of Chapultepec by which the city was supplied, which was about half a league distant from Tacuba.

As we were marching to break the pipes, we came on many warriors who were waiting for us on the road, for they fully understood that would be the first thing by which we could do them damage, and so when they met us near some bad ground, they began to shoot arrows at us and hurl javelins and stones from slings, and they wounded three of our soldiers, but we quickly made them turn their backs and our friends the Tlaxcalans followed them so that they killed twenty and we captured eighteen of them.

As soon as these squadrons had been put to flight we broke the conduits through which the water flowed to the city, and from that time onwards it never flowed into Mexico so long as the war lasted. When we had accomplished this, our Captains agreed that we should go at once to reconnoitre and advance along the causeway from Tacuba, and do what was possible towards gaining possession of a bridge. When we had marched and reached

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[1] Sunday, 26th May.

the causeway, there were so many canoes on the lake full of warriors, and the causeways also were so crowded with them, that we were astounded at it; and they shot so many arrows and javelins and stones from slings that at the first encounter they wounded over thirty soldiers. Still we went on marching along the causeway towards the bridge, and from what I understand they gave way for us to reach it, so as to get us on the other side of the bridge. When they had got us there, I declare that such a host of warriors charged down on us, that we could not hold out against them; for on the causeway, which was eight paces wide, what could we do against such a great force as was stationed on one side and the other of the causeway, and struck at us as at a mark, for although our musketeers and crossbowmen never ceased loading and firing at the canoes, they did them but very little damage for they brought them [the canoes] very well protected with bulwarks of wood. Then when we attacked the squadrons that fought on the causeway itself, they promptly threw themselves into the water, and there were so many of them that we could not prevail against them. Those on horseback did not make any progress whatever for they [the Indians] wounded their horses from one side and from the other, and as soon as they charged after the squadrons they [the Indians] threw themselves in the water. They [the enemy] had raised breastworks where other warriors were stationed in waiting, with long lances which they had made like scythes from the weapons which had been captured from us when they drove us fleeing out of Mexico.

In this manner we stood fighting with them about an hour, and so many stones were showered on us that we could not bear up against them, and we even saw that there was approaching us in another direction a great fleet of canoes to cut off our passage, so as to turn our

flanks, and knowing this, and because we saw that our friends the Tlaxcalans whom we had brought with us were greatly obstructing the causeway, and, if they went off it, it was clear enough that they could not fight in the water, our Captains and all of us soldiers agreed to retreat in good order and not to go further ahead.

When the Mexicans saw us retreating and the Tlaxcalans escaping beyond the causeway what shouts and howls and whistles they gave us, and how they came on to join us foot to foot. I declare that I do not know how to describe it, for all the causeway was heaped up with javelins, arrows, and stones that had been hurled at us, and many more of them must have fallen in the water. When we found ourselves on dry land we gave thanks to God for having freed us from that battle, for by that time eight of our soldiers had fallen dead, and more than fifty were wounded. Through all this, they yelled out at us and shouted abuse from the canoes, and our friends the Tlaxcalans told them to come on land and even if they were double the number they would fight them. These were the first things that we did to cut off the water and reconnoitre the lake, although we gained no honour by them. That night we stayed in our camp while the wounded were attended to, and one horse died, and we posted a good force of sentinels and scouts.

The next morning[1] Captain Cristóbal de Olid said that he wished to go to his station at Coyoacan, a league and a half away, and notwithstanding that Pedro de Alvarado and other gentlemen begged him not to separate the two divisions, but to keep them together, he would not do so; for as Cristóbal de Olid was very courageous, and in the reconnoissance which we made of the lake, the day before, we had not done well, Cristóbal de Olid said

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[1] Monday, 27th May.

that it was Pedro de Alvarado's fault that we had advanced so rashly, so that he never wished to stay and went off to Coyoacan where Cortés had sent him. We remained in our camp, for it was not right to separate one division from the other at that time, and if the Mexicans had known how few soldiers we were during the four or five days that we were there apart before the launches could come, and had fallen on us and on the division of Cristóbal de Olid, we should have incurred great hardship and they would have done [us] great damage. So we stayed in Tacuba and Cristóbal de Olid in his camp, without daring to reconnoitre any further nor to advance along the causeways, and every day we had skirmishes with many squadrons of Mexicans who came on land to fight with us, and even challenged us so as to place us in situations where they could master us and we could do them no damage.

I will leave them there and I will tell how Gonzalo de Sandoval set out from Texcoco four days after the feast of Corpus Christi and came to Iztapalapa ;[1] almost all the march was among friends, subjects of Texcoco, and when he reached the town of Iztapalapa he at once began to make war and to burn many of the houses that stood on dry land, for all the rest of the houses stood in the lake. However, many hours did not pass before great squadrons of Mexicans came promptly to the aid of that city and Sandoval had a good battle with them and great encounters when they fought on land ; and when they had taken refuge in their canoes they shot many javelins, arrows and stones at him and wounded his soldiers, While they were thus fighting they saw that on a small hill[2] that was close to Iztapalapa on dry land, great smoke

[1] Friday, 31st May. Cortés gives the date as Friday the day after the Feast of Corpus Christi.
[2] Cerro de la Estrella.

signals were being made, and they were answered by other smoke signals from other towns standing in the lake, and it was a sign to assemble all the canoes from Mexico and all the towns around the lake, for they saw that Cortés had already set out from Texcoco with the thirteen launches. As soon as Sandoval left Texcoco Cortés did not stay there any longer and the first thing he did on entering the lake was to attack a rocky hill which was on an island[1] near Mexico, where many Mexicans were collected both natives of the city as well as countrymen who had gone there to make fortifications. There came out into the lake against Cortés every canoe that was in the whole of Mexico and from all the towns that had been founded on the coast or near it, which are Xochimilco, Coyoacan, Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Mexicaltzingo and other towns which, so as to avoid delay, I will not name, and all went together against Cortés. For this reason those who were attacking Sandoval at Iztapalapa slackened somewhat, and as nearly all the houses of that city at that time stood in the water he could not do them any damage, but at the beginning he killed many of the enemy, and as he had brought with him a great force of allies, with their aid he captured and made prisoners of many of the people of these towns.

Let us leave Sandoval who remained isolated at Iztapalapa and could go with his people to Coyoacan only by the causeway which passes across the middle of the lake, and if he had advanced along it the enemy would have defeated him because they could attack him on both sides from the water, and he would not have been able to defend himself, and for this reason he remained where he was. Let us leave Sandoval and say that as Cortés observed so many fleets of canoes coming together against his thirteen

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[1] Tepepolco, the Peñon del Marqués.

launches, he was greatly in fear of them, and it was enough to frighten him for there were more than a thousand canoes. So he abandoned the fight at the Peñol[1] and stationed himself out in the lake so that if he should find himself hard pressed he would be able to sail with his launches at large, and run to whatever part he chose. He ordered the Captains who came in them [the launches] not to trouble about besetting or bearing down on the canoes until the breeze from the land freshened, for at that moment it began to blow. When the canoes saw that the launches were halting, they thought that it was for fear of them that they were doing it, and then the Mexican Captains gave speed to them [their canoes] and ordered all the people to go at once and surround our launches. At that moment a very strong and favourable breeze sprung up, and what with the great haste that our rowers made, and the time being suitable, Cortés ordered them to engage the fleet of canoes, and they overturned many of them and killed and captured many Indians, and the rest of the canoes went to take refuge among the houses that stood in the lake, and in places where our launches could not reach them.

So this was the first combat that took place on the lake and Cortés gained the victory. Thank God for it all, Amen!

After that was done, Cortés came with his launches towards Coyoacan, where the Camp of Cristóbal de Olid was stationed,[2] and he fought with many Mexican

[1] Cortés writing about the fight on the Peñol says: "We attacked them in such a way that not one of them escaped except the women and children; in this fight they wounded twenty-five Spaniards, but it was a very beautiful victory."

[2] This statement is misleading, Cortés himself states (Third Letter): "My intention was to go and attack that part of the city of Iztapalapa which stood in the water." However he turned aside to capture the island known as the "Peñol del Marques," then after the battle on the lake he chased the canoes across the lake until they took refuge

Squadrons who waited for him in dangerous places, thinking to capture the sloops, and as they attacked him fiercely from the canoes on the lake and from some Idol houses he ordered four cannon to be taken out of the sloops, and with them he attacked and killed and wounded many Indians, and the gunners were in such a hurry that through carelessness they set fire to the powder and some of them even had their hands and faces scorched. Cortés promptly despatched a very fast sloop to Iztapalapa to Sandoval's camp to bring all the powder they possessed, and he wrote to them not to move from the place where they were stationed.

Let us leave Cortés who had constant skirmishes with the Mexicans until he joined the camp of Cristóbal de Olid[1] and during the two days he stayed there many of the enemy were always attacking him.

As at that time I was at Tacuba with Pedro de Alvarado, I will relate what we did in our camp, for, as we knew that Cortés was going about the lake, we advanced along our causeway with great caution, and not like the first time, and we reached the first bridge, the crossbowmen and musketeers acting in concert some firing while others loaded. Pedro de Alvarado ordered the horsemen not to advance with us but to remain on dry land to guard our rear, fearing lest the pueblos I have mentioned through which we had passed, should attack us on the causeway. In this way we stood sometimes attacking, at others on the defensive so as to prevent them [the Mexicans]

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in the outskirts of Tenochtitlan where he could not follow them. He then made for the Iztapalapa Causeway, and landed on it from the east side at a place named Acachinanco, half a league from the city, where there were two cues, and where the Iztapalapa Causeway was joined by another small causeway from the direction of Coyoacan. Here Cortés established his camp (see Appendix A, vol. ii. The Iztapalapa Causeway).

[1] This is an error, it should doubtless be "until he was joined at his camp [on the causeway] by Cristóbal de Olid."

reaching land from the causeway, for every day we had encounters and in them they killed three soldiers, and we were also engaged in filling up the bad places.

Let us leave this and say how Gonzalo de Sandoval who was in Iztapalapa seeing that he could do the people of Iztapalapa no harm, (for they were in the water,) although they were able to wound his soldiers, determined to make for a small town[1] and some houses which stood in the lake. He was able to get among the houses and began an attack, and while they were fighting, Guatemoc the great Lord of Mexico, sent many warriors to aid them [the inhabitants], and to destroy and break open the causeway by which Sandoval [and his troops] had entered, so as to shut them in and leave no way of escape, and he [also] sent many warriors to the other side. As Cortés who was with Cristóbal de Olid saw the great fleet of canoes going towards Iztapalapa, he decided to go with the launches and with all Cristóbal de Olid's company to Iztapalapa in search of Sandoval. Cortés went on the lake with the launches, while Cristóbal de Olid kept along the causeway, and they saw a great number of Mexicans [at work] breaking down the causeway and they took it for certain that Sandoval was there in those houses [cut off from the land]. So Cortés went [ahead] with the launches and found Sandoval fighting with the squadron of warriors that Guatemoc had sent. Then the fighting slackened and Cortés at once ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to abandon the [camp] at Iztapalapa and go[2] by land and invest the other causeway which went from Mexico to a town called Tepeaquilla, which they now call Our Lady of Guadelupe, where she works, and has worked, many holy miracles. Let us now relate how Cortés divided the launches and what more was done.

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[1] Mexicaltzingo. [2] Sunday, 2nd June.

NOTE TO CHAPTER CL.

THE following passage from the Third Letter of Cortés to the Emperor Charles V does much to clear up topographical details; after describing the battle on the lake between his sloops and the Mexican canoes, he says:—

"As the garrison of Coyoacan saw us following the canoes they set out on their march (most of the horsemen and foot soldiers that were there) for the City of Tenochtitlan, and they fought very stoutly with the Indians who were on the Causeway and captured the barricades that these had made and took and passed on foot and on horseback many of the bridges which they (the Indians) had removed, and with the help of the launches which kept along near the causeway[1] our friends the Tlaxcalan Indians and the Spaniards pursued the enemy and slew some of them and threw others into the water on the other side of the causeway from that on which the launches were sailing. So they went along victoriously for more than a big league[2] along the causeway until they arrived where I had halted with the launches as I shall relate below."[3]

Cortés then returns to the description of his own proceedings after the battle on the lake:—

"We went a good three leagues giving chase to the canoes, those that escaped us reaching the houses of the City, and as it was after the time of Vespers, I ordered the launches to assemble, and we arrived with them at the Causeway, and there I determined to land with thirty men to capture two small Idol towers which were surrounded by a low wall of masonry, and as we jumped ashore the enemy fought very fiercely to defend them from us, but at last after much danger and labour we captured them, and I at once ordered three heavy iron cannon which I had brought with me to be taken on shore, because all the rest of the Causeway from there to the City, which was half a league, was all full of the enemy and the water on one side and the other of the Causeway was all full of canoes with warriors. I placed one of the cannon in position and fired ahead along the Causeway and did much damage to the enemy. Owing to the carelessness of the gunner at that same moment that he fired he ignited the powder which we had there, although it was not much, and at once that night I got a launch ready to go to Iztapalapa

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1 Olid must have already passed the junction of the causeways or he could not have been in touch with the launches.

2 This would have brought them within half a league of the City.

3 That is at Acachinanco.

about two leagues distant where the chief Alguacil was stationed, to fetch all the powder he possessed.

"Although at first it was my intention, as soon as I could enter[1] with the launches, to go to Coyoacan and provision it so that an advance could be made with much caution, doing all the damage that was possible, when I landed that day on the Causeway and captured those two towers, I determined to establish my headquarters there and to keep the sloops there near the towers,[2] and [to order] half the men from Coyoacan and fifty foot soldiers from the chief Alguacil to come there next day. When that was arranged, we remained there that night with every precaution for we were in the greatest danger, and all the people from the city came there along the Causeway and by the water, and at midnight a great host of people arrived in canoes and along the Causeway to fall on our camp, and certainly they greatly surprised and terrified us, the more so because it was night, and [to attack] at such a time was not a thing they were accustomed to do, and they had never been known to fight by night without assurance of victory. As we were fully prepared we began to fight with them from the launches, for each launch carried a small field gun, and they began to fire them off and the crossbowmen and musketeers to do the same, so they [the enemy] did not dare to approach any nearer, nor did they come where we could do them any damage, so they left us what remained of the night without attacking us.

"The next day at dawn there arrived at the camp where I was stationed, fifteen crossbowmen and musketeers and fifty sword and shield men, and seven or eight horsemen from the garrison at Coyoacan, and by the time they arrived the people from the City, in canoes and on the Causeway, were already fighting with us, and so great was the multitude that both on land and on water we could see nothing but people, and they raised such yells and shouts that it seemed as though the world were being destroyed.

"We began to fight with them along the Causeway ahead of us, and we gained one bridge which they had removed, and a barricade that they had made at the entrance, and with the cannon and with the horsemen we did them so much damage that we almost shut them in among the first houses of the City. As the launches could not pass to the other side of the Causeway, and many canoes were moving about [there] and they did us damage with arrows and javelins which they shot at us on the Causeway, I had a part of it broken down near our camp, and enabled four launches to pass to the other side, and these when they got through shut up all the canoes among the houses

[1] *I.e.*, pass through the Causeway.

[2] That is, at Acachinanco.

of the city, so that they did not dare to come out freely in any direction.

"On the other side of the causeway the other eight launches fought with the canoes and shut them up among the houses, and (themselves) went among the houses although up to that time they had not dared to do so, for there were many shoals and stakes to impede them, and when they found canals where they could enter safely, they fought with the men in the canoes and captured some of them, and they burned many houses in the suburbs, and we passed all that day fighting in the manner already described.

"The following day the Chief Alguacil with the people he had in Iztapalapa, both the Spaniards and our allies, set out for Coyoacan, and from thence to the dry land runs a causeway which extends about a league and a half. As the Chief Alguacil began his march, at about a quarter of a league distance he reached a small city,[1] which also stood in the water, but one could ride on horseback through the greater part of it, and the natives of the place began to fight with him, and he defeated them and killed many, and he destroyed and burnt all the city.

"As I knew that the Indians had broken down much of the causeway and the people could not easily pass, I sent two launches so that they could help them to pass, and with these they made a bridge so that the soldiers could cross over. When they had passed they went into quarters at Coyoacan,[2] and the Chief Alguacil with ten horsemen took the road along the causeway to where we were encamped, and when he arrived he found us fighting, and he and those who had come with him dismounted and began to fight with the men on the causeway with whom we were engaged. When the Chief Alguacil began to fight, the enemy pierced his foot with a javelin and although they wounded him and some others of us that day, we did much damage to them, with the heavy cannon and the crossbows and muskets, so that neither those in the canoes nor those on the causeway dared to come so near to us and showed more fear and less pride than was usual. In this way we remained six days,[3] and every day we had a fight with them, and the launches went about burning all the houses they could in the neighbourhood of the city and they found a canal by which they could enter the environs and suburbs of the city and reach

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[1] This must have been Mexicaltzingo. Cortés uses the word "ciudad," but Mexicaltzingo was a small town or village.

[2] They must have marched along the Mexicaltzingo Causeway to Coyoacan while Sandoval and ten horsemen parted from the main body at the junction of the causeway and rode to Acachinanco to join Cortés.

[3] Until Thursday, 6th June.

the main body of it, which was a very great advantage and stopped the coming of the canoes, so that now not one of them dared to show themselves within a quarter of a league of our camp."

CHAPTER CLI.

How Cortés ordered the twelve launches to be stationed and ordered the men to be taken out of the smallest one which was called "Busca ruido" (the riot seeker) and what else happened.

As Cortés and all our captains and soldiers understood that without the launches we could not advance along the causeways to fight [our way] to Mexico, he sent four of them to Pedro de Alvarado,[1] and he left six at his own camp (which was that of Cristóbal de Olid)[2] and he sent two launches to Gonzalo de Sandoval at the Tepeaquilla Causeway, and he ordered the smallest one not to be sent any more on the lake lest the canoes should upset it, for it was of small burden, and he ordered the people and sailors that were in it to be distributed among the other twelve, for there were already twenty men badly wounded among those who manned them.

When we saw ourselves reinforced with these launches in our camp at Tacuba Pedro de Alvarado ordered two of them to go on one side of the causeway and two on the other side, and we began to fight very successfully, for the launches vanquished the canoes which were wont to attack us from the water, and so we had an opportunity to capture several bridges and barricades, and while we were fighting, so numerous were the stones from the slings and the javelins and arrows that they shot at us that although all the soldiers were well protected by

[1] Cortés had broken a way through the Iztapalapa Causeway so that the launches could pass to the west side.

[2] This is misleading, Cristóbal de Olid's camp was at Coyoacan, but Olid himself and some of his men had joined Cortés at Acachinanco, on the causeway where the six launches were now stationed.

armour they were injured and wounded, and not until night parted us did we cease contending and fighting.[1]

I wish to say that from time to time the Mexicans changed about and relieved their squadrons [as we could tell] by the devices and distinguishing marks on their armour. Then, as to the launches, they were checked by the darts arrows and stones with which they were attacked from the Azoteas which fell thicker than hail, and I do not know how to describe it here nor would anyone be able to understand it except those who were present, for they were more numerous than hail stones, and quickly covered the causeway. Then, whenever we left a bridge or barricade unguarded after having captured it with much labour, they would retake and deepen it that same night, and construct stronger defences and even make hidden pits in the water, so that the next day when we were fighting, and it was time for us to retire, we should get entangled [among the defences] and fall into the pits and they would be able to vanquish us from their canoes, for they had also got ready many canoes for the purpose, stationed in places where our launches could not see them, so that when we were in distress in the pits some [were prepared] to fall upon us by land, and others by water. To prevent the launches from coming to our assistance, they had fixed many stakes hidden in the water so that they should get impaled on them. In this way we fought every day,[2] I have already said before that the cavalry were of little use

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[1] On June 9th a general assault was ordered from all three causeways, but Bernal Diaz does not especially allude to it. On that day Cortés reached the great Plaza of Mexico, but retired to his camp on the Iztapalapa Causeway at night.

[2] Cortés ordered a general assault on June 16th, which was carried out, although Bernal Diaz makes no especial mention of it. On this day Cortés destroyed the palaces round the Plaza in Mexico and then retired to his camp.

on the causeways for if they charged or gave chase to the squadrons that fought with us the Mexicans at once threw themselves into the water, and other squadrons were posted behind breastworks, which they had raised on the causeway, waiting [for the horsemen] with long lances or scythes made very long with the arms captured at the time of the great defeat which they inflicted on us in Mexico. With these lances and great showers of arrows and javelins shot from the lake they wounded and killed the horses before the horsemen could do damage to the enemy. In addition to this those who owned horses did not want to risk them, for at that time a horse cost eight hundred pesos and some even cost more than a thousand, and they could accomplish nothing to speak of, as they could overtake very few of the enemy on the causeway.

Let us leave this subject. When we drew off in the night we treated our wounds by searing them with oil, and a soldier named Juan Catalan blessed them for us and made charms, and truly we found that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us strength in addition to the many mercies he vouchsafed us every day, for they healed rapidly.

Wounded and tied up in rags [as we were] we had to fight from morning until night, for if the wounded had remained in camp without coming out to fight, there would not have been twenty men in each company well enough to go out.

When our friends the Tlaxcalans saw that the man I have mentioned cured us by making the sign of the cross over us, all the wounded and injured went to him, and they were so numerous that he could hardly cure them all in the day.

Then I wish to speak of our captains and ensign and our standard bearers, who were covered with wounds and

their banners ragged, and I declare that we had need of a [fresh] standard bearer every day for we [all] came out in such a condition that they were not able to advance fighting and carry the banners a second time.

Then with all this did we perchance have enough to eat? I do not speak of want of maize cakes, for we had enough of them, but of some refreshing food for the wounded. The cursed stuff that kept life in us was some Quilites,[1] these are herbs that the Indians eat, and the cherries of the country while they lasted, and afterwards tunas[2] which came into season at that time.

Much the same as we did in our camp they did in the camp where Cortés was stationed and in that of Sandoval. There was never a day passed that large companies of Mexicans did not come to attack them, as I have already said at other times, from dawn until night. It was for this purpose that Guatemoc had told off Captains and Squadrons as reinforcements for each causeway, and Tlatelolco and the towns on the Lake often mentioned by me had been warned that on seeing a signal on the great Cue of Tlatelolco they should hasten to assist, some in canoes and others by land; and the Mexican captains had been fully prepared and advised how and when and to what points they were to bring assistance.

Let us leave this and say how we changed our order and manner of fighting, I will explain it thus:—When we saw that however many water openings we captured by day the Mexicans returned and closed them up again, and while capturing them they killed our soldiers and most of us were wounded, we agreed that we should all go and station ourselves on the causeway[3] in a small plaza

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[1] Quilitl, a generic term for vegetables.

[2] Fruit of the Nopal cactus, prickly pears.

[3] About Thursday, 20th June.

where there were some Idol towers which we had already taken, and where there was space to erect our "ranchos," although they were very poor ones and when it rained we all got wet, and they were fit for nothing but to cover us from the dew.[1]

We left the Indian women who made bread for us in Tacuba, and all the horsemen and our friends the Tlaxcalans were left to guard them, and to watch and guard the passes so that they [the enemy] should not come from the neighbouring pueblos and attack our rearguard on the causeway while we were fighting.

So when once we had set up our ranchos where I have stated, thenceforward we endeavoured quickly to destroy the houses and blocks of buildings and to fill up the water openings that we captured. We levelled the houses to the ground, for if we set fire to them they took too long to burn, and one house would not catch fire from another, for, as I have already said at other times, each house stood in the water, and one could not pass from one to the other without crossing bridges or going in canoes. If we wanted to cross the water by swimming they did us much damage from the azoteas, so that we were more secure when the houses were demolished. As soon as we had captured some barrier or bridge or bad pass where they offered much resistance, we endeavoured to guard it by day and by night. This was the way in which all our companies kept guard together during the night, and the following arrangement was made about it:—The first company, which numbered more than forty soldiers, kept watch from night fall until midnight, and from midnight until two hours before dawn another company, also of forty men, kept watch, and the first company did not

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[1] This "plaza where there were some Idol towers" was probably situated on the causeway C-D of the Maguey Plan. See vol. iii, pp. 12-14.

leave their post but we slept there on the ground ; this [second] watch is called the *modorra*,[1] and soon another forty soldiers came and kept the *alba* [dawn] watch, which is the two hours until daylight, but those who watched the modorra could not leave, but had to stay there, so that when dawn came there were over one hundred and twenty soldiers all on watch together. Moreover on some nights, when we judged that there was special danger we kept watch together, from nightfall until dawn, awaiting a great sally of the Mexicans in fear lest they should break through, for we had warning through some of the Mexican Captains whom we had captured in battle, that Guatemoc had formed the idea, and had talked it over with his captains, of breaking through us on our causeway either by night or day, and that when he had defeated us on our side, he could promptly defeat and rout those on the other two causeways where Cortés was stationed, and where Gonzalo de Sandoval was posted. He also had it arranged that the nine pueblos on the lake and Tacuba itself and Atzcapotzalco and Tenayuca should unite, and choose a day to break through and fall upon us, attacking us on our flanks on the causeway, and that some night they would suddenly carry off the Indian women in Tacuba who made bread for us and our stores. When we got to know this we prepared for it and the horsemen who were in Tacuba and our friends the Tlaxcalans were on watch all night through and kept on the alert.

As Guatemoc had planned it, so he carried it out, and on several nights great squadrons came to attack us and break through at midnight, and others during the modorra and others during the dawn watch, and they came sometimes without commotion and at others with loud yells and whistles, and when they arrived where we were

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[1] Modorra—the drowsy time, before dawn.

keeping night watch, what javelins and stones and arrows they let fly, and there were many others with lances, and although they wounded some of us, yet we resisted them, and sent back many of them wounded. Many other warriors who came to fall on our baggage were defeated by our horsemen and the Tlaxcalans, for as it was night time they did not make much of a stand. And in the way I have described we kept watch in spite of the rain and wind and cold, and even though we were wounded and posted in the midst of mud sloughs, there we had to stay, with this miserable supply of tortillas, herbs, or tunas on which to feed on the top of the work of fighting, which the officers said was a matter of course. Then, notwithstanding all the precautions we took, they would turn on us and open some bridge or causeway which we had captured, and we could not defend it from them in the night so as to prevent them doing it, and the next day it was our turn again to capture it and stop it up, and then they would come again to open it and strengthen it with walls, until the Mexicans changed their method of fighting which I will tell about in its proper time.

Let us cease talking about the many battles we fought every day, and as many more in the camp of Cortés and that of Sandoval, and say that it proved advantageous to have prevented food and water getting to them (the enemy) by way of the three causeways, but our launches were not very useful stationed at our camp and were only serviceable when we were fighting, protecting our flanks from the warriors in the canoes, and from those who fought from the azoteas. The Mexicans brought in much food and water from the nine towns built on the lake, which supplied them with provisions [carried] in canoes by night, and from other friendly pueblos they were supplied with maize and poultry and all that they needed. To prevent these supplies being brought to them, it was arranged

between all the three camps that two launches should cruize in the lake by night and should capture all the canoes they were able, and destroy or bring them to our camps. When this arrangement was made it was a good one, although we had to do without the two launches for fighting and to guard us during the night, but they were of great use in preventing the entrance of food and water. But even with all this, many laden canoes did not fail to get in, and as the Mexicans went about in their canoes carrying supplies without any precautions, there was never a day when the launches that went in search of them did not bring in a prize of canoes and many Indians hanging from the yards.

Let us leave this and tell of the stratagem which the Mexicans employed to capture our launches and kill those that went in them, it was in this way:—As I have said, every night and in the early morning they [the Spaniards] went looking after canoes on the lake, and overturned them with the launches and captured many of them; so they [the Mexicans,] agreed to arm thirty *piraguas*, which are very large canoes, with specially good rowers and warriors, and by night they posted all thirty amongst some reed beds in a place where the launches could not see them; then they sent out before nightfall, with good rowers, two or three canoes covered over with branches as though they were carrying provisions or bringing in water. In the track which, in the opinion of the Mexicans, the launches would follow when they were fighting with them, they had driven numerous strong timbers made pointed like stakes so that they should get impaled on them. Then as the canoes were going over the lake showing signs of being afraid and drew near to the reed beds, two of our launches set out after them, and the two canoes made as though they were retreating to the land, to the place where the thirty piraguas were posted

in ambush, and the launches followed them and as soon as they reached the ambush all the piraguas together sallied out and made for the launches and quickly wounded all the soldiers, rowers, and captains, and they [the launches] could go neither in one direction or another on account of the stakes that had been fixed. In this way they [the Mexicans] killed a captain named somebody de Portilla, an excellent soldier who had been in Italy, and they wounded Pedro Barba who was another very good captain, and they captured his launch, and within three days he died of his wounds. These two launches belonged to the camp of Cortés, and he was greatly distressed about it, moreover within a few days they were very successful with other ambushes they planned about which I will speak at the proper time. Let us cease talking about these things now and relate how in Cortés's camp and in that of Gonzalo de Sandoval they were constantly engaged in heavy fighting, the more so in that of Cortés, because he ordered houses to be demolished and burnt and bridges to be filled up, and all that he gained each day he filled up. He sent an order to Pedro de Alvarado not to pass beyond any bridge or opening in the causeway without first filling it up, and that not a house should be left without being pulled down and set on fire, and with the adobes and timbers of the houses that we demolished we should fill up the passes and openings of the bridges, and our friends from Tlaxcala aided us in all this warfare very manfully.

Let us leave this and say that when the Mexicans saw that we were levelling all the houses to the ground and were filling up the bridges and openings they decided on another way of fighting, and that was, to open a bridge and a very wide and deep channel which we had to pass wading through the water, and it was sometimes out of our depth, and they had dug many pits which we could not see under the water and had made walls and barricades

both on the one side and the other of the opening, and had driven in many pointed stakes of heavy timber in places where our launches would run on to them if they should come to our assistance when we were fighting to capture this fort, for they well knew that the first thing we must do was to destroy the barricade and [pass through] that open space of water so as to reach the City. At the same time they had prepared in hidden places many canoes well manned with warriors and good rowers. One Sunday morning[1] great squadrons of warriors began to approach from three directions and attacked us in such a way that it was all we could do to hold our own and prevent them from defeating us.

At that time Pedro de Alvarado had ordered half the horsemen who used to stay in Tacuba to sleep on the causeway, for there was not so much risk as at the beginning, as there were no longer any azoteas for nearly all the houses had been demolished, and they could move quickly along some parts of the causeway without [fear] that the enemy would be able to wound their horses from the canoes and azoteas. To go back to my story, those three squadrons came on very fearlessly, the one from the direction of the great open space of water, the other by way of some houses that we had pulled down, and the other squadron had taken us in the rear from the direction of Tacuba, and we were surrounded. The horsemen with our Tlaxcalan, friends broke through the squadron that had taken us in the rear and we all of us fought very valiantly with the other two squadrons until we forced them to retreat. However, that seeming flight that they made was a pretence, but we captured the first barricade where they made a stand, nevertheless they abandoned it and we, thinking that we were victorious, crossed that water at a run, for where we

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[1] Sunday, 23rd June.

passed there were no pits and we followed up our advance among some great houses and temple towers. The enemy acted as though they were still retreating but they did not cease to shoot javelins and stones from slings and many arrows and when we were least expecting it a great multitude of warriors who were hidden in a place we were not able to see, and many others from the azoteas and houses joined the combat, and those who at first acted as though they were retreating, turned round on us all at once and dealt us such treatment that we could not withstand them. We then decided to retreat with great caution, but at the water opening which we had captured [that is to say] at the place where we had crossed the first time, where there were no pits, they had stationed such a fleet of canoes that we were not able to cross at that ford, and they forced us to go across in another direction, where, as I have said, the water was very deep, and they had dug many pits. As such a multitude of warriors were coming against us, and we were in retreat, we crossed the water by swimming and wading, and nearly all the soldiers fell in the pits; then the canoes came down upon us and there the Mexicans carried off five of our companions and took them alive to Guatemoc and they wounded nearly all of us. Moreover the launches which were guarding us could not come to our assistance because they were impaled on the stakes which had been fixed there, and from the canoes and azoteas the Mexicans attacked them so fiercely with javelins and arrows that they killed three soldiers and rowers and wounded many of us. To go back to the pits and the opening, I declare it was a wonder that we were not all killed in them. Concerning myself I may say that many Indians had already laid hold of me, but I managed to get my arm free, and our Lord Jesus Christ gave me strength so that by some good sword thrusts that I gave them I saved myself, but I was badly wounded in one arm, and when I found myself

out of that water in safety, I became insensible and without power to stand on my feet and altogether breathless, and this was caused by the great strain that I exerted in getting away from that rabble and from the quantity of blood I had lost. I declare that when they had me in their clutches, that in my thoughts I was commending myself to our Lord God and to our Lady His Blessed Mother and He gave me the strength I have spoken of by which I saved myself; thank God for the mercy that He vouchsafed me.

There is another thing I wish to mention, that Pedro de Alvarado and the horsemen, when they had thoroughly routed the squadrons that came on our rear from Tacuba, did not any of them pass that water or the barricades, with the exception of one horseman who had come only a short time before from Spain, and there they killed him, both him and his horse. The horsemen were already advancing to our assistance when they saw us coming back in retreat and if they had crossed there, we should have been forced to turn back against the Indians and if [after crossing] they should have again retreated, there would not have been one of them, nor of the horses, nor of us left alive, for the affair was so cunningly [arranged] that they would have fallen in the pits, and there were ever so many warriors who would have killed the horses with lances they had prepared for the purpose, and [by attacking them] from the many azoteas that there were [around], for all this took place in the heart of the City. Flushed with the victory they had gained, the Mexicans continued during that whole day, which as I have said was a Sunday, to send so vast a host of warriors against our camp, that we could not prevail against them, and they expected for certain to rout us, but we held our own against them by [the help of] some bronze cannon and hard fighting, and by all the companies together keeping guard every night.

Let us leave this and say that when Cortés heard of it he was very angry, and he wrote at once to Pedro de Alvarado and [sent the letter] in a launch[1] [to say] that he should take care that neither for good nor evil should he leave a single opening unclosed, and that all the horsemen should sleep on the causeway and keep [their horses] saddled and bridled all night long, and that we should not attempt to go a single step forward until we had filled up that great opening with adobes and timber and that every precaution should be taken in the camp. Then when we saw that it was our fault that great disaster had happened, we began then and there to fill in that opening, and although it meant great labour and many wounds which the enemy inflicted while we were at work, and the death of six soldiers, in four days we had it filled in,[2] and at night we kept watch on the place itself, all three companies in the order I have already mentioned.

I want to say that at this time the Mexicans were quite close to us as we kept watch, and they too had their sentinels and changed them in watches, and it was in this way; they lighted great fires that burned all night through, but those who were on guard stood away from the fires and from afar we were not able to distinguish tnem, and although on account of the brightness of the wood that was always burning we could not see the Indians who were watching, yet we could always tell when they were changing guard, for then they came to feed the fire. On many nights, as it rained heavily at that season it happened that their fire was put out, and they rekindled it without making any noise nor a word spoken among them, for they understood one another by means of whistles.

[1] Cortés states (Third Letter) that he visited Alvarado's camp himself, and was astonished to find how much he had done and how far he had penetrated into the City.

[2] By Friday, 28th June

I wish to say that very often our musketeers and crossbowmen when we knew that they [the enemy] were going to change guard threw stones and shot arrows at a venture at groups of them, but they did them no harm, because they were in a place which even if we had wished to get at them in the night we should not have been able to reach them on account of another great and very deep opening of the canal, which they had made by hand and of the barricades and walls they had raised, and they also shot at us volleys of stones, javelins and arrows.

Let us stop speaking about keeping watch and say how each day we advanced along the causeway fighting in the most regular order and we captured the opening, which I have spoken of, where they kept guard; but such was the multitude of the enemy who came against us every day, and the javelins, arrows and stones they shot, that they wounded us all, although we proceeded with the greatest caution and were well armoured.

Then after having passed all the day fighting, when it was growing late and there was no opportunity for a further advance, only of turning back in retreat, that would be the [very] time they held many squadrons in readiness, believing that with the great energy of their attacks as we retired, they would be able to rout us, for they came on as fierce as tigers and fought us hand to hand. As soon as we found out this plan of theirs, we made the following arrangement for retreating; the first thing we did was to get our friends the Tlaxcalans off the causeway, for as they were very numerous, they longed with our support to get to blows with the Mexicans, and as the Mexicans were cunning, they wished nothing better than to see us entangled with our friends, thus they made fierce attacks on us from two or three directions, so as to enclose us in the middle and intercept some of us, and, with the many Tlaxcalans who embarrassed us, prevent us from fighting

on all sides, and this was the reason that we got them [the Tlaxcalans] off the causeway to where we could place them in safety. As soon as we found ourselves no longer hampered by them, we retreated to our camp without turning our backs, but always facing the enemy, some of the crossbowmen and musketeers shooting and others loading, and with our four launches in the lake, two on each side of the causeway, protecting us against the fleets of canoes and the many stones from the azoteas and houses which were destined to be pulled down. Yet with all this caution every one of us ran great personal risk until we reached our ranchos. There we at once treated our wounds with oil and bandaged them with native cloth, and supped on the tortillas they had brought us from Tacuba, and on herbs, and such as had them, on Tunas. Then we at once mounted guard at the water-opening which I have mentioned, and the next morning we promptly returned to fight, for we could do nothing else, for however early in the morning it might be, battalions of the enemy were there ready to attack us, and they even reached our camp and shouted abuse at us, and in such manner we underwent our hardships.

Let us stop talking for a time about our camp which is that of Pedro de Alvarado and turn to that of Cortés which the enemy constantly attacked by day and by night and killed and wounded many of his soldiers in the same way as they did to us in the camp at Tacuba. Two launches were always employed every night to give chase to the canoes that entered Mexico with food and water, and it appears that one launch captured two chieftains who came in one of the many canoes that brought food, and from them Cortés found out that forty piraguas and other canoes were lying in ambush in a thicket in order to capture one of our launches, as they did the other time. Cortés flattered these two chieftains who had been captured

and gave them beads, and made them many promises that when Mexico was taken he would give them territory, and through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, he asked them where the piraguas were stationed, for it would not be in the same place as before, and they pointed out the place where they were stationed and even gave warning that many heavy timber stakes had been driven in at certain places so that should the launches turn to flight before the piraguas they would get impaled upon the stakes, and their crews would be carried off and killed. When Cortés had received this warning, he got six launches ready to go that night and place themselves in some reed beds about a quarter of a league from where the piraguas were in ambush, and [ordered them] to be covered over with branches; so they set out with muffled oars and stayed all the night watching. Very early in the morning Cortés ordered a launch to set out as though it were going in chase of the canoes that went in with the food, and he ordered the two Indian chieftains who had been captured to go in the launch to point out where the piraguas were stationed, so that the launch should go in that direction. At the same time our enemies the Mexicans arranged, as they did the other time, to send out two decoy canoes in the direction of the ambush, pretending to carry supplies, in order to lure the launch to go after them. Thus they had one idea and our people another which was just the same as theirs, and when the launch which the cunning Cortés had sent out saw the canoes which the Indians had sent out as a bait, it went after them and the two canoes behaved as though they were fleeing to land to their ambush and piraguas. Our launch at once pretended that it did not dare to approach the land and turned in retreat, and when the piraguas and many other canoes saw that it had turned round, they came out after it with great fury and rowed as hard as they could and went in pursuit of it, and the

launch went as if in flight to where the other six launches were stationed in ambush, the piraguas still in pursuit. At that moment a gun was fired off which was the signal for our launches to come out; and when they heard the signal they came out with a great spurt and attacked the piraguas and canoes and overturned them and killed and captured many warriors, and the launch that we sent out as a decoy, which had already got some distance off, also returned to assist its companions so that a good prize of prisoners and canoes was carried off, and from that time onward the Mexicans did not dare to lay any more ambuscades nor did they dare to bring in supplies or water so openly as they had been used to do, and in this way the warfare of the launches on the lakes and our battles on the causeways were carried on.

Let me now say that the towns situated in the lake (which I have already named on other occasions) when they saw how day by day we were victorious both on water and on land, and that the people of Chalco, Tlaxcala, Texcoco and other pueblos had made friends with us whilst we continued making war against all of them and doing them much harm and damage, and capturing many of their men and women, apparently all united and decided to sue Cortés for peace and with great humility they asked pardon if in any way they had offended us, and said that they had been under orders and could not do otherwise.[1] Cortés rejoiced greatly to see them come in that way, and when we heard the news in our camp, that of Pedro de Alvarado, and in that of Sandoval, all of us soldiers rejoiced; but to return to my story, Cortés with a pleased countenance and much flattery pardoned them [although he] told them that they deserved to be severely punished

[1] From Cortés's account the submission of these towns appears to have taken place about 18th June.

for having helped the Mexicans. The towns that came in were Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Culuacan, and Mixquic and all those of the fresh water lake, and Cortés told them that we should not move the camp until the Mexicans sued for peace or he had destroyed them by war. He ordered them to aid us with all the canoes that they possessed to fight against Mexico, and to come and build ranchos for Cortés and to bring him food, and they replied that they would do so, and they built the ranchos but brought no food or very little and that with ill will. Our ranchos where Pedro de Alvarado was stationed were never rebuilt so we remained in the rain, for those who have been in this country know that through the months of June, July and August it rains every day in these parts.

Let us leave this and return to our causeway and the attacks that we made on the Mexicans every day and how we succeeded in capturing many idol towers, houses canals, and other openings and bridges which they had constructed from house to house, and we filled them all up with adobes and the timbers from the houses that we pulled down and destroyed and we kept guard over them, but notwithstanding all this trouble that we took, they [the enemy] came back and deepened them and widened the openings and erected more barricades. And because our three companies considered it a dishonour that some should be fighting and facing the Mexican squadrons and others should be filling up passes and openings and bridges, Pedro de Alvarado, so as to avoid quarrels as to who should be fighting or filling up openings, ordered that one company should have charge of the filling in and look after that work one day, while the other two companies should fight and face the enemy, and that this should be done in rotation one day one company, and another day another company, until each company should have had its turn, and owing to this arrangement there was nothing captured

that was not razed to the ground, and our friends the Tlaxcalans helped us. So we went on penetrating into the City, but at the hour for retiring all three companies had to fight in union, for that was the time when we ran the greatest risk, and, as I have already related, first of all we sent all the Tlaxcalans off the causeway, for it was clear that they were a considerable embarrassment when we were fighting.

Let us cease speaking of our camp and return to that of Cortés and that of Sandoval which continuously both by day and night had many of the enemy upon them both by land and in fleets of canoes from the lake, and they were always being attacked and could not get rid of their enemies. In the camp of Cortés [the Spaniards endeavoured] to capture a bridge and deep opening which was difficult to take, for the Mexicans had placed many breastworks and barricades there, so that the only way to cross was by swimming, and whenever an attempt was made to cross it, many warriors were ready waiting with arrows and stones from slings and javelins, macanas, two handed swords, and lances made like scythes set with swords that they had taken from us, and the lake was full of war canoes, and from the neighbouring barricades and azoteas they showered down stones and the launches could give no help on account of the stakes that had been placed [there]. In capturing this fort, bridge and opening the troops of Cortés endured great hardships and four soldiers were killed in the fighting, and more than thirty soldiers were wounded, and as it was already late when they effected the capture, they had no time to close up the opening, and they retreated again with great difficulty and danger and with more than thirty soldiers wounded, besides many more Tlaxcalans injured.

Let us leave this and tell of another way in which Guatemoc ordered his companies to fight and for which he

ordered all his forces to be prepared. It happened that as the next day[1] was the feast of the Señor San Juan de Junio, and exactly one year was completed since we entered Mexico (when we came to the relief of Pedro de Alvarado and they defeated us as I have related in the chapter that treats of it), it seems that they had kept count of it, and Guatemoc ordered us to be attacked at all three camps, by all his troops and with all the energy that was possible both on land and by water with canoes, and he ordered them to go by night during the modorra watch; and so that the launches should not be able to assist us, stakes had been placed in most parts of the water of the lake so that the launches might get impaled on them. They came on with so furious an impetus that had it not been for those who were on the watch, who were over one hundred and twenty soldiers well used to fighting, they would have penetrated into our camp, and we ran a great risk as it was, but by fighting in good order we withstood them, and they wounded fifteen of our men and two of them died of their wounds within eight days.

Also in the camp of Cortés they placed our troops in the greatest straits and difficulties and many were killed and wounded, and in the camp of Sandoval the same thing happened, and in this way they came on two successive nights and many Mexicans also were killed in these encounters and many more wounded. When Guatemoc and his captains and priests saw that the attack that they made on those two nights profited them nothing, they decided to come with all their combined forces at the dawn watch and attack our camp, which was called the Tacuba camp, and they came on so fearlessly that they surrounded us on two sides, and had even half

[1] 24th June. The events must be here misplaced; the 23rd was the day on which Alvarado was defeated as already related.

defeated us and cut us off, when it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to give us strength to turn and close our ranks, and we sheltered ourselves to a certain degree with the launches, and with good cut and thrust, and advancing shoulder to shoulder, we drove them off from us somewhat, and the horsemen were not idle, and the musketeers and crossbowmen did what they could, and were even able to break up other squadrons which had already attacked us on the flanks. In that battle they killed eight and wounded many of our soldiers and they even injured Pedro de Alvarado. If the Tlaxcalans had slept on the causeway that night we should have run great risk from the embarrassment they would have caused us on account of their numbers, but the experience of what had happened before made us promptly get them off the causeway and send them to Tacuba, and we remained free from care. To go back to our battle, we killed many Mexicans and took prisoners four persons of importance. I well understand that interested readers will be surfeited with seeing so many fights every day, but one cannot do less, for during the ninety and three days that we besieged this strong and great City we had war and combats every day and every night as well. For this reason we must recount many times how, when, and in what way they happened; I have not made a chapter of what we accomplished each day, as it seems to me that it would be greatly spinning it out and a matter that could never be brought to an end, like the books of Amadis or of chivalry, and as henceforth I do not wish to waste time in recording so many battles and encounters as we went through, every day, I will relate them as briefly as I can. For when it seemed to us that we were victorious, great disasters were really coming upon us, and we were in the greatest danger of perishing in all three camps, as will be seen later on.

CHAPTER CLII.

About the battles and encounters that we went through and about the defeat that Cortés suffered at his camp, and about many other things that happened in our camp at Tacuba, and how they carried off sixty six soldiers whom they sacrificed.

As Cortés saw that it was impossible to fill in all the openings, bridges, and canals of water that we captured day by day, which the Mexicans reopened during the night and made stronger than they had been before with barricades, and that it was very hard work fighting and filling in bridges and keeping watch all of us together (all the more as we were most of us wounded and twenty had died), he decided to consult his captains and soldiers who were in his camp, that is Cristóbal de Olid, Francisco Verdugo, Andrés de Tápia, the ensign Corral and Francisco de Lugo, and he also wrote to us in the camp of Pedro de Alvarado and to the camp of Sandoval to take the opinion of all us captains and soldiers. The question he asked was, whether it seemed good to us to make an advance into the City with a rush, so as to reach Tlatelolco, which is the great market of Mexico and is much broader and larger than that of Salamanca, and that if we could reach it, whether it would be well to station all our three camps there, as from thence we should be able to fight through the streets of Mexico without having such difficulty in retreating and should not have so much to fill in, or have to guard the bridges. As was likely to happen in such discussions and consultations, some of us said that it was not good advice or a good idea to intrude ourselves so entirely into the heart of the City, but that we should remain as we were, fighting and pulling down and levelling the houses. We who held the latter opinion gave as the most obvious reason for it that if we stationed ourselves in

Tlatelolco and left the causeways and bridges unguarded and deserted the Mexicans—having so many warriors and canoes—would reopen the bridges and causeways and we would no longer be masters of these. They would attack us with their powerful forces by night and day, and as they always had many impediments made with stakes ready prepared our launches would not be able to help us, thus by the plan that Cortés was proposing we would be the besieged and they [the enemy] would have possession of the land, the country and the lake, and we wrote to him about his proposal so that "it should not happen to us as it had happened before" (as the saying of the Mazegatos runs), when we went fleeing out of Mexico.

After Cortés had heard our opinions and the good reasons we gave for them the only result of all the discussion was that on the following day we were to advance with all the energy we could from all three camps, horsemen as well as crossbowmen, musketeers and soldiers and to push forward until [we reached] the great market place at Tlatelolco many times mentioned by me. When all was ready in all the three camps and our friends the Tlaxcalans [had been warned] as well as the people of Texcoco and those from the towns of the lake who had again given their fealty to His Majesty, who were to come with their canoes to help the launches, one Sunday[1] morning, after having heard mass, we set out from our camp with Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés set out for his camp, and Sandoval with his companies, and in full force each company advanced capturing bridges and barricades, and the enemy fought like brave warriors and Cortés on his side gained many victories, so too did Gonzalo de Sandoval on his side. Then we on our side had already captured another barricade and a bridge, which was done

[1] Sunday, 30th June.

with much difficulty because Guatemoc had great forces guarding them, and we came out of the fight with many of our soldiers wounded, and one soon died of his wounds, and more than a thousand of our Tlaxcalan friends alone came out of it injured, but still we followed up our victory very cheerfully. Let us return to Cortés and all his army and mention that they captured a rather deep water-opening with a small and very narrow causeway across it which the Mexicans had constructed cleverly and cunningly, for they had foreseen the very thing that now happened to Cortés, and that was, that as he and his captains and soldiers were victorious, and the causeway was crowded with allies, they would go on in pursuit of the enemy who, although they pretended to be fleeing, never ceased shooting javelins, arrows and stones and made some slight stands as though they would resist Cortés until they lured him on to follow them. When they saw that he was indeed following up his victory, they pretended to flee before him. Then, as bad fortune turns the wheel and many sorrows follow on the greatest prosperity, while Cortés was going victoriously in the pursuit of the enemy, either through great carelessness on his part (or because Our Lord Jesus Christ allowed it) he and his captains and soldiers omitted to fill in the water-opening[1] which they had captured. This little causeway by which they had passed had, with cunning, been made [by the Mexicans] very narrow, and the water even penetrated through it in places, and there was much mud and mire. When the Mexicans saw him cross that passage without filling it in they wished for nothing better, and for that very event they had got ready great squadrons of warriors with very valiant captains and many canoes on

[1] In a street between the Calle de Tacuba and the Market of Tlatelolco.

the lake in places where our launches could do them no damage whatever on account of the great stakes which they had fixed there on which they would get impaled. Then there turned upon Cortés and all his soldiers such a furious rush of Mexican squadrons with such cries yells and whistles that our people were not able to withstand the great impetus and force with which they came to fight against Cortés, and all the soldiers and captains and ensigns decided to retreat in very good order, but the enemy came against them with fury until they had driven them to that bad passage, and the allies whom they [the Spaniards] had brought with them, who were very numerous, were so confused that they turned their backs and took to flight without making any resistance. When Cortés saw them thus turning away defeated he encouraged them and cried "Stop, stop Gentlemen, stand firm, what is this that you are doing turning your backs", but he could not check them. Then in that passage which they had neglected to fill up, and on the little causeway which was narrow and unsound, aided by the canoes they [the enemy] defeated Cortés and wounded him in the leg, and they carried off alive sixty six soldiers and killed eight horses. Six or seven Mexican Captains had already seized hold of Cortés, but it pleased Our Lord God to help him and to give him strength to defend himself although he was wounded in one leg, for in the nick of time there promptly came [to his rescue] a very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, a native of Old Castile, and as soon as he saw Cortés assailed by so many Indians, this soldier Olea fought so bravely that he quickly killed with sword thrusts four of the captains who had hold of him, and another brave soldier named Lerma also helped. They did so much by their personal bravery that they [the Indian Captains] let go of Cortés, but in defending him Olea lost his life there, and even Lerma was at the point

of death. Many soldiers soon ran to assist and although they were badly wounded they laid hands on Cortés and helped him out of that danger and the mire in which he was then standing, and the quarter master Cristóbal de Olid also came in great haste and they took him [Cortés] by the arms and helped him to get out of the water and the mud and brought him a horse on which he escaped from death. At that moment his mayor-domo named Cristóbal de Guzman also arrived and brought him another horse. Meanwhile the Mexican warriors kept on fighting very fearlessly and successfully from the azoteas greatly to our damage, and they captured Cristóbal de Guzman and carried him alive to Guatemoc. The Mexicans kept following in pursuit of Cortés and all his soldiers until they reached their camp. Even after that disaster had happened and they had reached camp, the Mexican squadrons did not cease following them and hunting them down yelling and calling out much abuse and calling them cowards.

Let us cease speaking about Cortés and his defeat and return to our army, which is that of Pedro de Alvarado, in the City of Tacuba, and [say] how we advanced victoriously, and, when we least expected it, we saw advancing against us with loud yells very many squadrons of Mexicans with very handsome ensigns and plumes, and they cast in front of us five heads streaming with blood which they had just cut off the men whom they had captured from Cortés, and they cried:—"Thus will we kill you as we have killed Malinche and Sandoval, and all whom they had brought with them, and these are their heads and by them you may know them well", and saying these words they closed in on us until they laid hands on us and neither cut nor thrust nor crossbows nor muskets availed to stop them, all they did was to rush at us as at a mark. Even so we lost nothing of our order in retreating, for we at once

commanded our friends the Tlaxcalans to clear off quickly from the causeways and bad passages, and this time they did it with a will, for when they saw the five heads of our companions dripping with blood and heard the Mexicans say that they had killed Malinche and Sandoval and all the Teules whom they had brought with them, and that so they would do to us also and to the Tlaxcalans, they were thoroughly frightened, thinking it was true, and for this reason, I say, they cleared off the causeway very completely.

Let us go back to say that as we were retreating we heard the sound of trumpets from the great Cue, (where stand the idols Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca) which from its height dominates the whole City, and also a drum, a most dismal sound indeed it was, like an instrument of demons, as it resounded so that one could hear it two leagues off, and with it many small tambourines and shell trumpets, horns and whistles. At that moment, as we afterwards learnt, they were offering the hearts of ten of our comrades and much blood to the idols that I have mentioned.

Let us leave the sacrifice and return to our retreat and the great attack they made on us both from the causeway and from the azoteas and the canoes on the lake. Simultaneously there came against us many squadrons which Guatemoc had newly sent out, and he ordered his horn to be sounded. When this horn was sounded it was a signal that his captains and warriors must fight so as to capture their enemies or die in the attempt, and the sound that it made echoed in their ears, and when his captains and squadrons heard it, the fury and courage with which they threw themselves on us, in order to lay hold of us, was terrifying, and I do not know how to describe it here; even now when I stop to remember, it is as though I could see it [all] at this minute, and were

present [again], in that fight and battle. But I reassert that our Lord Jesus Christ saved us, for if he had not given us strength, seeing that we were all wounded, we should never otherwise have been able to reach our ranchos, and I give thanks and praise to God for it, that I escaped that time and many others from the power of the Mexicans.

To go back to our story, the horsemen made charges, and with two heavy cannon that we placed near our ranchos with some loading while others fired we held our own, for the causeway was crowded to the utmost with the enemy and they came after us up to the houses, as though we were already conquered and shot javelins and stones at us, and as I have said, with those cannon we killed many of them. The man who was most helpful that day was a gentleman named Pedro Moreno Medrano, who lives now in Puebla, for he acted as gunner because the artillerymen we used to have with us were some of them dead and the others wounded, and Pedro Moreno besides always being a brave soldier was on that day a great help to us. Being as we were in that condition, thoroughly miserable and wounded, we knew nothing of either Cortés or Sandoval nor of their armies, whether they had been killed or routed, as the Mexicans told us they were when they cast [before us] the five heads which they brought tied together by the hair and the beards, saying that Malinche and all the Teules were already dead, and that thus they were going to kill all of us that very day. We were not able to get news from them because we were fighting half a league apart one from the other, and where they had defeated Cortés was furthest off, and for this very reason we were much distressed, but by all of us both wounded and sound keeping together in a body we held out against the shock of the fury of the Mexicans who came against us, and who did not believe

that there would be a trace of us left after the attack that they made upon us.

Then they had already captured one of our launches and killed three soldiers and wounded the captain and most of the soldiers who were in it, and it was rescued by another launch of which Juan Xaramillo was captain. Yet another launch was impaled in a place from which it could not move, and its captain was Juan de Linpias Caravajal, who went deaf at that time, and now lives in Puebla. He himself fought most valiantly and so encouraged his soldiers, who were rowing the launch that day, that they broke the stakes [on which they were impaled] and got away, all badly wounded, and saved their launch. This Linpias was the first to break the stakes and it was a great thing for all of us.

Let us return to Cortés; when he and his people were nearly all killed or wounded the Mexican squadrons went towards his camp to attack it, and they even cast before the Soldiers, who were resisting the attack of the Mexicans, four other heads dripping with blood [which were those] of soldiers who had been carried off from Cortés himself, and they said that these were [the heads of] Tonatio, that is of Pedro de Alvarado, and of Sandoval and of Bernal Díaz and other Teules, and that they had already killed all of us who were at Tacuba. Then Cortés was much more depressed than he had been before and tears started from his eyes (and the eyes of all who were with him,) but not to such an extent as to permit them to notice depression or weakness in him. He at once ordered Cristóbal de Olid, who was quarter-master, and his captains to take care that the many Mexicans who were pressing on them did not break into the camp, and to keep both wounded and sound all close together in one body. He sent Andrés de Tápia with three horsemen post-haste by land, at the risk of their lives, to Tacuba which was our

camp, to find out if we were alive, and, if we were not routed, [to tell us] to keep a good look out in our camp and to form up in one body and to keep watch all together both by day and by night, and what he now sent to order us to do we had already made our custom. The Captain Andrés de Tápia and the three horsemen who came with him made great haste, although Tápia and two of those who came with him were wounded, and they were called Guillen de la Loa and Baldenebro and a Juan de Cuellar, all valiant men. When they reached our camp and found us fighting with the Mexican force which was still close to us, they rejoiced in their hearts and related to us what had happened about the defeat of Cortés and what he had sent to tell us, but they did not care to state that so many were dead, and said that about twenty five [had been killed] and that all the rest were well.

Let us stop talking of this and turn to Sandoval and his captains and soldiers, who marched on victoriously in the part and streets they had captured, and when the Mexicans had defeated Cortés they turned on Sandoval and his army and captains so effectively that he could make no headway, and they killed six soldiers and wounded all whom he had brought with him, and gave him [Sandoval himself] three wounds one in the thigh, another in the head and another in the left arm. While Sandoval was battling with the enemy they placed before him six heads of Cortés's men whom they had killed, and said they were the heads of Malinche and of Tonatio and other Captains, and that they meant so to do with Sandoval and those who were with him, and they attacked him fiercely. When Sandoval saw this he ordered all his captains aad soldiers to show a brave spirit and not be dismayed, and to take care that in retreating there should not be any confusion on the causeway which was narrow, and first of all he ordered his allies, who were numerous, to clear off the

causeway so as not to embarrass him, and with [the help of] his two launches and of his musketeers and crossbowmen, with great difficulty he retired to his quarters, with all his men badly wounded and even discouraged and six of them dead. When he found himself clear of the causeway, although he was surrounded by Mexicans, he encouraged his people and their captains and charged them all to be sure to keep together in a body by day and by night so as to guard the camp and avoid defeat. Then when he learned from the captain Luis Marin, that they were well able to do it, wounded and bound up in rags as he was, he took two other horsemen with him and rode post haste to the camp of Cortés. When Sandoval saw Cortés he said "Oh Sir Captain, what is this? Are these the counsels and stratagems of warfare that you have always impressed on us, how has this disaster happened?" Cortés replied with tears springing to his eyes, "Oh my son Sandoval, for my sins this has been permitted, however I do not deserve as much blame in the matter as all my captains and soldiers impute, but the Treasurer Julian de Alderete to whom I gave the order to fill in that passage where they defeated us, and he did not do it, for he is not used to war nor to receive orders from Captains. Then the treasurer himself answered, for he was there by Cortés and had come to see and speak with Sandoval and to find out if his army was dead or defeated, and he said that Cortés himself was to blame and not he, and the reason he gave was that as Cortés was advancing victoriously and in order to follow up his advantage he cried out "Forward gentlemen" and never ordered them to fill in the bridge or bad passage, and that if he had ordered him to do so, his Captain and the allies would have done it. He also blamed Cortés for not ordering the many allies that he had with him to clear off the causeway in good time, and there were many other discussions and replies from Cortés to the

Treasurer which were spoken in anger, they will be left untold, and I will state how at that moment there arrived two launches which Cortés kept in the lake and by the causeway, and they had not come in nor had anything been known about them since the defeat. It seems that they had been detained and impaled on some stakes, and, according to what the captains reported, they had been kept there surrounded by canoes which attacked them, and they all came in wounded, and said that God in the first place aided them with a wind, and thanks to the great energy with which they rowed they broke the stakes; at this Cortés was well pleased, for up to that time, although he did not publish it so as not to dishearten the soldiers, he knew nothing about the launches and had held them as lost.

Let us leave this and return to Cortés who next strongly advised Sandoval to proceed at once post haste to our camp of Pedro de Alvarado, which was called Tacuba, and see whether we were routed, or how we stood, and if we were alive he should help us to keep up the defence so that they should not break into our camp, and he told Francisco de Lugo who accompanied him (Sandoval) (for he well knew that there were Mexican squadrons on the road), that he had already sent Andrés de Tápia with three horsemen to get news of us, and he feared that they had been killed on the road. After saying this to him and taking leave of him he went to embrace Sandoval, and said, "Look here, my son, as I am not able to go everywhere, for you can see that I am wounded, I commit this work to your care so that you may inspire confidence in all three camps. I know well that Pedro de Alvarado and all his captains and brothers and soldiers have fought valiantly and acted like gentlemen, but I fear the great forces of these dogs may have defeated him, and as for me and my army, you observe in what condition I am."

Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo came post haste to where we were and when he arrived it was a little after dusk (visperas) and it seems that the defeat of Cortés took place before noon (misa mayor). When Sandoval arrived he found us fighting with the Mexicans who wanted to get into our camp by way of some houses which we had pulled down, and others by the causeway, and many canoes by the lake, and they had already got one launch stranded on the land, and of the soldiers who were in it two were dead and most of them wounded. Sandoval saw me and six other soldiers standing more than waist high in the water helping the launch to get off into deep water, and many Indians attacking us with swords which they had captured from us when Cortés was defeated, and others with broadswords [edged] with [flint] knives and were giving us sword cuts (and they gave me an arrow wound and a sword cut in the leg) so as to prevent us helping the launch, which, judging from the energy they were displaying, they intended to carry off with their canoes. They had attached many ropes to it with which to tow it off and place it inside the City. When Sandoval saw us in that position he said to us "Oh! Brothers put your strength into it and prevent them carrying off the launch" and we exerted so much strength that we soon hauled it out in safety, although as I have said, all of the sailors came out wounded and two dead.

At that time many companies of Mexicans came to the causeway and wounded the horsemen as well as all of us, and they gave Sandoval a good blow with a stone in the face. Then Pedro de Alvarado and other horsemen went to his assistance. As so many squadrons approached I and twenty other soldiers faced them, and Sandoval ordered us to retreat little by little so that they should not kill the horses, and because we did not retreat as quickly as he wished he said to us with fury "Do you wish that

through your selfishness they should kill me and all these horsemen? For the love of me, dear brothers, do fall back", at that moment the enemy again wounded him and his horse. Just then we cleared our allies off the causeway, and [we retreated] little by little keeping our faces [to the enemy] and not turning our backs, as though to form a dam. Some of the crossbowmen and musketeers were shooting and others loading their guns for they did not fire them off all together, and the horsemen made charges, and Pedro Moreno Medrano, already mentioned by me, loaded and fired his cannon, yet, notwithstanding the number of Mexicans that the balls were sweeping away, we could not fend them off, on the contrary they kept on following us thinking that this very night they would carry us off to be sacrificed.

When we had retreated near to our quarters and had already crossed a great opening where there was much water, the arrows, javelins and stones could no longer reach us. Sandoval, Francisco de Lugo and Andrés de Tápia were standing with Pedro de Alvarado each one relating what had happened to him and what Cortés had ordered, when again there was sounded the dismal drum of Huichilobos and many other shells and horns and things like trumpets and the sound of them all was terrifying, and we all looked towards the lofty Cue where they were being sounded, and saw that our comrades whom they had captured when they defeated Cortés were being carried by force up the steps, and they were taking them to be sacrificed. When they got them up to a small square in [front of] the oratory, where their accursed idols are kept, we saw them place plumes on the heads of many of them and with things like fans [in their hands?] they forced them to dance before Huichilobos, and after they had danced they immediately placed them on their backs on some rather narrow stones which had

been prepared as [places for] sacrifice, and with stone knives they sawed open their chests and drew out their palpitating hearts and offered them to the idols that were there, and they kicked the bodies down the steps, and Indian butchers who were waiting below cut off the arms and feet and flayed [the skin off] the faces, and prepared it afterwards like glove leather with the beards on, and kept those for the festivals when they celebrated drunken orgies, and the flesh they ate in *chilmole*. In the same way they sacrificed all the others and ate the legs and arms and offered the hearts and blood to their idols, as I have said, and the bodies, that is their entrails and feet, they threw to the tigers and lions which they kept in the house of the carnivores which I have spoken about in an earlier chapter.

When we saw those cruelties all of us in our camp and Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval and all the other captains (let the interested readers who peruse this, note what ills we suffered from them [the Mexicans]) said the one to the other "thank God that they are not carrying me off to day to be sacrificed."

It should also be noted that we were not far away from them, yet we could render them no help, and could only pray God to guard us from such a death.

Then, at the moment that they were making the sacrifices, great squadrons of Mexicans fell on us suddenly and gave us plenty to do on all sides and neither in one way or the other could we prevail against them.

And they cried :—"Look, that is the way in which you will all have to die, for our gods have promised it to us many times." Then the words and threats which they said to our friends the Tlaxcalans were so injurious and evil that they disheartened them, and they threw them roasted legs of Indians and the arms of our soldiers and cried to them :—"Eat of the flesh of these Teules and

of your brothers for we are already glutted with it, and you can stuff yourselves with this which is over, and observe that as for the houses which you have destroyed, we shall have to bring you to rebuild them much better with white stone and well worked masonry, so go on helping the Teules, for you will see them all sacrificed."

There was another thing that Guatemoc ordered to be done when he won that victory, he sent to all the towns of our allies and friends and to their relations, the hands and feet of our soldiers and the flayed faces with the beards, and the heads of the horses that they had killed, and he sent word that more than half of us were dead and he would soon finish us off, and he told them to give up their friendship [with us] and come to Mexico and if they did not give it up promptly, he would come and destroy them, and he sent to tell them many other things to induce them to leave our camp and desert us, and then we should be killed by his hands.

As they still went on attacking us both by day and by night, all of us in our camp kept watch together, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado and the other captains keeping us company during our watch, and although during the night great companies of warriors came [against us] we withstood them. Both by day and night half the horsemen remained in Tacuba and the other half were on the causeway.

There was another greater evil that they did us; no matter how carefully we had filled in [the water spaces] since we advanced along the causeway, they returned and opened them all and constructed barricades stronger than before. Then our friends of the cities of the lake who had again accepted our friendship and had come to aid us with their canoes believed that they "came to gather wool and went back shorn" for many of them lost their lives and many more returned wounded, and they lost more than

half of the canoes they had brought with them, but, even with all this, thenceforward they did not help the Mexicans, for they were hostile to them, but they carefully watched events as they happened.

Let us cease talking about misfortunes and once again tell about the caution, and the manner of it, that from now on we exercised, and how Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo and Andrés de Tápia and Julio de Cuellar and Baldenebro and the other soldiers who had come to our camp thought it would be well to return to their posts and to give a report to Cortés as to how and in what position we stood. So they went post haste and told Cortés that Pedro de Alvarado and all his soldiers were using great caution both in fighting as well as in keeping watch, and moreover Sandoval, as he considered me a friend, said to Cortés that he had found me and the soldiers fighting more than waist high in water defending a stranded launch, and that if it had not been for us they [the enemy] would surely have killed the captain and soldiers who were on board, and because he said other things in my praise about when he ordered me to retreat, I am not going to repeat them here for other persons told of it, and it was known throughout the camp of Cortés and in our own, but I do not wish to recite it here. When Cortés clearly understood the great caution that we observed in our camp it greatly eased his heart, and from that time onwards he ordered all three camps not to fight with the Mexicans either too much or too little, meaning that we were not to trouble about capturing any bridge or barricade, and, except in defence of our camps, we were not to go out to fight with the enemy.

Nevertheless the day had hardly dawned when they were attacking our camp discharging many stones from slings, and javelins and arrows and shouting out hideous abuse, and as we had near the camp a very broad and

deep opening of water we remained for four days in succession without crossing it. Cortés remained as long in his camp and Sandoval in his. This determination, not to go out and fight and endeavour to capture the barricades which they [the Mexicans] had returned to open and fortify, was because we were all badly wounded and worn out with hardships, both from keeping watch and bearing arms without anything sustaining to eat; and because we had lost the day before over sixty and odd soldiers from all the camps, and eight horses and so that we might obtain some rest, and take mature counsel as to what should be done. From that time onwards Cortés ordered us to remain quiet, as I have said, so I will leave off here and tell how and in what way we fought and everything else that happened in our camp.

CHAPTER CLIII.

About the way in which we fought, and the many attacks that the Mexicans made on us, and the parleys we had with them, and how our allies left us and went to their towns, and many other things that happened.

OUR method of fighting in all three camps was as follows:—All the soldiers kept watch on the causeways together with our launches on either side, half the horsemen went the rounds in Tacuba, where the bread was made for us and where we kept our baggage, and the other half guarded the bridges and the causeway. Early in the morning we prepared our arms to fight with the enemy, who tried to penetrate into our camp and endeavoured to defeat us, and they acted in the same way at the camp of Cortés and of Sandoval. This lasted only during five days for then we adopted another plan which I will speak about later on. Let me tell now how

the Mexicans offered great sacrifice and celebrated festivals every night at their great Cue at Tlatelolco and sounded their cursed drum, trumpets, kettle drums and shells, and uttered yells and howls, and kept many bonfires of burning wood going all night long. Then they sacrificed our comrades to their accursed Huichilobos and Tescatepuca whom they consulted, and inasmuch as they are evil, they replied so as to delude them and prevent their making peace, inducing them to believe that on the morning following that very night they were sure to kill all of us and the Tlaxcalans and all others who might come to our assistance. When our allies heard this they believed it to be true because they had seen us defeated and saw that we were not fighting as we used to do.

Let us leave these sayings that came from their accursed idols and relate that in the morning many regiments came to surround us and attack us, and they relieved one another from time to time, some with one kind of device and plumes and distinguishing marks and then others with a different uniform. Then when we were fighting with them they shouted many insults calling us cowards, and good-for-nothings, neither for making houses nor plantations of maize; and that we only came to plunder their city and were evil men fleeing from our own country and king and master. This they said on account of what Narvaez had sent to tell them, that we had come without the permission of our King, as I have stated in the chapter that deals with that matter. They further said that within eight days not one of us would remain alive, for so, last night, their Gods had promised them, and they said many other bad words to us, and last of all they exclaimed "Look what rogues and villains you are, even your flesh is bad to eat, it is as bitter as gall and we cannot swallow it so bitter is it." It seems that they had satiated themselves during those days on the flesh of our soldiers and comrades

and possibly our Lord had willed their flesh to turn bitter. If they used abusive language to us they treated our friends the Tlaxcalans much worse and threatened to keep them as slaves for sacrifice and for planting their crops and rebuilding the houses they had destroyed, and that they would have to make them of well laid masonry for this their Huichilobos had promised them. After they had said this, how fearlessly they fought and approaching by way of some houses that had been pulled down, and in the many canoes that they possessed, they took us in the rear and sometimes they had us even cut off on the causeway, but our Lord supported us every day, for our own strength alone was insufficient. Still we sent back many of them wounded and others fell dead. Let us cease speaking of these great attacks which they made on us and say how our friends, the people of Tlaxcala and Cholula and Huexotzingo and even those of Texcoco and Chalco and Tlamanalco, decided to return to their own Countries, and nearly all of them went off without Cortés or Pedro de Alvarado or Sandoval knowing about it. There only remained in Cortés camp Ixlilxochitl,[1] who was afterwards baptized and named Don Carlos (he was the brother of Don Fernando the Lord of Texcoco and was a very valiant man) and about forty of his relations and friends In Sandoval's camp there remained another cacique from Huexotzingo with about fifty men, and in our camp there remained two sons of Lorenzo de Vargas and the brave Chichimecatecle with about eighty Tlaxcalans, his relations and vassals. When we found ourselves alone[2] with so few allies we were distressed, and Cortés and Sandoval each of

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[1] Este Suchel in the text.

[2] Bernal Díaz must have been misinformed as to the number of the allies in the three camps; had they been as few as he states Cortés could not have ventured to despatch the expedition under Andrés de Tápia only a few days later.

them asked the allies that remained in his camp, why the others had gone off in that way, and they replied that they had observed Mexicans speaking with their Idols during the night who promised them that they should kill us, and they believed it to be true; so it was through fear that they left, and what made it more credible was seeing us all wounded and many of us dead, and of their own people more than twelve hundred were missing, and they feared that we should all be killed. Moreover Xicotenga the younger, whom Cortés had ordered to be hanged on the confines of Texcoco, had always told them that he knew by his magic that they [the Mexicans] would kill all of us and not leave one of them alive. These were the reasons why they went off and although Cortés in private showed how it weighed upon him, yet he told them with a cheerful countenance to have no fear, for what the Mexicans had told them was a lie to make them lose heart, and he made so many promises to them in affectionate terms that he gave them courage to stay with him, and we said the like to Chichimecatecle and to the two youthful Xicotengas. In those conversations which Cortés had with Ixlilxochitl, who as I have already said was called Don Carlos, for he was Lord over his people and a brave man, he replied to Cortés "Señor Malinche, do not be distressed because you cannot fight every day with the Mexicans, get your foot well, and take my advice, and that is to stay some days in your camp, and tell Tonatio (Pedro de Alvarado for so they called him) to do the same and stay in his camp and Sandoval in Tepeaquilla, and keep the launches on the move night and day to prevent supplies of provisions or water from getting to them, [the enemy] for there are within this great City so many thousand *xiquipeles*[1] of warriors that they must of necessity eat up the food that

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[1] A division numbering 8,000 men.

they possess, and the water they are now drinking is from some springs they have made, and it is half salt, and as it rains every day and sometimes at night they catch the water and live on that, but what can they do if you stop their food and water? They will suffer more from hunger and thirst than from war." When Cortés understood this advice he threw his arms round him and thanked him for it and made him promises that he would give him pueblos. This advice many of us soldiers had already discussed, but, such is our nature, that we did not wish to wait so long a time, but to advance into the city. When Cortés had well considered what the cacique had said (although we had already sent to say the same thing on our own account, and the captains and soldiers had said it on theirs) he ordered two launches to go to our camp and to that of Sandoval to tell us that he ordered us to remain another three days without advancing into the city. As at that time the Mexicans were victorious he did not dare to send out one launch alone and this was the reason why he sent two, and there was one thing that helped us much, which was that our launches now ventured to break the stakes that the Mexicans had placed in the lake to impale them, and they did it in this way, they rowed with all their strength, and so that the rowing should carry greater impetus they set about it from some distance back and got wind into their sails and rowed their best, so they were masters of the lake and even of a good many houses that stood apart from the city, and when the Mexicans saw this they lost some of their courage.

Let us leave this and return to our battles; now, as we had no allies, we ourselves began to fill in and stop up the great opening that, I have said before, was near our camp, and the first company on the rota worked hard at carrying adobes and timber to fill it in, while the other two companies did the fighting, (I have said

before we had arranged that it should go in rotation) and in the four days that all of us worked at it we had it filled in and levelled. Cortés did the same in his camp where the same arrangement prevailed, and even he himself was at work carrying adobes and timber, until the bridges and causeways and openings were secure so that a retreat could be effected in safety; and Sandoval did neither more nor less in his camp. With our launches close by us, and free from any fear of stakes we advanced in this manner little by little.

Let us return to the great squadrons which continually attacked us, and very bravely and victoriously came to fight us hand to hand. From time to time some squadrons retired and others came on. Then to tell of the yells and shouts that they uttered, and at that moment the horn of Guatemoc would resound and then they pressed on us so hotly that the sword cuts and thrusts which we gave them availed us nothing, and they tried to lay hands on us. As, after God, we had to rely on our own good fighting we held out very stoutly against them, and with the muskets and crossbows and charges by the horsemen, half of whom were continually with us, and with [the help of] the launches which no longer feared the stakes, we held them at bay, and little by little we went on advancing, and in this way we went on fighting until near night time, which was the time to retreat. Then, when we were retreating, it had to be done, as I have said before, with great caution, for that was the time when they endeavoured to cut us off on the causeway and the bad passages, and if they had sometimes attempted it before, in these days after their late victory they set about it much more energetically, and I declare that in three places they had broken through us, but it pleased our Lord God that, although they wounded many of us, we closed our ranks and we killed and captured many of the enemy. We had no allies to be

sent off from the causeway, and the horsemen helped us valiantly, although in that skirmish and combat two of their horses were wounded, [nevertheless] we returned badly wounded to our camp where we treated our hurts with oil and bound them up with cloths and ate our tortillas with red peppers and herbs and tunas, and then all went on watch.

Let me say now what the Mexicans did during the night on their great and lofty Cues, and that was to sound the cursed drum, which I again declare had the most accursed sound and the most dismal that it was possible to invent, and the sound carried far over of the country, and they sounded other worse instruments and diabolical things, and they made great fires and uttered the loudest yells and whistles, for at that moment they were sacrificing our comrades whom they had captured from Cortés and we knew that it took them ten days in succession to complete the sacrificing of all our soldiers, and they left to the last Cristóbal de Guzman whom they kept alive for twelve or thirteen days, according to the report of the three Mexican captains whom we captured. Whenever they sacrificed them then their Huichilobos spoke to them and promised them victory, and that we should die by their hands within eight days and told them to make vigorous attacks on us although many should die in them and in this way he kept them deluded.

Let us leave their sacrifice, and say once more that as soon as another day dawned all the greatest forces that Guatemoc could collect were already down upon us, and as we had filled up the opening and causeway and bridge they could pass it dryshod. My faith! They had the daring to come up to our ranchos and hurl javelins and stones and arrows, but with the cannon we could always make them draw off, for Pedro Moreno who had charge of the cannon did much damage to the enemy.

I wish to say that they shot our own arrows at us from crossbows, for while they held five crossbowmen alive and Cristóbal de Guzman with them, they made them load the crossbows and show them how they were to be discharged, and either they or the Mexicans discharged those shots deliberately, but they did no harm with them.

In the same way as they fought with us, and even more vigorously, they fought with Cortés and with Sandoval, and shot darts at them, but did them no harm, and we knew about this because the launches knew it, which went from our camp to that of Cortés and from Cortés's camp to ours and to that of Sandoval, and he [Cortés] was always writing to us about how we were to fight and all that we were to do, and impressing watchfulness on us, and that half the horsemen should always remain in Tacuba guarding our baggage and the Indian women who made our bread, and that we should take care that they did not break in on us in the night, for some prisoners who had been captured in Cortés's camp reported that Guatemoc was often saying that they would attack by night as we had no Tlaxcalans to help us, for they well knew that all our allies had already left us; and, I have already often said that we were most diligent in keeping watch.

Let us leave this and say that every day we had very hard fights but we did not cease to advance capturing barricades bridges and water openings, and as our launches dared to go where ever they chose in the lake, and did not fear the stakes, they helped us very much. Let me say that as usual the launches that Cortés had at his camp cruised about giving chase to the canoes that were bringing in supplies and water and collecting in the lake a sort of ooze which when it was dried had the flavour of cheese, and these launches brought in many Indian prisoners. Let us turn to the camp of Cortés and to that of Gonzalo de Sandoval, where every day they were conquering and

capturing barricades and causeways and bridges, and in these perils and battles twelve or thirteen days had gone by since the defeat of Cortés. As soon as Ixlilxochitl, the brother of Don Fernando the Lord of Texcoco, observed that we had thoroughly recovered ourselves, and what the Mexicans said that they were sure to kill us within ten days was not true (which was what their Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca had promised them,) he sent to advise his brother Don Fernando to send to Cortés, at once, the whole force of warriors that he could muster in Texcoco, and within two days of the time of his sending to tell him, more than two thousand warriors arrived. I remember Pedro Sánchez Farfan and Antonio de Villa Real, who was the husband of Isabel de Ojeda, came with them, for Cortés had left those two soldiers in that City. Pedro Sánchez Farfan was a captain and Villa Real was the tutor to Don Fernando, and when Cortés saw such a good reinforcement he was greatly delighted and said flattering words to them. At that time many Tlaxcalans with their captains also returned and a cacique from Topeyanco named Tepaneca came as their general. Many Indians also came from Huexotzingo and a very few from Cholula. When Cortés knew that they had returned he ordered that all of them, as they arrived, should come to his camp so that he could speak to them. Before they arrived he ordered guards of our soldiers to be placed on the roads to protect them, in case the Mexicans should come out to attack them. When they came before Cortés he made them a speech through Doña Marina and Gerónimo de Aguilar and told them that they had fully understood and knew for certain about the good will with which he had always regarded them and still bore them, both because they had served his Majesty, as well as for the good offices that we had received at their hands, and if he had, after reaching this city, commanded them to join

us in destroying the Mexicans, he intended them to profit by it, and return to their land rich men, and to revenge themselves on their enemies, and not that we should capture that great City solely for his benefit, and although he had always found them useful and they had helped us in everything, they must have seen clearly that we ordered them off the causeways every day, because we were less hampered when we fought without them, and that he who gave us victory and aided us in everything was Our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we believe and whom we worship as he had already often told them and warned them at other times. Because they went away at the most critical time of the war they were deserving of death, for deserting their captains when they were fighting and for forsaking them, but as they did not understand our laws and ordinances he pardoned them, and in order to understand it [the situation] better they should observe that without their help we still continued destroying houses and capturing barricades. From that time forward he ordered them not to kill any Mexicans, for he wished to conquer them by kindness. When he had made this speech to them he embraced Chichimecatecle and the two youthful Xicotengas, and Ixlilxochitl, the brother of Don Fernando, and promised to give them territory and vassals in addition to what they now held. He esteemed highly those who had remained in our camp and he also spoke very kindly to Tecapaneca the Lord of Topeyanco and to the Caciques of Huexotzingo and Cholula who were usually stationed in the camp of Sandoval. After the conversation with them as I have related he ordered them to depart, and each one went to his camp.

Let us return to our great warfare that was always going on and the attacks they made on us, and as every day and night we did nothing but fight, and retreat in the afternoon, they wounded many of our soldiers. I will omit

relating in full all that happened, and wish to say that during those days it rained in the afternoon, and we were delighted when the rain storms came early for as the enemy got wet they did not fight so fiercely, and allowed us to retreat in safety and in this way we got some rest. Because I am tired of writing about battles (and I was even more tired and wounded when I was present at them) it will appear to my readers prolix to tell about them so many times, but as I have already said, I could do no less, for during ninety three days[1] we were fighting all the time, but from now on, if it may be excused, I will not call them so often to my mind in this story.

Let us then return to our story, as from all three camps we were advancing into the City, Cortés on his side, Sandoval on his and Pedro de Alvarado on our side, we reached the spot where the spring was, that I have already spoken about, where they drank the brackish water, and we broke it up and destroyed it so that they might not make use of it. Some Mexicans were guarding it and we had a good skirmish with javelins, stones, and arrows and many long lances with which they were waiting for the horses, but we could already move freely through all parts of the streets we had captured, for they were already levelled and free from water and openings and the horses could move very easily.

Let us cease talking of this and relate how Cortés sent messengers to Guatemoc begging him to make peace, and it was in the way I will go on to relate.

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[1] This count cannot be correct.

CHAPTER CLIV.

How Cortés sent three Mexican chieftains, who had been taken prisoners in the recent battles, to beg Guatemoc to make peace with us, and what Guatemoc replied, and what else happened.

As soon as Cortés saw that we were capturing many bridges, causeways and barricades in the City and were destroying the houses, he ordered three Mexican captains, persons of importance whom he held as prisoners, to go and speak to Guatemoc and induce him to make peace with us. These chieftains replied that they did not dare to go with such a message for their Lord Guatemoc would order them to be killed. However after further conversation Cortés begged them so [earnestly] that what with the promises that he made them, and the cloths he gave them they decided to set out. What he ordered them to tell Guatemoc was, that he had a great regard for him as so near a relation of his friend the great Montezuma, and being married to his daughter, and moreover it was a pity that so great a city should be totally destroyed, and in order to avoid the great slaughter that took place every day among its inhabitants and their neighbours, he begged him to make peace, and, in the name of His Majesty, he [Cortés] would pardon all the deaths and damage they had inflicted on us and would do them many favours. Let them remember that he had already sent this message four times, and that he [Guatemoc] owing to his youth, and through his counsellors, and principally on account of his accursed idols and priests who gave him evil advice, had not wished to agree to make peace but [preferred] to make war on us; but he had already seen how many deaths had resulted from the battles they had fought against us, and that we had on our side all the cities and pueblos throughout the district, and that every day new ones were rising

against him, and he condoled with him on such loss of vassals and cities. He also sent to say that we knew they had exhausted their provisions, and had no more water, and [he sent] many other messages well expressed. The three chieftains understood it all very clearly through our interpreters, and asked Cortés for a letter, not because the letter would be understood, but because they already knew clearly that when we sent a message or some thing that we were commanding them [to do] it was [through] a paper, (the same as they call Amales), as a sign that it was a command.

When the three messengers appeared before their Lord Guatemoc, with tears and great sobs they told him what Cortés had ordered them, and Guatemoc when he heard it in the presence of the Captains that were with him, as we afterwards learned, was in a rage with them for daring to come with those messages. Now Guatemoc was a youth, and a very excellent man for an Indian, of a good disposition and a cheerful countenance, and of a colour that inclined more to white than to the tint of an Indian, he was twenty five or twenty six years old and was married to a very handsome woman the daughter of his uncle the great Montezuma, and as we afterwards got to know he was inclined to make peace. In order to discuss the matter, he ordered all his chieftains and captains and the priests of the idols to assemble, and he told them that he had no wish to fight against Malinche and all of us. The discourse that he made about it to them was, that he had already tried everything that he could do in the war and had changed his manner of fighting many times, but we were of such a nature that when they thought that they held us conquered we turned the more vigorously against them, and he knew about the great host of allies who had lately joined us and that all the cities were against them, and that the launches had already broken through the stakes

and the horsemen were galloping through all the streets of his City. He placed before them many other disadvantages that they experienced both about food and water, and he begged or ordered each one of them to give his opinion, and the priests also were to give theirs and to state what they had heard the Gods Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca say and promise. No one was to have any fear of speaking the truth about what he felt. It appears that they replied "Señor and our great Lord, we already have thee for our king and the government is well exercised by thee, then in everything thou hast shown thyself manful, and the kingdom comes to thee by right; the peace that thou speakest of as good is imaginary, now just reflect how ever since these Teules entered this land and this city we have gone from bad to worse, think of the benefits and presents thy uncle the great Montezuma bestowed upon them, of the end thy cousin Cacamatzin came to, and consequently of what became of thy relations the lords of Iztapalapa, Coyoacan, Tacuba and Talatzingo, and of the sons of our great Montezuma, they are all dead, all the gold and riches of this City have been wasted and thou seest already that they have made slaves and branded the faces of all thy subjects and vassals at Chalco and Tepeaca and even at Texcoco and of all thy cities and pueblos. Consider first what thy Gods have promised thee and take good advice about it, and place no trust in Malinche and his words; it is better that we should all die in this city than see ourselves in the power of those who would make slaves of us and torture us for gold."

At that moment the priests also announced that three nights in succession, when they sacrificed to their idols, they had promised them victory. Then Guatemoc said rather angrily, "If you will have it so, take good care of the maize and supplies that we possess, and we will all die fighting, and from now on let no one be rash enough to

ask for peace for I will order him to be killed." Then and there all promised to fight day and night or die in defence of the City.

When this was settled they made arrangements with the people of Xochimilco and other towns to bring water in canoes by night, and they opened other springs in places where there was water although it was somewhat brackish.

Let us stop talking about their plans and say that Cortés and all of us remained two days without advancing into their city while we waited for a reply, and, when we least expected it great squadrons of Indian warriors came against all three camps and made fierce war upon us, and they fell on us like brave lions thinking to carry us off vanquished. What I here relate took place on our side, that of Pedro de Alvarado, and on those of Cortés and Sandoval they also say that they [the enemy] came to their camps [in a way] that they could not resist in spite of the number of them that they killed and wounded, and whilst they [the enemy] were fighting the horn of Guatemoc was sounded and then we had to close up so that they should not rout us, for as I have said before, they impaled themselves on the points of our swords and lances so as to lay hands on us. As we already were used to these encounters, for every day they killed and wounded some of us, we held our own against them hand to hand, and in this manner they fought for six or seven days in succession, and we killed and wounded many of them and for all that, they cared nothing about death.

I remember that they said to us "Why does Malinche go about every day asking us to make peace, as for us, our Idols have already promised us victory and we have plenty of food and water and we are not going to leave any of you alive, so do not talk any more about peace, such talk is for women and arms are for men." And after saying this they came upon us one and all like

mad dogs, and we fought until night separated us and then, as I have said, we retreated with great caution for great companies of them came following after us. We got our allies off the causeway, for many more of them had come than there were before, and we retired to our huts and at once went on guard all of us together, and we supped while keeping watch, as I have often related before, and by early dawn we were fighting again, for they did not give us much rest.

In this way we held out for many days, and while it went on another bad change took place, and it was that an army got together from the three provinces called Mataltzingo and Malinalco and some other towns called . . . . (I cannot now remember the name of them, but they were eight or ten leagues distant from Mexico) ready to fall upon us while we were fighting with the Mexicans and attack us in the rear and in our camps so that when the Mexican forces could sally out, and with one force on one side and the other force on the other, they thought that they would rout us. As other discussions took place, I will go on to say what happened about it.

CHAPTER CLV.

How Guatemoc had arranged with the provinces of Mataltzingo and Tulapa and Malinalco and other pueblos to come to his assistance and make an attack on our camp, which is that of Tacuba, and on that of Cortés, and how the whole force of Mexico would sally out while they were fighting with us and would attack us on the flank, and what was done about it.

So that this may be clearly understood it is necessary to go back and speak of the time following the defeat of Cortés, when they carried off sixty and odd soldiers to be sacrificed, and I may as well say sixty eight for they

amounted to that number when they were carefully counted. I have also said that Guatemoc sent the heads of the horses and the faces which they had flayed and the hands and feet of our soldiers whom they had sacrificed, to many pueblos and to Mataltzingo and Malinalco and Tulapa, and he sent them word that more than half of our people were already dead, and he begged them, in order that they might kill every one of us, to come and help him and to attack our camps by day or night so that we should be forced to fight and defend ourselves, and while we were fighting they would come out from Mexico and attack us on the other side, so they would conquer us and capture many of us for sacrifice to their idols and [be able] to satiate themselves on our bodies. He sent to say this in such a manner that they believed it and took it to be true. Moreover Guatemoc had many relations on his mother's side in Mataltzingo and in Tulapa, and when they saw the faces and heads of our soldiers that I have spoken about, and heard what he sent to tell them, they promptly set to work to get together all the forces they could raise to come in aid of Mexico and their relation Guatemoc. They actually were already on their way against us, and on the road they passed three pueblos of our allies, and they began to attack them and to rob their farms and maize fields and to kill children for sacrifice. These pueblos sent post haste to let Cortés know about it, so that he might send them help and assistance, and he at once sent Andrés de Tápia with twenty horsemen and one hundred soldiers and many Tlaxcalan allies to succour them effectively, and they made them (the enemy) retire to their pueblos and then came back to camp, at which Cortés was much pleased.

In the same manner and at the same moment there came other messengers from the town of Cuernavaca to claim assistance, for these same people of Mataltzingo

and Malinalco and Tulapa and other provinces were coming down upon them, and [they begged Cortés] to send help. For this purpose he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval with twenty horsemen and eighty soldiers, the soundest that were in all three camps, and many of our allies. God knows that those left behind ran great personal risk in all three camps, for nearly all were wounded and they had no comforts whatever with which to refresh themselves.

A great deal might be said about what Sandoval did and how he defeated the enemy, but I must omit saying more than that he returned very quickly to the relief of his camp (that of Sandoval), and that we brought with us two chieftains of Mataltzingo, and left them (the pueblos) more peaceful than before. That expedition was of great advantage, on the one hand in preventing our friends from receiving more damage than they had already received, on the other in preventing them [the enemy] from coming to our camps to attack us as they had set out to do, and, furthermore, in showing Guatemoc and his captains that they could no longer look for help or favour from those provinces, or say (when they were fighting with us,) that they were going to kill us with the help of Mataltzingo and the other provinces as their idols had promised them.

Let us cease talking of this expedition and the assistance that Sandoval rendered and turn to relate how Cortés sent to Guatemoc to beg him to make peace and he would pardon all that had passed, and to tell him that the king our Master had lately sent to order him not to complete the destruction of the city, and for this reason during the past five days he had not attacked nor entered it fighting. Let him (Guatemoc) observe that he no longer had any supplies of food nor water and that more than two thirds of the City were levelled with the ground, and, as to the help that he expected from Mataltzingo, let

him enquire from those two chieftains whom he [Cortés] now sent to him and what had happened to them on their expedition. He also sent to tell him other things [in the nature] of many promises. There went with these two messengers the two Indians from Mataltzingo and six Mexican chieftains who had been taken prisoners in the late battles. When Guatemoc saw the prisoners from Mataltzingo and learned from them what had happened he would give them no answer beyond telling them to return to their pueblo and leave Mexico at once.

Let us leave the messengers: The Mexicans promptly sallied out on three sides with the greatest fury that we had seen up to this time, and fell upon us in all three camps and made a fierce war upon us, and as we wounded and killed a great many of them it seemed to me as if they wished to die fighting. Then when they were pressing on us most fiercely, fighting hand to hand (they killed ten of our soldiers whose heads they cut off) . . . . . . that they had . . . . . . and said to us "Quitlenquitoa rrey castilla quitlenquitoa" which means to say in their language, which is the same as they speak to-day, "The King of Castille" and with these words they began to shoot javelins and stones and arrows which covered the ground and causeway. Let us leave this, for we were already advanceing and capturing a large part of the City, and we noticed that although the enemy were fighting very manfully fewer squadrons than usual came in relief, and they no longer opened canals or [broke down] causeways; but another thing they most certainly did, which is that at the time when we retired they followed us until they could lay hands on us. I also wish to say that we had already finished our powder in all three camps, and just then a ship had arrived at Villa Rica belonging to the fleet of a licenciate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, which was lost or destroyed in the Island of Florida, and this ship made that

port and some soldiers and powder and crossbows came in it. The lieutenant who was in Villa Rica, named Rodrigo Rangel, who was in charge of Narvaez, promptly sent the powder, crossbows and soldiers to Cortés.

Let us get back to our conquest, so as to be concise; Cortés settled with all the other captains and soldiers that we should push forward into the City as far as we were able until we reached Tlatelolco, which is the great market place where there were seven lofty Cues and Oratories, and Cortés on his side, and Gonzalo de Sandoval from his, and we from ours advanced capturing bridges and barricades. Cortés advanced to a little plaza where there were some oratories and small towers,[1] and in one of the houses there were some beams set upright and on them many of the heads of our Spaniards whom they had killed and sacrificed during the recent battles, and their hair and beards had grown much longer than when they were alive, and I would not have believed it if I had not seen it. I recognized three soldiers as my comrades, and when we saw them in that condition it saddened our hearts. At that time we left them where they were, but twelve days later they were removed, and we took those and other heads that had been offered to the idols and we buried them in a church that we made, which is now called The Martyrs near the bridge named El Salto de Alvarado (Alvarado's leap.)

Let us stop speaking about this and say that the ten Companies of Pedro de Alvarado advanced fighting and reached Tlatelolco, and there were so many Mexicans guarding their Idols and lofty cues, and they had raised so many barricades that we were fully two hours before we were able to capture them and get inside. Now that the horses had space to gallop, although most of them were

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[1] Zacaculco, now the church of Sta. Ana, 26th July.

wounded, they helped us very much, and the horsemen speared many Mexicans. As the enemy were so numerous the ten[1] companies were divided into three parts to fight against them, and Pedro de Alvarado ordered the company commanded by a captain named Gutierre de Badajoz to ascend the lofty Cue of Huichilobos which has one hundred and fourteen steps, and he fought very well against the enemy and against the many priests who were in the houses of the oratories, but the enemy attacked Gutierre Badajoz and his company in such a way that they sent him rolling down ten or twelve steps, and we promptly went to his assistance.

Let us leave the combat in which we were engaged with many of the enemy; as we advanced the squadrons with which we were fighting followed us, and we ran great risk of our lives, but nevertheless we ascended the steps which as I have said before were one hundred and fourteen in number. It is as well to mention here the great danger we were in, both one [company] and the other, in capturing those fortresses which I have already said many times were very lofty, and in those battles they once more wounded us all very badly, nevertheless we set them [the oratories] on fire and burned the idols, and we planted our banners and were fighting on the level after we had set fire [to the oratories] until night time, but we could do nothing against so many warriors.

Let us stop speaking about it and say that Cortés and his captains saw the next day, (from where they were fighting on their side, in other districts and streets far from the lofty cue,) by the sudden blaze of flame, that the great Cue was burning, for it had not been extinguished, and on seeing our banners on the top he was greatly rejoiced, and

[1] In the text "dos capitanias" evidently a mistake for "diez capitanias" as above.

he wished that he also was there, and they even say that he was envious, but he could not have done it, for it was a quarter of a league from one place to the other, and there were many bridges and water openings to be captured, and wherever he turned they made fierce attacks on him, and he could not advance as quickly as he wished into the heart of the City, as we of Alvarado's (company) had done. However, within four days both Cortés and Sandoval joined us, and we could go from one camp to the other along the streets over the houses that had been pulled down and the bridges, barricades, and water openings, now all filled in.

At this time Guatemoc and all his warriors were retreating to a part of the City within the lake for the houses and palaces in which he had lived were already levelled to the ground, but with all this they never ceased to turn out every day to attack us, and when it was time for us to retire they followed us up closer than ever. When Cortés saw this, and that many days passed and they did not sue for peace, and had no thought of doing so, he agreed with all our captains that we should form some ambuscades, and this was the way of it. From all three camps we got together about thirty horsemen and one hundred soldiers, the most active and warlike that Cortés could find, and he sent to summon from all three camps one thousand Tlaxcalans, then we placed ourselves in some large houses which had belonged to a Mexican Lord. This was done early in the morning and Cortés made his advance along the streets and causeways with the rest of the horse that were with him, and his soldiers, crossbowmen and musketeers fighting in the usual way and pretending that he was filling in the water openings and bridges. The Mexican squadrons that were ready for the task were already engaged with him, and also many others whom Guatemoc had sent to guard the bridge When

Cortés saw that the enemy were in great numbers, he pretended to retreat and ordered the allies to be got off the causeway, so that they [the enemy] should believe that he was retreating, and they came in pursuit of him, at first slowly but when they saw that he really acted as though he were fleeing, all the troops that were on the causeway rushed after him and attacked him. When Cortés saw that they had passed a little beyond the houses where the ambush was placed, he ordered two shots to be fired close together, which was the signal that we were to sally out of the ambush. The horsemen came out first and then all of us soldiers, and we fell on the enemy as we chose. Then Cortés quickly turned round with his men, and our friends the Tlaxcalans did great damage to the enemy so that many were killed and wounded, and from that time forward they did not follow us when it was time for us to retire. Another ambush was laid for them in the Camp of Pedro de Alvarado, but it came to nothing. On that day I was not present in the Camp of Pedro de Alvarado as Cortés had sent me orders to go to his camp for the ambush.

Let us leave this and say that as we were all of us in Tlatelolco, Cortés ordered all the companies to take up their quarters, and keep watch there, because from our camp we had to come more than half a league from where we were now fighting. So we stayed there three days without doing anything worth mentioning, because Cortés ordered us not to advance any further into the City nor to destroy more houses, for he wished to stop and demand peace. During those days that we were waiting in Tlatelolco Cortés sent to Guatemoc begging him to surrender, and not to have any fear, and with many promises he undertook that his (Guatemoc's) person should be much respected and honoured by him, and that he should govern Mexico and all his territory and cities as

he was used to do, and he sent him food and presents such as tortillas, poultry, tunas and cacao, for he had nothing else to send. Guatemoc took counsel with his captains and what they advised him to reply was that he desired peace but that he would wait three days before giving an answer, and that at the end of three days Guatemoc and Cortés should meet and make arrangements about the peace, and that during those three days they would have time to know more fully the wishes and reply of their Huichilobos, and [he might have added] to mend bridges and to make openings in the causeway and prepare arrows, javelins, and stones and make barricades.

Guatemoc sent four Mexican chieftains with that reply, and we believed that the [promise of] peace was true, and Cortés ordered the messengers to be given plenty to eat and drink and then sent them back to Guatemoc, and with them he sent more refreshments the same as before. Then Guatemoc sent other messengers, and by them two rich mantles, and they said that Guatemoc would come when everything was ready. Not to waste more words about the matter he never intended to come, (for they had counselled him not to believe Cortés and had reminded him of the end of his uncle the great Montezuma, and of his relations, and the destruction of all the noble families of Mexico; [and had advised him] to say that he was ill) but intended that all should sally out to fight and that it would please their Gods to give them the victory they had so often promised them. As we were waiting for Guatemoc and he did not come, we understood their deceit and at that very moment so many batallions of Mexicans with their distinguishing marks sallied out and made an attack on Cortés that he could not withstand it, and as many more went in the direction of our camp and in that of Sandoval's. They came on in such a way that it seemed as though they had just then

begun the fighting all over again, and as we were posted rather carelessly, believing that they had already made peace, they wounded many of our soldiers, three of them very severely, and two horses, but they did not get off with much to brag of, for we paid them out well. When Cortés saw this he ordered us again to make war on them and to advance into the City in the part where they had taken refuge. When they saw that we were advancing and capturing the whole City, Guatemoc sent two chiefs to tell Cortés that he desired to speak with him across a canal, Cortés to stand on one bank and Guatemoc on the other and they fixed the time for the morning of the following day, Cortés went, but Guatemoc would not keep the appointment but sent chieftains who said that their Lord did not dare to come out for fear lest, while they were talking, guns and crossbows should be discharged at him and should kill him. Then Cortés promised him on his oath that he should not be molested in any way that he did not approve of, but it was no use, they did not believe him and said "lest what happened to Montezuma should happen to him." At that time two of the chieftains who were talking to Cortés drew out from a bag which they carried some tortillas and the leg of a fowl and cherries, and seated themselves in a very leisurely manner and began to eat so that Cortés might observe it and believe that they were not hungry. When Cortés observed it he sent to tell them that as they did not wish to make peace, he would soon enter into all their houses to see if they had any maize and how much more poultry.

We went on in this way for another four or five days without attacking them, and about this time many poor Indians who had nothing to eat, would come out every night, and they came to our camp worn out by hunger. As soon as Cortés saw this he ordered us not to attack them for perhaps they would change their minds about

making peace, but they would not make peace although we sent to entreat them.

In Cortés's camp there was a soldier who said that he had been in Italy in the Company of the Great Captain[1] and was in the skirmish of Garallano and in other great battles, and he talked much about engines of war and that he could make a catapult in Tlatelolco by which, if they only bombarded the houses and part of the city where Guatemoc had sought refuge, for two days, they would make them surrender peacefully. So many things did he say to Cortés about this, for he was a very faithful soldier that he [Cortés] promptly set to work to make the catapult and they brought lime and stone in the way the soldier required, and carpenters and nails and all that was necessary for making the catapult, and they made two slings of strong bags and cords, and brought him great stones, larger than an arroba jar.[2] When the catapult was made and set up in the way that the soldier ordered, and he said it was ready to be discharged, they placed a suitable stone in the sling which had been made and all this stone did was to rise no higher than the catapult and fall back upon it where it had been set up. When Cortés saw this he was angry with the soldier who gave the order for making it, and with himself for believing him, and he said that he knew well that in war one ought not to speak much about a thing that vexes one, and that the man had only been talking for talking's sake, as had been found out in the way that I have said. This soldier was called, according to his own account, something de Sotello, a native of Seville. Cortés at once ordered the catapult to be taken to pieces. Let us leave this and say

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[1] Gonzalvo de Córdova.

[2] Arroba—a weight of twenty-five pounds, here, a sort of demijohn.

that, when he saw that the catapult was a thing to be laughed at, he decided that Gonzalo de Sandoval should go in command of all the twelve launches and invade that part of the City whither Guatemoc had retreated, which was in a part where we could not reach the houses and palaces by land, but only by water. Sandoval at once summoned all the Captains of the launches and what he did I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLVI.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval with twelve launches entered into the part of the City where Guatemoc was [had taken refuge] and took him prisoner, and what happened about it.

As I have said Cortés not only saw that the Catapult was useless but was angry with the soldier who advised him to have it made, and in consequence of Guatemoc and his Captains not wishing for peace of any sort, he ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to invade that part of the City where Guatemoc had taken refuge with all the flower of his Captains and the most distinguished persons that were in Mexico, and he ordered him not to kill or wound any Indians unless they should attack him, and even if they did attack him, he was only to defend himself and not do them any other harm, but he should destroy their houses and the many defences they had erected in the lake. Cortés ascended the great Cue of Tlatelolco to see how Sandoval advanced with the launches, and at that time Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Verdugo, Luis Marin and other soldiers were there with Cortés.

Sandoval advanced with great ardour upon the place where the Houses of Guatemoc stood, and when Guatemoc saw himself surrounded, he was afraid that they would

capture him or kill him, and he had got ready fifty great piraguas with good rowers so that when he saw himself hard pressed he could save himself by going to hide in some reed beds and get from thence to land and hide himself in another town, and those were the instructions he had given his captains and the persons of most importance who were with him in that fortified part of the city, so that they should do the same.

When they saw that the launches were getting among the houses they embarked in the fifty canoes, and they had already placed [on board] the property and gold and jewels of Guatemoc and all his family and women, and he had embarked himself and shot out into the lake ahead, accompanied by many Captains. As many other canoes set out at the same time, the lake was full of them, and Sandoval quickly received the news that Guatemoc was fleeing, and ordered all the launches to stop destroying the houses and fortifications and follow the flight of the canoes, and to have a care that they kept track of where Guatemoc was going, and not to molest him or do him any injury but try to capture him without using violence. As a certain García Holguin a friend of Sandoval, was captain of a launch which was very fast and a good sailor and was manned by good rowers Sandoval ordered him to follow in the direction in which they told him that Guatemoc was fleeing with his great piraguas, and instructed him not to do him [Guatemoc] any injury whatever beyond capturing him in case he should overtake him, and Sandoval went in another direction with other launches which kept him company. It pleased our Lord God that García Holguin should overtake the canoes and piraguas in which Guatemoc was travelling, and from the style and the awnings and the seat he was using he knew that it was Guatemoc the great Lord of Mexico, and he made signals for them to stop, but they would not stop, so he made as

though he were going to discharge muskets and crossbows. When Guatemoc saw that, he was afraid and said "Do not shoot, I am the king of this City and they call me Guatemoc, and what I ask of you is not to disturb my things that I am taking with me nor my wife nor my relations, but carry me at once to Malinche." When Holguin heard him he was greatly delighted, and with much respect he embraced him and placed him in the launch, him and his wife and about thirty chieftains and seated him in the poop on some mats and cloths, and gave him to eat of the food that he had brought with him, and he touched nothing whatever in the canoes that carried his [Guatemoc's] property but brought it along with the launch. By this time Gonzalo de Sandoval had ordered all the launches to assemble together, and he knew that Holguin had captured Guatemoc and was carrying him to Cortés, and when he heard it he told the rowers on board his launch to make all the speed possible and he overtook Holguin and claimed the prisoner, and Holguin would not give him up and said that he had captured him and not Sandoval, and Sandoval replied that that was true, but that he was the Captain General of the launches, and that García Holguin sailed under his command and banner, and it was because he was his friend and his launch the fastest that he had ordered him to follow after Guatemoc, to capture him, and that to him as his General he must give up his prisoner. Still Holguin contended that he did not wish to do so, and at that moment another launch went in great haste to Cortés (who was very close by in Tlatelolco, watching from the top of the Cue how Sandoval was advancing) to demand a reward for the good news, and they told Cortés of the dispute which Sandoval was having with Holguin over the capture of the prisoner. When Cortés knew of it he at once dispatched Captain Luis Marin and Francisco de Verdugo to summon Sandoval and Holguin to come as

they were in their launches without further discussion, and to bring Guatemoc and his wife and family with all [signs of] respect, and that he would settle whose was the prisoner and to whom was due the honour of it [the capture].

While they were bringing him, Cortés ordered a guest chamber to be prepared as well as could be done at the time, with mats and cloths and seats, and a good supply of the food which Cortés had reserved for himself. Sandoval and Holguin soon arrived with Guatemoc, and the two captains between them led him up to Cortés, and when he came in front of him he paid him great respect, and Cortés embraced Guatemoc with delight, and was very affectionate to him and his captains. Then Guatemoc said to Cortés "Señor Malinche, I have surely done my duty in defence of my City, and I can do no more and I come by force and a prisoner into your presence and into your power, take that dagger that you have in your belt and kill me at once with it" [1] and when he said this he wept tears and sobbed and other great Lords whom he had brought with him also wept. Cortés answered him through Doña Marina and Aguilar our interpreters, very affectionately, that he esteemed him all the more for having been so brave as to defend the City, and he was deserving of no blame, on the contrary [this circumstance] must be more in his favour than otherwise.

What he wished was that he [Guatemoc] had made peace of his own free will before the city had been so far destroyed, and so many of his Mexicans had died, but now, that both had happened there was no help for it and it could not be mended, let his spirit and the spirit of his Captains take rest, and he should rule in Mexico and over his provinces as he did before. Then Guatemoc and his

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[1] Blotted out in the original "and Guatemoc himself was going to lay hold of it."

Captains said that they accepted his favour, and Cortés asked after his wife and other great ladies, the wives of other Captains who, he had been told, had come with Guatemoc. Guatemoc himself answered and said that he had begged Gonzalo de Sandoval and García Holguin that they might remain in the canoes while he came to see what orders Malinche gave them. Cortés at once sent for them and ordered them all to be given of the best that at that time there was in the camp to eat, and as it was late and was beginning to rain, Cortés arranged for them to go to Coyoacan,[1] and took Guatemoc and all his family and household and many chieftains with him and he ordered Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains each to go to his own quarters and camp, and we went to Tacuba, Sandoval to Tepeaquilla and Cortés to Coyoacan. Guatemoc and his captains were captured on the thirteenth day of August at the time of vespers on the day of Señor San Hipólito in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ and our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria, His Blessed Mother, Amen.

It rained and thundered and lightning flashed that afternoon and up to midnight heavier rain fell than usual. After Guatemoc had been captured all the soldiers turned as deaf as if some one had stood shouting from the top of a belfry with many bells clanging and in the midst of their ringing all of a sudden they had ceased to sound. I say this purposely, for during all the ninety-three days that we were besieging this city, both by night and day, some of the Mexican Captains kept on uttering so many shouts and yells, whilst they were mustering the squadrons and warriors who were to fight on the causeway, and others

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[1] Betancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, *Sucesos Militares*, chap. x, say Cortés sent them to Acachinanco.

were calling out to those in the canoes who were to fight with the launches, and with us on the bridges, again others to those driving in piles and opening and deepening the water openings and bridges and making breastworks, or those who were making javelins and arrows, or to the women preparing rounded stones to hurl from the slings, while from the oratories and towers of the Idols, the accursed drums, trumpets and mournful kettle-drums never ceased sounding, and in this way both by night and by day, there was such a great din that we could not hear one another. On the capture of Guatemoc, the shouts and all the clamour ceased, and it is for this reason I have said that up to then we seemed to be standing in a belfry.

Let us leave this and say that Guatemoc was of a very graceful make both in figure and features. His face was rather long, but cheerful, and when his eyes looked at you, they appeared rather grave than gentle, and there was no waver in them ; he was twenty-one years of age,[1] and his colour inclined rather more to white than the colour of the brown Indians, and they say that he was a nephew of Montezuma, the son of one of his sisters, and he was married to a daughter of this same uncle Montezuma, who was a young and beautiful woman.

Before we go any further, let me relate how the dispute between Sandoval and García Holguin came to an end. It was in this way; Cortés told them a story about the Romans having just such another dispute between Marius and Cornelius Sylla. It took place when Sylla brought Jugurtha a prisoner to Rome with his father-in-law, the King Bocos. When they entered Rome glorying over the deeds and exploits they had accomplished, it seems that Sylla placed Jugurtha in his triumphal procession with an iron chain round his neck, and Marius said that he

[1] Blotted out in the original, "twenty-three or twenty-four years."

and not Sylla should have done this, and that before Sylla had thus placed him he must explain that Marius gave him the right to do so, and had sent him in his stead so that he might take Jugurtha prisoner in Marius's name, and that the King Bocos gave himself up to the name of Marius. Then as Marius was Captain General and he (Sylla) was fighting under his command and banner, and as Sylla was one of the Roman patricians and was held in high favour, and as Marius came from a town near Rome named Arpino and therefore a foreigner, although he had been several times Consul, he was not in as high favour as Sylla, and about this matter there were Civil Wars between Marius and Sylla, and it was never settled to whom should be given the honour of capturing Jugurtha.

Let me take up the thread of my story, which is that Cortés said that be would refer the matter to His Majesty as to which of the two he would favour by making it [the subject of] a grant of arms, and that the decision about it would be brought from Spain, and in two years time there came a command from His Majesty that Cortés should have in the ornaments of his Coat of Arms, seven kings, who were Montezuma, the great Lord of Mexico, Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lords of Iztapalapa, Coyoacan, Tacuba and another great Lord who was a nephew of Montezuma, to whom they said would come the Caciqueship and Lordship of Mexico, (he was the Lord of Mataltzingo and of other provinces,) and this Guatemoc about whom the dispute arose.

Let us leave this and let us speak of the dead bodies and heads that were in the houses where Guatemoc had taken refuge. I say on my oath, Amen, that all the houses and the palisades in the lake were full of heads and corpses and I do not know how to describe it for in the streets and courts of Tlatelolco there was no difference, and we could not walk except among corpses and heads of dead Indians.

I have read about the destruction of Jerusalem but I know not for certain if there was greater mortality than this, for of the great number of the warriors from all the provinces and towns subject to Mexico who had crowded in [to the city] most of them died, and as I have already said, thus the land and the lake and the palisades were all full of dead bodies, and stank so much that no one could endure it, and for this reason, as soon as Guatemoc was captured, each one of the Captains went to his own camp, as I have already said, and even Cortés was ill from the stench which assailed his nostrils, and from headache, during the days we were in Tlatelolco.

Let us leave this and go on ahead and say that the soldiers who went about in the launches were the best off, and gained much spoil because they were able to go to the houses in certain quarters in the lake where they knew that there was cloth and gold and other riches, and they also went to search in the reed beds whither the Mexicans had carried it [their property] so as to hide it when we gained possession of some houses or quarter [of the city]. Also because under pretext of giving chase to canoes which carried food or water, when they came on those in which some of the chieftains were fleeing to the mainland to get among the pueblos of the Otomies who were their neighbours, they robbed them of all they carried with them. I wish to say that we, the soldiers who were fighting on the causeways and on land gained no profit except arrow and lance wounds, and wounds from darts and stones, because when we captured any houses, the inhabitants had already carried off whatever property they possessed; and we were not able to go through the water without first of all closing up the openings and bridges and, for this reason, I have said, in the chapter which tells of [the time] when Cortés was looking for sailors to go in the launches, that they were the

best off, and not we who fought on land. This seems clear, for the Mexican Captains and even Guatemoc, when Cortés demanded from them the treasure of Montezuma, told him that the crews of the launches had stolen the greater part of it.

Let us stop speaking of this until later on, and say that as there was so great a stench in the city, Guatemoc asked permission of Cortés for all the Mexican forces left in the city to go out to the neighbouring pueblos, and they were promptly told to do so. I assert that during three days and nights they never ceased streaming out and all three causeways were crowded with men, women and children, so thin, yellow, dirty and stinking, that it was pitiful to see them. When the city was free of them, Cortés went to examine it and we found the houses full of corpses and there were some poor Mexicans, who could not move out, still among them, and what they excreted from their bodies was a filth such as thin swine pass which have been fed upon nothing but grass, and all the city was as though it had been ploughed up and the roots of the herbs dug out and they had eaten them and even cooked the bark of some of the trees, and there was no fresh water to be found, only salt water. I also wish to state that they did not eat the flesh of their own Mexicans, only that of our people and our Tlaxcalan allies whom they had captured, and there had been no births for a long time, as they had suffered so much from hunger and thirst and continual fighting.

Let us continue. Cortés ordered all the launches to assemble where some dockyards were built later on. To go back to my story, when this great and populous city so famed throughout the whole world had been captured, after giving many thanks to God our Lord and Our Lady His Blessed Mother, and having made certain offerings to Our Lord God, Cortés ordered a banquet to be held at

Coyoacan in celebration of the capture of the city, and had already procured plenty of wine for the purpose out of a ship which had come from Spain to the port of Villa Rica, and he had pigs which they had brought him from Cuba and in order to make a festival of the occasion he ordered all the captains and soldiers whom he thought worth consideration from all three camps to be invited, and when we went to the banquet there were neither seats nor tables placed sufficient for a third part of the captains and soldiers who came, and there was much disorder, and it would have been better not to have given that banquet on account of many things which happened at it which were not creditable[1]; and they gambled, and this also it would have been better not to have done, and all the gold should have been used for holy purposes and given with

[1] Blotted out in the original, "such as to get rid of all this supper and the kinds of dances and the . . . . and other things that were not suitable and also because this plant of Noah's made some people behave crazily, and men walked on the top of the tables after they had eaten and could not find the way out to the patio. Others said that they must buy horses with golden saddles and there were crossbowmen who said that all the darts and guides that they would have in their quivers must be made of gold from the share which would be given them, and others went rolling down the steps. Then when they had cleared away the tables, such ladies as were present, went out to dance with the gallants who were weighted with their (quilted) cotton armour and it seemed to me to be a thing to be laughed at. They were ladies whom I will not here describe for there were no others in camp nor in the whole of New Spain. First of all, the elderly Maria Destrada who afterwards married Pero Sanchez Farfan, and Francisca de Ordás who married a gentleman, Juan Gonzalo de Leon; la Bermuda, who married Olmos de Portillo, him of Mexico; another lady, the wife of Captain Portillo who died in (one of) the launches, but as she was a widow they did not bring her to the feast; and a somebody Gómez, who was the wife of Benito de Vargas; and another beautiful lady called la Bermuda—I don't remember her Christian name—who married one Hernan Martin and went to live in Oaxaca; and another elderly woman named Ysabel Rodríguez, who at that time, was the wife of a somebody Guadalupe, and another somewhat elderly woman who was called Mari Hernández who was the wife of the rich Juan de Cáceres. I cannot call to mind any others who were then in New Spain. Let us leave the banquet and capering and dances, for the next day that dawned, the tables . . . . . ."

thanks to God for the many benefits and favours He had already shown us and continued to show us.

Let us cease to speak of this, for I wish to tell of other things that happened which I was forgetting, and which do not belong here, but should have been reported somewhat earlier, and it is that our friends Chichimecatecle and the two jouthful Xicotengas, the sons of Don Lorenzo de Vargas, who used to be called Xicotenga the old and blind, fought very valiantly against the great forces of Mexico, and helped us very much, and so too did a brother of Don Fernando, the Lord of Texcoco, many times mentioned by me, who was called Ixtlilxochitl,[1] who was afterwards named Don Carlos; he did the deeds of a very daring and valiant man. There was another Indian Captain whose name I do not remember, a native of a pueblo on the lake, who performed wonders, and many other captains from the pueblos which assisted us. All fought very mightily, and Cortés gave them many thanks and much praise for having helped us, and made them many promises that he would make them rulers, and he would give them in time to come lands and vassals, and he bid them farewell, and as they were all rich and weighed down with the gold and spoil they had taken they went back to their lands and even carried with them the dried flesh of the Mexicans and divided it among their relations and friends as pertaining to their enemies, and they ate it at festivals.

Now that I am [far] away from the conflicts and arduous battles which we fought against the Mexicans by night and day, for which I give many thanks to God who delivered me from them, I wish to relate a thing that happened to me after seeing the sixty-two soldiers of Cortés, who were carried off alive, sacrificed, and their

[1] Este suchel in the text.

chests cut open and their hearts offered to the Idols. What I shall say now will appear to some persons to be due to my want of any great inclination for fighting, but on the other hand, if it is well thought out, it arose out of the reckless daring and great courage with which in those days, I was obliged to expose myself in the thickest of the fights, for at that time it was expected of a good soldier and was necessary in order to maintain that reputation, that one should do whatever the boldest soldier was obliged to do. As each day I beheld my companions carried off to be sacrificed, and had seen how they sawed open their chests and tore out their still beating hearts and cut off their feet and arms and ate them, to the number of sixty-two, as I have already said, besides ten of our company whom they had captured before that, I feared that one day or another they would do the same to me, for they had already seized me twice to carry me off to be sacrificed, but it pleased God that I should escape from their power. When I called to mind those hideous deaths, and as the proverb says, "The little pitcher which goes many times to the fountain, &c.," for this reason, from that time I always feared death more than ever. I say this because, before going into battle there was a horror and sadness in my heart, and I fasted once or twice, commending myself to God and His Blessed Mother, but on going into battle it was always the same, the fear promptly left me.

I also wish to say what a very new sensation it seemed to me to feel that unaccustomed fear, for I had been present in many battles and many very dangerous warlike encounters, and my heart as well as my courage and spirit must have been well hardened and now at the very end it ought to have been more so than ever. For I can easily recount and remember how from the time I came as discoverer with Francisco Hernández de Córdova and

Grijalva, and again with Cortés, I was present at the affairs of Punta de Catoche, and in that of Lazaro, which is also called Campeche, and at Potonchan, and in Florida, as I have written about more fully when I came exploring with Francisco Hernández de Córdova. Let us leave this and go on to speak of the expedition under Grijalva and in that same the affair at Potonchan and now with Cortés in the affair at Tabasco and that of Cingapacinga and in all the battles and encounters in Tlaxcala and that of Cholula, and how when we defeated Narvaez they picked me out and I was among those who went to capture the artillery, which numbered eighteen guns, all loaded with stones and balls, and we captured them and it was a critical moment of great danger; and I was present in the first defeat when the Mexicans drove us out of Mexico, when they killed within about eight days over eight hundred and fifty of our soldiers, and I was present during the expeditions to Tepeaca and Quechula and their neighbourhood, and in other encounters we had with the Mexicans, when we were in Texcoco, about seizing the maize-fields, and I was present at the affair of Iztapalapa when they wanted to drown us, and I was present when we climbed the Peñoles, as they now call the forts or fortresses which Cortés captured, and at the affair of Xochimilco in four battles and many other skirmishes, and I was among the first to go with Pedro de Alvarado to invest Mexico, when we cut off the water of Chapultepec, and was in the first expedition along the causeway with Alvarado himself and afterwards when they defeated our Company on the same causeway and carried off eight soldiers, and they seized me and carried me off to be sacrificed, and in all the battles already recorded by me which took place every day, up to the time that I saw, as I have stated, the cruel deaths which they inflicted on our companions before my eyes, [I repeat as] I have already

said, that although I had passed through all these battles and risks of death, I had never felt fear so greatly as I felt it now at the last. Let those gentlemen who understand soldiering and have been at critical moments in peril of death, say to what cause they attribute my dread, whether to faint-heartedness or to excessive valour; for, as I have said, I felt in my mind that having to thrust myself when fighting into such dangerous positions, I must of necessity fear death then more than at other times, and that was the reason why my heart trembled, for it feared death. All these battles at which I was present and of which I have here spoken, they will see in this my story. And when and how and where and in what way I took part in many other expeditions and encounters from now onwards, which I do not record until their proper time and place, they will see further on in the story. I may add that I was not always in very good health for I was often badly wounded, and for this reason was not able to go on all the expeditions. Still, the hardships and risks of death that I have personally encountered are not insignificant, for after we had captured this great and strong city of Mexico, I went through other conflicts in company with captains who understood soldiering, as will be seen later on when the opportunity occurs.

Let us leave this now and I will state and declare why in all these Mexican wars, when they killed our comrades, I have said, "they carried them off," and not "they killed them," and the reason was this, because the warriors who fought with us although they were able to kill those of our soldiers whom they carried off alive, did not kill them at once, but gave them dangerous wounds so that they could not defend themselves, and carried them off alive to sacrifice to their Idols, and they even first made them dance before Huichilobos, who was their Idol of War; and this is the reason why I have said, "they carried

them off." Let us leave this subject and I will relate what Cortés did after the capture of Mexico.

CHAPTER CLVII.

What Cortés ordered to be done and certain commands that he gave after the Very Great City of Mexico had been captured and Guatemoc and his captains had been made prisoners.

THE first order that Cortés gave to Guatemoc was, that they [the Mexicans] should repair the water pipes from Chapultepec in the way they used to be, so that the water should at once come through the pipes and enter the City of Mexico; next, that all the streets should be cleared of the bodies and heads of the dead, and that they should be buried so that the city could be kept clean and free from any stench; that all the bridges and causeways should be thoroughly restored to their former condition, and that they should rebuild the palaces and houses, and within two months they should return to live in them, and he (Cortés) marked out where they were to settle and what part they were to leave clear so that we could settle there.

Let us leave these orders and others which I no longer remember and relate what Guatemoc and his captains told Cortés, that many of the captains and soldiers who went as crews of the launches as well as those who had marched along the causeways fighting, had carried off many of the daughters and wives of the chieftains, and they begged him as a favour that they should be given back to them and Cortés answered that it would be difficult to take the women from those who held them, but they might seek them out and bring them before him and he would see if they had become Christians or preferred to return to their homes to their fathers and husbands, [in the latter case] he

would at once order them to be given up, and he gave them, [the Mexicans] permission to go and look for them in all three camps, and an order that any soldier who might have any of them should at once give them up, if the Indian women of their free will wished to go back. Many chieftains went in search of the women from house to house and they were so persistent in their search that they found them, but there were many women who did not wish to go either with their fathers or mothers or husbands but to remain with the soldiers with whom they were, and others hid themselves and others said that they did not wish to return to Idolators, and some of them were already pregnant, and so they did not bring more than three of them whom Cortés especially ordered to be given up.

Let us leave this and tell how he [Cortés] at once ordered docks and a fort to be made where the launches could be stationed, and it seems to me that he appointed Pedro de Alvarado to be Alcaide to take charge of it, until Salazar de la Pedrada, who was appointed by his Majesty, came from Castile.

Let me speak of another matter: all were agreed that all the gold and silver and jewels that there were in Mexico should be collected together, and apparently it amounted to very little, for there was a report that Guatemoc had thrown all the rest into the lake four days before he was captured, and in addition to this the Tlaxcalans and the people of Texcoco, Huexotzingo, Cholula and all the rest of our friends who were present at the war, and the Teules who went about in the launches had stolen their share of it, so that the officers of the Royal Treasury of the King our Lord alleged and proclaimed that Guatemoc had hidden it [the treasure] and that Cortés was delighted that he would not give it up so that he might take it all for himself, and for this reason the Officers

of the Royal Treasury determined to torture Guatemoc and the Lord of Tacuba who was his cousin and his great favourite, and certainly Cortés was much distressed that they should torture a Prince like Guatemoc for greed of gold, for they had already made many inquiries about it [the treasure] and all the Mayor-domos of Guatemoc said that there was no more than the Kings officers already had in their possession, which amounted to three hundred and eighty thousand gold pesos, which had already been melted and cast in bars, and from that was taken the Royal fifth, and another fifth for Cortés. When the conquistadores who bore Cortés ill will saw how little Gold there was, they told the treasurer Julian de Alderete (for so he was called) that they suspected Cortés did not want Guatemoc or his captains to be captured or tortured, in order to keep the gold for himself, so, to avoid their imputing anything to Cortés about this matter and as he could not prevent it, they tortured (Guatemoc) by burning his feet with oil, and they did the same thing to the Lord of Tacuba, and what they confessed was that, four days before, they had thrown into the lake both the gold as well as the cannon and muskets which they had captured from us when they drove us out of Mexico, and when this last time, they defeated Cortés. They went to the place which Guatemoc pointed out as the spot where he had thrown it [the treasure], and good swimmers went in, but they found nothing at all.

What I myself saw was that we went with Guatemoc to the houses in which he used to live where there was a sort of reservoir of water, and from that tank we took out a golden sun, like the one Montezuma gave us and many jewels and pieces of little value which belonged to Guatemoc himself.

The Lord of Tacuba said that he had in some of his houses in Tacuba, about four leagues distant, certain

objects of gold, and if we would take him there he would tell us where they were buried and would give them to us; so Pedro de Alvarado and six soldiers went and I went in his company. When we arrived the cacique said that it was so as to be killed on the road that he had told that story, and we were to kill him, for he possessed neither gold nor jewels, so we returned without them. Matters remained in this state, and we obtained no more gold to melt down. The truth is that the treasure of Montezuma which Guatemoc took possession of and held after his death, did not contain many jewels or ornaments of gold, for all [the best] had been especially selected to form the offering we made to His Majesty, and because it comprised many jewels of various shapes and different workmanship, all so excellent, if I should stop to describe each piece and its workmanship by itself it would be very tedious and I will omit the account from this story, but I assert that it was worth twice as much as the fifth which was taken out for His Majesty, and for Cortés, all of this we sent to our Lord the Emperor by Alonzo de Avila, who at that time came from the Island of Santo Domingo, and Antonio de Quiñones went in company with him to Castile, and further on I will relate how and in what way and when [this took place].

Let us stop talking about this and again state that in the lake where they said that Guatemoc had thrown the gold, I and other soldiers by diving were always able to fetch out small pieces of little value, which Cortés and the Treasurer Julian de Alderete promptly demanded of us as gold belonging to His Majesty, and they themselves went with us where we had taken it out, and took with them good swimmers and succeeded in getting out a matter of eighty or ninety pesos in small strings [of beads] and ducks and little dogs and pendants and small necklaces and other things of no value, for so one can express

it considering the earlier report of what they had thrown into the lake.

Let us stop talking about it and relate how all of us captains and soldiers were somewhat thoughtful when we saw how little gold there was and how poor and unjust were our shares, and the Fraile de la Merced, Pedro de Alvarado, Cristóbal de Olid and other captains said to Cortés that as there was so little gold the [entire] share belonging to all of us should be given to and divided among those who were maimed and lame, blind, one eyed or deaf, and others who were crippled and had pains in their stomachs, and others who had been burned by the powder, and all those who were ill from pains in their sides, that to them all the gold should be given for to such like it would be right to give it, and all the rest of us who were fairly sound would look upon it as a good thing. This they said to Cortés after due consideration, believing that he would give us more than the [our] shares for there was a strong suspicion that he had it [gold] hidden away. What Cortés answered was that he would take care that we came out right, and would find means to attain that end. As all of us captains and soldiers wished to see what would fall to our share, we were in a hurry for the account to be issued, and a declaration made how many pesos would result for each of us, and after they had apportioned it they said that there fell to the horsemen eighty pesos and to a cross-bowman, musketeer and shield-bearer sixty or fifty pesos, I do not remember well which, and when those shares were made known to us not a single soldier wanted to accept them. Then we grumbled against Cortés, and they said that he had seized and hidden it, and the Treasurer Alderete in order to exculpate himself from our accusations, answered that he could do no more, for Cortés had taken another fifth (equal to that of His Majesty) from

the heap for himself, and in repayment of the great cost of the horses that had died, moreover many pieces of gold which we ought to have sent to His Majesty had not been placed on the heap, and we had better take Cortés to task and not him. As in all three camps and in the launches there were soldiers who had been friends and comrades of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, [especially] among those who had come with Narvaez, who bore no good will towards Cortés but hated him, when they saw in the division of the gold that he did not give them the shares they desired, they would not take what he gave them, and said, "How came all the gold to be in the possession of him who held it?" and they were impertinent enough to say that Cortés had hidden it.

While Cortés was in Coyoacan lodging in some palaces which had their walls plastered and white-washed where it was easy to write on them with charcoal and other inks, numerous rather malicious sentences appeared [on them] every morning, some written in prose and others in verse, in the way lampoons are arranged. In some they said that the sun, moon and stars, the sea and land follow their [prescribed] courses, and if at any time they deviate beyond their limits from the plane for which they were created, they revert to their [original] elements, and thus it would be with the ambition of Cortés for power, and he would have to go back to his first condition. Others said he had given us a worse defeat than what we gave to Mexico, and that we were not to call ourselves conquerors of New Spain but the conquered of Hernando Cortés. Others said that a general's share had not satisfied him, but a king's share, not counting other profits, and others said how sad is my spirit until Cortés gives back all the gold that he has taken and hidden ; and others said that Diego Velásquez spent his fortune and discovered all the North Coast as far as Panuco, and Cortés came to have the

benefit of it and rose in revolt with the land and the gold and other things of a similar nature and even used expressions that cannot be put into this story. When Cortés came out of his quarters of a morning and read them, as they were both in verse and in prose and in very elegant style and rhyme, each sentence and couplet with pointed meaning, and at last got in its reproof, and not as simply as I have here stated, and as Cortés was something of a poet [himself] and took a pride in giving answers tending to the praise of his great and noteworthy deeds and belittling those of Diego Velásquez, Grijalva and Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and as he had taken Narvaez prisoner, he also answered by good rhymes much to the point. In all this writing the couplets and mottoes that they scored up became each day more impudent until Cortés wrote up "a blank wall is the paper of fools" and there appeared written further on "even of wise men and of Truths and His Majesty would soon know it." Cortés knew well that those who had written it were a certain Tirado, a friend of Diego Velásquez, who was [afterwards] son-in-law of Ramíres the Elder and lived in Puebla, and one Villalobos who went to Castile, and another named Manzilla and several more who willingly aided in order that Cortés should feel to the full that they were thwarting him.

Cortés was enraged and said publicly that they should not write up malicious things, and that he would punish the shameless villains.

Let us leave this affair [and say] how there were many debts among us, some of us owed for crossbows fifty or sixty pesos, and others fifty for a sword, and in like manner all the things we had bought were dear; then there was a surgeon named Maestre Juan who tended some bad wounds and charged excessive prices for his cures, also a half quack named Múrcia who was an apothecary and barber

who also doctored us, and thirty other traps and cheatings for which payment was demanded out of the shares that we were given.

The remedy that Cortés provided was the appointment of two trustworthy persons who understood business and what each article that we had taken on credit was worth, so that they might be valued, and these valuers were named Santa Clara, a very honourable man, and another called something de Llerena also an honourable man ; and it was ordered that the value they placed on the things that had been sold to us and the cures the surgeons had made should be accepted, and that if we did not possess the money they should wait for it for two years.

Another thing was also done ; to all the gold that was melted down they added three carats more than its standard weight[1] so as to help in the payments, and also because at that time ships and traders had come to Villa Rica, and they believed that in putting in the three carats they were helping us, [that is] the land and the conquistadores, but it did not help us in any way, on the contrary it was to our prejudice, for with the object of making a profit corresponding to the three carats, the merchants charged 5 carats more on the merchandise and articles they had for sale, and in this way the gold of the three carats was current for five or six years more, and for this reason the gold of the three carats was called Tepusque which means in the language of the Indians, copper, and we still have a way of saying when we mention any persons who are distinguished or meritorious. "Senor Don so and so of such a name, Juan, Martin or Alonso, but of other persons who are not of the same quality when we mention their names, so as to make a difference between the one and the other we say 'So and so of such a name Tepusque.'"

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[1] That is, they debased the gold one-eighth.

To go back to my story, considering that it was not just that the gold should be current in this way, information was sent to His Majesty in order to have the additional three carats removed and barred from currency in New Spain, and His Majesty was pleased to order that it should no longer be current and whatever had to be paid in export or import duties or fines to the Treasury should be paid in that base gold until it was used up and was no longer remembered, and in this way it was all taken to Castile and was there melted down and restored to the proper standard.

I wish to relate that at the time when this happened they hanged two Silversmiths who forged the royal carat marks and had put in much more pure copper. I have loitered on the way to tell these old stories, and have turned aside from my story, let us get back to it, and [I will relate] how when Cortés saw that many of the soldiers were insolent in demanding larger shares, saying that he had taken all for himself and had stolen it, and begged him to lend them money, he determined to free himself from this hold [that they had] over him and to send out and make settlements in all the provinces which he thought it would be advisable to settle. He ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go and settle at Tustepec and to chastise some Mexican garrisons which at the time we were driven out of Mexico had killed seventy eight men and six Spanish women belonging to the followers of Narvaez, who had remained there to settle in a small town which they had called Medellin, and then to go on to Coatzacoalcos and form a settlement at that port. He also ordered a certain Pineda and Vicente Lopez to go and conquer the province of Panuco; and he ordered Rodrigo Rangel to stay in Villa Rica, as I have already stated, and Pedro de Ircio in his company, and [sent] Juan Álvarez the younger to Colima and a

certain Villafuerte to Zacatula and Cristóbal de Olid to Michoacan. By this time Cristóbal de Olid was already married to a Portuguese lady named Doña Felipa de Arauz or Zarauz, who had come . . . . . He also sent Francisco de Orozco to settle in Oaxaca, for at the time when we had captured Mexico, as it became known in all those provinces that I have mentioned that Mexico was destroyed, their caciques and Lords could not believe it, and as they were far off they sent chieftains to congratulate Cortés on his victories, and yield themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to see if it were true that a place that was as dreaded among them as was Mexico had been levelled to the ground. They all brought great presents of gold which they gave to Cortés, and they even brought their small children with them and showed them Mexico and explained it to them much as we might say " Here stood Troy."

Let us leave this and make some remarks about what is well should be made clear; many interested readers have asked me what is the reason that the true conquistadores who won New Spain and the great and strong City of Mexico, did not remain to settle in it, but went to other provinces. I say that they have every reason and justification to ask it, I wish to state the cause of it, and it is this which I [now] relate ; In the tribute books of Montezuma we saw whence they brought him tribute of gold and where there were mines and cacao, and garments of [cotton] cloth, and we wished to go to those places whence, we saw rom the books and the accounts contained in them, they brought these things to Montezuma, all the more when we saw a captain so eminent and such a friend of Cortés as Sandoval start out from Mexico, and also because we observed that in the towns of the neighbourhood of Mexico they had neither gold, nor mines, nor cotton, only much maize and maguey plantations from which they obtained their wine. On this account we considered it to be poor

land and went off to settle in other provinces, and we were all thoroughly deceived.

I remember that when I went to ask Cortés to give me leave to go with Sandoval he said to me "On my conscience Señor Bernal Díaz del Castillo you are making a mistake, I would prefer your staying here with me, but if it is your wish to go with your friend Sandoval, go and good luck to you. I shall always consider your wishes but I know well that you will repent of having left me."

Let me turn back to the division of the gold and say that [finally] it all fell to the share of the king's officials on account of the slaves that had been sold by auction.

I do not wish to call to mind here the number of horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen, and soldiers, nor on what day of what month Cortés despatched the captains mentioned by me, who went to settle in the provinces named by me above, for it would be a long story, except to state it took place a few days after the taking of Mexico and the Capture of Guatemoc, and two months later on Cortés sent other captains to other provinces.

Let us now cease to speak of Cortés and say that at the same time there arrived at the port of Villa Rica, with two ships, the Veedor of the smelting works which had been established in the Island of Santo Domingo, others said that he was Alcayde of the fortress in that Island, and he brought writs, and letters patent from Don Juan Rodrigo de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, sent in His Majesty's name, to the effect that Cristóbal de Tápia should be governor of New Spain, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.

BOOK XIII.

THE SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

How letters reached Cortés [to say] that a certain Cristóbal de Tápia had arrived at the Port of Vera Cruz with two ships and was bringing commissions from His Majesty appointing him to rule New Spain, and what was decided and done about it.

AS soon as Cortés had despatched the Captains and soldiers, already named by me, to pacify and settle in the provinces, at that [very] time Cristóbal de Tápia the Veedor of the Island of Santo Domingo came with commissions from His Majesty, by advice and direction of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for so he was called), to take over the Government of New Spain.

Besides these commissions he brought many letters from the Bishop himself for Cortés and for many others of the conquistadores and of the captains who had come with Narvaez inducing them to support Cristóbal de Tápia. In addition to the letters which came closed and sealed by the Archbishop he brought many left blank, so that Tápia could write in them all that he wished, and could name such

soldiers and captains as might appear to suit his purpose. All these letters conveyed many promises from the Bishop to the effect that he would grant us great favour if we gave the Government to Tápia and in case we did not deliver it up to him, many threats, saying that His Majesty would send to chastise us.

Let us leave this; Tápia exhibited his decrees before Gonzalo de Alvarado, the brother of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who at that time was . . . . Cortés's representative, for Rodrigo Rangel who used to be Alcalde Mayor had committed I know not what excesses and injustices, and Cortés had . . . . deprived him of his office. When the commissions were exhibited to Gonzalo de Alvarado he submitted to them and placed them on his head as the commissions and orders of our Lord and King, and as to complying with them, he said that he would assemble the Alcaldes and Regidores of the town and that they would talk it over and see how and in what way the decrees were obtained, and that they would obey them jointly, for he alone counted but as one person, and they would also see whether His Majesty was aware that such commissions had been sent. This reply did not suit Tápia very well and some persons, who were not on good terms with Cortés, advised him to go at once to Mexico where Cortés was stationed with most of the Captains and soldiers and that there they would yield obedience to the commissions.

In addition to presenting the commissions as I have stated, Tápia wrote to Cortés to the effect that he was coming as Governor. Cortés was too clever not to see through the graciousness of Tápia's letters, and not to observe on the one hand the offers and promises of the Bishop of Burgos, and on the other hand his threats, so that for all the many agreeable expressions he had received, Cortés sent him [Tápia] even pleasanter, more flattering and complimentary replies. Cortés promptly requested

and ordered certain of our Captains to go and see Tápia, and they went, namely Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Diego de Soto, he of Toro, and a Baldenebro and Andrés de Tápia, and Cortés sent post haste calling on them to suspend for the time the settlement of the provinces in which they were located and proceed to Villa Rica where Tápia was; and moreover he ordered a friar named Fray Pedro Megarejo de Urrea who was a good speaker, to go with them.

Tápia was already on his way to Mexico to see Cortés when he met the Captains and the Friar whom I have already named, and on account of the speeches and promises they made him he turned off the road to a town called Cempoala, and there they demanded of him that he should again exhibit his commissions so that they could see how and in what manner His Majesty had given the orders, for if his Royal Signature was attached to them, or he was cognizant of them, they would all of them with their breasts on the ground obey them in the name of Hernando Cortés and all New Spain for they were empowered to do so. Tápia again displayed the commissions and the Captains one and all kissed them and placed them on their heads as decrees of their Lord and King, but as to their being carried out, they [said they] would appeal to the Emperor our Lord [himself] who they said was not cognizant of them, nor of any events and that Tápia had not sufficient ability to be governor, and that the Bishop of Burgos was hostile to all of us conquistadores who were his Majesty's servants, and went on giving these orders without making a true report to His Majesty, and in order to favour Diego Velásquez and Tápia so as to marry him to a Fonseca, a niece or daughter of this same Bishop. When Tápia saw that neither words nor letters nor promises nor compliments were of any avail he fell ill from vexation, and those captains whom I have named

wrote to Cortés all that had taken place and advised him to send ingots and bars of gold so that by that means the fury of Tápia might be assuaged. These he sent post haste and they bought [from Tápia] some negros and three horses and one of the ships, and he embarked in the other ship for the Island of Santo Domingo whence he had set out. When he arrived there, the resident Royal Audiencia and the Geronomite Friars who were the Governors took careful note of his return and of the selfish means he had employed to enrich himself, and they were angry with him because, before he left Santo Domingo to go to New Spain, they had ordered him plainly not to think of going at that time, for it was sure to bring trouble and would break the thread of the conquest of Mexico; but he would not obey on account of the support of the Bishop de Fonseca, and the Judges and Friars did not dare to act otherwise than according to the Bishop's orders, because he was the President of the [Council of the] Indies, and His Majesty was at that time in Flanders and had not come to Castile.

Let us leave this matter of Tápia and say how Cortés soon sent Pedro de Alvarado to make a settlement at Tututepeque which was a country rich in gold, and so that those who did not know the names of these towns may understand clearly, one is Tustepeque to which Sandoval went, and the other is Tututepeque where Pedro de Alvarado was now going. This I state so that I should not be accused of saying that two Captains went to settle in one and the same province. Cortés also sent to establish a settlement on the Rio de Panuco, because he had received news that Don Francisco de Garay was preparing a great fleet to come and settle it, for it appears that His Majesty had given Garay the Government [of that province] as I have more fully stated in former chapters which treat of the ships which he sent ahead, which were destroyed by

the Indians of this same province of Panuco. Cortés did this so that if Garay should arrive he would find the country already settled by Cortés himself.

Let us pass on and state how Cortés sent Rodrigo Rangel for a second time to be his representative at Villa Rica, and removed Gonzalo de Alvarado and ordered him at once to send the Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez, whom he held prisoner, to Coyoacan, where latterly Cortés had settled. For at that time Cortés resided at Coyoacan, and had not yet gone to settle in Mexico and was waiting until the houses and palaces in which he was going to live had been built. Cortés sent for Narvaez because, according to what has been reported of him, when the Veedor Cristóbal de Tápia arrived at Villa Rica with the decrees that I have mentioned, Narvaez spoke to Tápia and in a few words said to him, "Señor Cristóbal de Tápia, it seems to me that you ought to bring and you are bringing the same authority that I did, and observe what an end it has led me to, although I brought such a fine fleet; look out for your own safety, and do not lose any more time, Cortés has not come to the end of his luck, he knows why they are giving you gold. Go back to Castile and present yourself before His Majesty, especially enjoying as you do the support of the Bishop of Burgos you will not want for protection and helpers, and then report what is going on here, and this is the best [thing to do]."

Let us change this conversation, and I will relate that Narvaez set out at once for Mexico and beheld the great populations and cities, and arriving at Texcoco he was struck with wonder, also when he saw Coyoacan and he wondered all the more when he beheld the lake and the cities which are peopled in it, and last of all the great City of Mexico. When Cortés knew that he was coming he ordered great honour to be paid him and sent [a party] out to meet him, and when Narvaez came before him he

fell on his knees and tried to kiss his hands, but Cortés would not permit it, and raised him up and embraced him, and showed him much affection and ordered him to take a seat near him. Then Narvaez said "Señor Capitan, now I can say truly that the least of the things that you and your valiant soldiers have accomplished in New Spain was defeating me and taking me prisoner even if I had brought a greater force with me than I did bring, for I have seen so many great cities and lands that you have conquered and subjected to the service of God and of our Emperor, and you may congratulate yourself and hold yourself in as high estimation as I do, so say I, and so will say all the most renowned captains who are alive to-day, that one can place you ahead of the most famous and illustrious men who have lived in all the world, and that there is no other greater or stronger city than this of Mexico, and your Excellency and your soldiers deserve to receive the greatest favours of the hands of His Majesty" and he uttered many other flatteries which need not be repeated.

Cortés answered him that no power of ours could have done what we had accomplished but only the great mercy of God which always aided us, and the good fortune of our Caesar.

Let us leave this conversation and the promises which Narvaez made to Cortés, and I will relate how at that time Cortés went to settle the great City of Mexico, and he allotted the sites for the churches and monasteries and royal houses and plazas, and to all the settlers he gave lots, and let us not waste more time on the description of the way in which it is now built up, and according to the reports of many people who have been in many parts of Christendom, there had never been in the world another more populous or greater city of better houses inhabited by gentlemen, considering its character and the time at

which it was settled (let it be understood) by the poor conquistadores. While Cortés, as I have stated, was occupied in the laying out of the city, and was somewhat recovered from his fatigue, they brought him letters from Panuco [to say] that the whole province had risen in revolt, and they were very belligerent warriors for they had killed many of the soldiers whom he had sent to make settlements, and he must without delay send all the assistance he could. Cortés promptly decided to go in person, for although he might have wished to send some of our other captains, there were none of them in Mexico, for, as I have stated, we had all of us gone to other provinces. He took all the soldiers he was able to collect, and horsemen, crossbowmen and musketeers, for there had already arrived in Mexico many men from among those whom the Veedor Tápia had brought with him, and others were there who had accompanied Vásquez de Ayllon to Florida, and others who by that time had come from the Islands.

Leaving a good garrison in Mexico with Diego de Soto a native of Toro as captain, Cortés set out from Mexico. At that time there were no horseshoes, or only a very few for the many horses he was taking with him, for there were over one hundred and thirty persons on horseback, and two hundred and fifty soldiers in all including musketeers and crossbowmen and the horsemen. He also took with him ten thousand Mexicans. At that time Cristóbal de Olid had already returned from Michoacan for he had established peace there, and he brought with him many Caciques and the son of Caçonçi, for so he was called, who was the Lord in chief of all those provinces, and he brought much low grade gold, which was mixed with copper and silver.[1]

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[1] Blotted out in the original: and Cortés decided that from the low grade silver horseshoes and nails should be made.—G. G.

Cortés disbursed on that expedition to Panuco, a great quantity of pesos de oro and he afterwards demanded that His Majesty should repay him that expense, and the officials of His Majesty's treasury did not wish to receive the account nor to pay any of it, for they said that if he made that expedition and [incurred] that expense it was because he wished to gain possession of that province so that Don Francisco de Garay who was coming to conquer it should not have it, for the news had already been received that they were coming from the Island of Jamaica with a great fleet.

To go back to my story, I will relate how Cortés arrived with all his army at the province of Panuco and found the people at war, and he sent many times to summon them to peace and they would not come. He had many warlike encounters with them and in two battles in which they stood up to him, they killed three soldiers and wounded more than thirty and killed four horses, and many others were wounded, and more than two hundred of the Mexicans died, without counting another three hundred that were wounded. The Huastecs,[1] for so they call the Indians of these provinces, numbered over fifty thousand men when they gave battle to Cortés, but by the will of God they were defeated, and all the field where this battle took place, was closely strewn with dead and many wounded from among the natives of that province, so that they never rallied on that occasion to attack again.

Cortés remained for eight days in a town where those conflicts took place called[2] . . . . . . in order to cure the wounded and bury the dead, and supplies were plentiful.

In order to send once more and call the people to peace he despatched two Caciques, persons of importance from

[1] Guastecas in the text.

[2] Here the author has left a blank space.—G. G.

among those who had been taken prisoners in the battles, and through Doña Marina and Gerónimo de Aguilar whom Cortés always took with him, he made them a speech and asked them, how could all the people of those provinces hope to avoid submitting themselves as vassals of His Majesty, when they had seen and had heard the news, how with all the power of Mexico and its strength in warriors, the city had been destroyed and razed to the ground, and [he told them] to make peace promptly, and to have no fear, for he pardoned them for the deaths that had taken place, and he spoke these words to them with kindness, but he also used threats. As [the Indians] were cowed and many had been killed in the last battle, and they saw their towns laid waste by fire, they made peace, and all brought jewels of gold, although they were of little value, and presented them to Cortés who received them in peace with affection and caresses.

From this place Cortés went with half his army to a river called Chila[1] about five leagues from the sea, and he again sent messengers to all the towns on the other side of the river to summon them to make peace and they would not come, for, made fierce by the blood of the numerous soldiers killed two years earlier, (who came under the captains whom Garay had sent to settle on that river, as I have already stated in the chapter which treats of that subject,) they thought they could do the same with our army. As they were posted by three great lagoons and rivers and swamps which served them as a strong fortress, the reply they made was to slay two of the messengers whom Cortés had sent to treat for peace, and to make prisoners of the others. Cortés waited some days to see if they would change from their evil purpose, and as they did

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[1] Chila is to the N. of the Rio Panuco, about 19 miles W. of Tampico.

not come, he sent for all the canoes that could be found in the river, and with them and some barges, made from the timbers of the old ships which had belonged to the captain whom Garay had sent and [the Indians] had killed, he sent one hundred and fifty soldiers, most of them musketeers and crossbowmen, across to the other side of the river by night, and fifty cavalry in canoes tied together two by two, so that they crossed over in a matter of . . . . and as the natives of those provinces keep watch over the passes and rivers, when they saw them, they allowed them to pass with the intention of killing them, and they were waiting for them on the other side.

If many Huastec Indians, for so they are called, had come together in the first battles that they had fought against Cortés, far greater numbers had been massed on this occasion, and they came on like rabid lions to fall on our men, and on the first encounter they killed two soldiers and wounded over thirty, and they also killed three horses and wounded fifteen others and many of the Mexicans, but our men fell on them so quickly that they could not hold the field and they were soon put to flight leaving behind a great number of dead and wounded. When this battle was over our men went to sleep at a pueblo from which the inhabitants had fled, and they camped there after posting sentinels, watchmen, patrols and spies, and food for supper was not wanting. As soon as the dawn came, when walking through the pueblo [our men] saw hanging up in a Cue and oratory of the Idols, many clothes and faces that had been flayed off and cured like glove leather, with the beards and hair [still adhering], which had belonged to the soldiers of the captains sent by Garay to make a settlement on the Rio Panuco who had been killed, and many of them were recognised by our soldiers who said that they were their friends, and the hearts of all were broken with grief at seeing them in this state, and they

took them down from where they were and carried them off for burial.

From that pueblo they went on to another place, and, as they knew how very warlike the people of that province were, they always marched with great caution and in fighting array so that they should not be taken unawares. It was reported by the scouts that some great squadrons of Indians were lying in ambush so that as soon as our men should dismount and go into the houses they might fall on the horses and on the men. As they had been found out, the Indians could not do as they intended, but all the same they sallied out very boldly and fought against our men like brave warriors and for more than half an hour the horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen and the Mexican Indians, could not force them to retreat or drive them off. They killed two horses and wounded seven others and they also wounded fifteen soldiers of whom three died of their wounds.

There was one thing remarkable about these Indians, that even when they were beaten, they turned and rallied to fight three times, a thing one has seldom seen among these people. When they saw that our people were wounding and killing them they fled for refuge to a rapid and flowing river, and the horsemen and light infantry went in pursuit and wounded many of them, while others decided to scour the country and go to other pueblos which were deserted, and in them they found many large jars of the wine of the country stored underground in places like cellars. They spent five days among these villages scouring the country, and as all of these were deserted and abandoned by their inhabitants, they returned to the river Achile.[1] Cortés again sent to summon all the pueblos on the other side of the river which were

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[1] Chila?

still at war to make peace, and, as our troops had already killed many of them, the Indians feared our falling on them again, and for this reason they sent to say that they would come within four days, that they were seeking jewels of gold to present to him. Cortés waited the four days when they said that they would come, and as they did not come then, he promptly ordered [an attack to be made] on a very large pueblo situated near a lagoon, which was very strong on account of its swamps and rivers, ... they were to cross the lagoon on a dark and drizzling night in numerous canoes which he had promptly ordered to be collected and tied together two by two and in other single ones, and on well-made rafts [steering] towards a part of the pueblo where they could neither be seen nor heard from the town itself, and many of our Mexican allies crossed without being seen . . . . . . and fell on the pueblo and destroyed it, and looted it and gained much spoil, and our allies carried off all the property that the natives possessed. When the Indians saw this, within five days nearly all the pueblos in the neighbourhood made peace, except some pueblos which were so far out of the way that our people were not able to go to them at that time.

Not to waste more words on this story I will omit telling of many things that happened and will only say that Cortés then founded a town with one hundred and twenty settlers, and among these he left twenty seven horsemen and thirty six musketeers and crossbowmen so that they numbered one hundred and twenty in all. This town was named Santistevan del Puerto and stands about a league from Chila. To the settlers who peopled that town he apportioned and gave in encomienda all the pueblos which had made peace, and he left as Captain of them and his representative one Pedro Vallejo.

While Cortés was in that town ready to start for Mexico,

he learnt for certain that three pueblos which were at the head of the rebellion of that province and had been concerned in the death of many Spaniards, were on the move again, although they had given their fealty to His Majesty and made peace, and they were persuading and luring the other pueblos in the neighbourhood and saying that after Cortés had returned to Mexico with the horsemen and soldiers, some day or night they would fall upon the settlers who remained behind and would have a good feast off them. When Cortés knew the whole truth, he ordered their houses to be completely destroyed by fire, but they soon made a new settlement.

Let me say that, before we had set out from Mexico on this expedition, Cortés had ordered them to send him from Vera Cruz a vessel laden with wine and provisions, preserves, biscuits, and horseshoes, for at that time there was no wheat in Mexico with which to make bread. While the barge was going on its course in the direction of Panuco, laden with all that Cortés had ordered, it seems that there arose severe northerly gales and struck the vessel so that she was lost, and only three persons were saved, who, supported on some boards, reached the shore of an Island three or four leagues from the main land where there were some great sandy beaches frequented by many seals which came out by night to sleep on the beaches, and they killed the seals, and with fire which they made from sticks of wood, in the way that throughout the Indies people make it, who know how to do so, they were able to roast the flesh of the seals, and they dug in the middle of the island and made a sort of well and took out water that was somewhat brackish ; and there was a fruit which looked like figs, so with the flesh of the seals and fruit and brackish water they kept themselves alive more than two months. As in the town of Santistévan they were awaiting the arrival of the fresh supplies and horse-

shoes, Cortés wrote to Mexico to his Mayordomos to know why they had not sent the relay of supplies, and as soon as they received this notice through Cortes's letter, they felt sure that the barge had been lost, and the Mayordomos of Cortés promptly sent a small vessel in search of the barge that was lost, and it pleased God that they touched on the island where the three surviving Spaniards were [stranded] who made smoke signals both by night and day, and as soon as they saw the vessel they were delighted, and they were taken on board and came to the town. One of these men was called something Ciciliano, a settler in Mexico.

Let us leave this and say that while Cortés was already on his way to Mexico, as he had news that many pueblos which stood among some very steep sierras had rebelled and were making war on other pueblos which were at peace with us, he decided to go there before entering Mexico.

As he went on his way, the people of that province heard of it, and lay in wait for him at a bad pass and fell on the rear of the baggage and killed some of the carriers and robbed them of their loads, and as it was a bad road on which to defend the baggage the horsemen went to their assistance and [the enemy] disemboweled two horses ; when they arrived at some villages they paid them well out for it, for as many of our Mexican allies went with them, in order to avenge the robberies in the bad pass and road which I have mentioned, they killed and captured many Indians and even the Cacique and his captain, and these were hanged after they had given back the things that had been robbed.

When this was accomplished Cortés ordered the Mexicans to do no more damage, and sent to summon all the chieftains and priests of the village to make peace, and they came and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and

the office of Cacique he ordered to be held by a brother of the Cacique whom they had hanged, and he left them in their homes pacified and well chastised. Then he returned to Mexico.

Before going any further I wish to say that in all the provinces of New Spain there are no people fouler or more evil or with worse habits than these of the province of Panuco for "todos eran someticos y se enbudavan por partes traseras," an obscenity never heard of in the world, and they were sacrificers [of human beings] and excessively cruel as well as drunkards and filthy and evil and they were guilty of thirty other vices.

If we look into it, they were chastised with blood and fire two or three times, and other greater evils overtook them in having as Governor Nuño de Guzman who as soon as the Government was given to him made slaves of nearly all of them and sent them to be sold in the Islands, as I will relate more fully in its time and place. Let us go back to our story and I will tell what Cortés heard and did after his return to Mexico.

CHAPTER CLIX.

How Cortés and the King's officers decided to send to His Majesty all the gold that had accrued to the royal fifth from the spoils of Mexico, and how there was sent separately the personal property of gold and jewels which had belonged to Montezuma and Guatemoc, and what happened about it.

ABOUT the same time that Cortés returned to Mexico from his expedition to Panuco, and occupied himself with the peopling and rebuilding of the city, Alonzo de Ávila already often mentioned by me in former chapters, had returned from the island of Santo Domingo and reported on the subjects he had been sent to negotiate with the

Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars who were the Governors of all the Islands, and the message he brought was that they gave us authority to conquer the whole of New Spain and to brand slaves according to the instructions that were sent, and to divide and make allotments of the Indians as was customary in the Islands of Española, Cuba and Jamaica.[1]

This permission which they gave was to be valid up to the time that His Majesty was informed of it, or should be pleased to send other orders, and the Geronimite Friars themselves at once wrote him an account of this and sent a ship post haste to Castile, and at that time His Majesty who was still a youth, was in Flanders, and there he learnt what the Geronimite Friars were sending him.

They rendered no account of this to the Bishop of Burgos, for they were aware that he, in his position of President [of the Council] of the Indies, was very hostile to us, nor would they consult with him on many other matters of importance, for they were very ill pleased with his proceedings.

Let us leave this matter of the Bishop and repeat that as Cortés looked on Alonzo de Ávila as a very daring person, and was not on very good terms with him, he always wished to keep him at a distance, for truly if when Cristóbal de Tápia came with the commissions Alonzo de Ávila had been in Mexico (he was in the Island of Santo Domingo at the time) as he was a follower of the Bishop of Burgos and had been his servant, and Tápia had brought letters for him, he would have been a great opponent to Cortés and his affairs. For this reason Cortés always tried to keep him far from his person, and when he returned from this voyage he chose that occasion to allot Cuautitlan[2]

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[1] Xamayca in the text.
[2] Gualtitan in the text.

to him so as to content and please him, and gave him certain pesos de oro, and with the fair words and promises, as well as the allotment of the town already mentioned which was a very good one and very profitable, he made so firm a friend and follower of him that he sent him to Castile, and with him his captain of the Guard named Antonio de Quiñones, and these two went as proctors of New Spain and of Cortés, and they took two ships and carried with them fifty eight thousand Castellanos[1] in bars of gold. They also took with them what we called the private treasure of the great Montezuma which Guatemoc had in his keeping, and indeed it was a fine present for our great Caesar, for it contained many very rich jewels and some of the pearls were the size of filberts, and there were many chalchihuites which are fine stones like emeralds, and there was even one as broad as the palm of a hand, and many others so numerous that, so as to avoid delay, I will not stop to describe them or call them to mind. We also sent some pieces of the bones of giants which were found in a Cue or Oratory in Coyoacan, similar to those other great bones which were given to us in Tlaxcala which we had sent on the first occasion, and these were even larger. They also took three tigers[2] and other things that I cannot now call to mind.

The Municipality of Mexico wrote to His Majesty by these proctors, and so too did the greater number of us Conquistadores write jointly with Cortés and Fray Pedro Melgarejo and the treasurer Julian de Alderete and one and all spoke of the many and good and loyal services that Cortés and all of us Conquistadores had rendered him and would continue to render him, and related what had happened to us since we had started

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[1] Castellano, an ancient Spanish coin.

[2] Jaguars.

to capture the city of Mexico, and how the South Sea had been discovered, and it was certainly considered to be a very valuable discovery. We also petitioned His Majesty to send us bishops and monks of the different orders who should be of a blameless life and doctrine so as to aid us more firmly to implant our holy Catholic faith in these parts, and we unanimously begged that he would be pleased to give the government of this New Spain to Cortés who was his good and loyal servant, and that he would grant the favour to us Conquistadores and our children, that all the royal offices such as treasurer, accountant, agents and notaries public, trustees and governors of forts, should not be given to other persons, but should be retained among us. We begged him not to send any lawyers, for they would turn the country upside down with their books and lawsuits and dissentions would ensue, and the affair of Cristóbal de Tápia who came directed by Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca the Bishop of Burgos, was brought to his knowledge, and how he was not a fit person for the government, and that New Spain would be lost if he remained as governor; and would he [His Majesty] be graciously pleased to ascertain beyond doubt what became of the letters and reports which we had written to him, giving an account of all the happenings in this New Spain, for we felt very sure that the Bishop himself had not sent them on to him, but would rather have written the very opposite of what had happened so as to favour his friend Diego Velásquez and Cristóbal de Tápia with the intention of marrying him to one of his relations named Doña Petronilla de Fonseca, and [we stated] how he [Tápia] presented certain decrees which came already signed and addressed by the Bishop of Burgos, and that we all bowed down to the ground to obey them and how they were obeyed. But seeing that this Tápia was no good for war

and had neither the spirit nor judgment to fit him for a governor, that [the Conquistadores] appealed against the decrees until they would acquaint his royal person with all that had taken place as we were now informing him and making him aware, as loyal vassals bound to our King and Lord, and that now, whatever move he might be pleased to command, here we were with our breasts to the ground ready to fulfil his royal orders.

We also begged him to be pleased to send an order to the Bishop of Burgos not to interfere in anything concerning Cortés or us, for it would entail breaking the thread of many matters relating to conquests and the pacification of provinces which he alone was able to carry out in this New Spain, for this same Bishop had given orders to the officials in the House of Trade in Seville named Pedro de Ysasaga and Juan López de Recalte not to permit any supply of arms or soldiers or any support to pass for Cortés or for the soldiers who were with him. We also reported how Cortés had gone to pacify the province of Panuco and had left it at peace, and the very fierce battles that he fought with the natives of that province, and that they were a very pugnacious and warlike people, and how the people of that province had killed the captains sent by Francisco de Garay and all their soldiers because they did not know how to conduct their wars skilfully; and that Cortés had expended on that expedition over sixty thousand pesos which he was claiming from the officials of the Royal Treasury and they did not want to pay them. We also informed him how Garay was now preparing a fleet in the Island of Jamaica and was coming to settle at the Rio Panuco, and, in order to prevent the same fate happening to him as to his captains who were killed, we begged His Majesty to send him an order not to leave the island until the province was entirely pacified, because we would conquer and hand it

over to him, for if he should come at that time, and the natives of that territory should see two captains in command, there would be risings and attempts to sow discord especially on the part of the Mexicans. Many other things were written, besides Cortés for his own part left no subject in the inkstand and gave so full an account of all that had happened [in his letter] that it covered twenty one pages, and inasmuch as I read and understood them all very well, I make it known here as I have stated it. In addition to this Cortés sent to beg his Majesty to give him permission to go to the Island of Cuba to capture its Governor named Diego Velásquez and to send him to Castile in order that His Majesty might have him punished there, so that he should no longer disturb and excite commotions in New Spian, for he had sent orders from the Island of Cuba to have Cortés killed.

Let us leave these letters and speak of the favourable voyage which our proctors accomplished after leaving the port of Vera Cruz on the twentieth day of the month of December in the year fifteen hundred and twenty two, and with good weather they got through the Bahama channel, and on the way two of the three tigers they were taking with them broke loose and wounded some of the sailors, and they determined to kill the one that was left for he was very fierce and they could not manage him. They proceeded on their voyage as far as the Island named Terceira,[1] and Antonio de Quiñones who was captain prided himself on being very valiant and amorous; it appears that he became entangled with a woman in that island about whom some quarrel arose, and they stabbed him so that he died and Alonzo de Ávila remained the sole captain.

As he was going on his way to Spain with the two ships, when not far from the Island, the French pirate Juan

[1] Tercera in the text

Florin, fell on them and seized the gold and the ships and captured Alonzo de Ávila and carried him a prisoner to France. About the same time Juan Florin robbed another ship that came from the Island of Santo Domingo and took over twenty thousand pesos de oro and a great quantity of pearls and sugar and hides out of it and returned with it all to France a very rich man, and he made great presents to the king and to the Admiral of France of the objects and pieces of gold brought from New Spain, and all France was astonished at the riches we were sending to our great Emperor. Even the King of France himself became more covetous than before of taking a share in the Islands and in this New Spain.

It was then that he said that only with the gold sent to him from these Islands our Lord was able to make war on his France, and yet at that time Peru was not conquered, nor was there any knowledge of it, but only, as I have said, of New Spain and the Islands of Santo Domingo and San Juan and Cuba and Jamaica. It is reported that the King of France said or sent word to our Emperor that as he and the King of Portugal had partitioned the world without giving him a share, that they had better produce the Will of our father Adam as proof that he had left them as heirs and lords of these lands which they had seized between the two of them, without giving any of them to him; and for this reason he [the King of France] was justified in robbing and taking all he could on the sea. He again promptly ordered Juan Florin to go back with another fleet and seek a livelihood on the sea.

On his return from that voyage as soon as he had taken a great booty of all sorts of cloth, he fell in between Spain and the Canary Islands with three or four powerful ships of the Biscayan fleet and some on one side and some on the other engaged Juan Florin and defeated and routed him and took him prisoner with many other Frenchmen

and they captured his ships and the cloth. They carried Juan Florin and the other captains as prisoners to the House of Trade at Seville, and they were sent captive to His Majesty at the Court, and as soon as he [the Emperor] heard of it, he ordered that justice should be meted out to them on the road, and at the port of Pico they were hanged, and this was the end of our gold and of the Captains who carried it and of Juan Florin who stole it.

Let us get back to our story; they took Alonzo de Ávila as a prisoner to France and placed him in a fortress, for as he was in charge of so much gold they thought to get a good ransom for him and therefore guarded him well.

Alonzo de Ávila managed to come to such an understanding with the French gentleman who had him in charge or who held him prisoner, that in order that they might know in Castile how he was kept a prisoner and might come to ransom him, he arranged that all the letters and powers which he was bringing from New Spain should be despatched post haste and delivered at the Court of His Majesty to the Licentiate Nuñez, a cousin of Cortés who was counsellor at law to the Royal Council, or to Martin Cortés the father of the said Cortés who lived at Medellin, or to Diego de Ordás who was at the Court, and they went with such complete safety that they reached their hands, and they promptly forwarded them to His Majesty in Flanders and told the Bishop of Burgos nothing at all about it. However, the Bishop found it out and said that he rejoiced [to hear] that all the gold had been stolen and was lost, and he is reported to have said that the affairs of this traitor Cortés were bound to come to such an end, and he made other ugly remarks.

Let us leave the Bishop and turn to His Majesty who as soon as he was informed of the matter is said to have understood it all, and felt some grief at the loss of the gold

on the other hand he was delighted to see that they were sending him such riches so that the King of France should feel that with such presents as we were sending him he would be able to carry on war. He promptly sent orders to the Bishop of Burgos to give support and assistance in all matters concerning Cortés and New Spain and [said] that he was coming to Castile shortly and would decide the justice of the contentions and disputes between Velásquez and Cortés.

Let us leave this and say that as soon as we knew in New Spain about the loss of the gold and the wealth of treasure[1] and of the capture of Alonzo de Ávila and all the other matters noted by me above, we felt great grief at it, and Cortés promptly and without delay endeavoured to collect all the gold that it was possible to get together and to levy a tax on the low grade gold and silver which had been brought from Michoacan, so as to send it to His Majesty, and the tax was called "the Phoenix."[2]

I also wish to state that Alonzo de Ávila still retained that town of Cuautitlan which Cortés had given him, for at that time his brother Gil Gonzáles de Benavides did not hold it, not until three years later on did Gil Gonzáles come from the Island of Cuba, when Alonzo de Ávila was already free from imprisonment in France and had come to Yucatan as Accountant, and it was then that he gave authority to his brother to make use of it, for he never wished to give him the property.

Let us stop telling stories that don't help on my narrative and report all that happened to Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains whom Cortés had sent to settle the provinces already named by me, while Cortés was perfecting his preparations for the tax and the col-

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[1] De la recamara, that is the personal property of gold, jewels, etc. belonging to Montezuma.

[2] Fenis in the text.

lection of the gold to send to His Majesty. I know well that some interested readers will ask, why is it that when Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains [to undertake] the conquests and pacifications which I have already mentioned, that I did not finish my story about what they had done and what happened to each of them on their expeditions, so I must state again that I must go back very far in my story, and the reason that I give for this is that while they were going on their way to their provinces and conquests, at that very moment Cristóbal de Tápia so often mentioned by me, arrived at the Port of Villa Rica to take over the Government of New Spain.

As Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval were his most distinguished Captains and wise advisers, Cortés sent post haste to summon them to deliberate on what could be done in the matter, and get their support and assistance, so they suspended their conquests and pacifications and, as I have said, they came to this affair of Tápia which was more important for His Majesty's Service, for it was looked on as certain that if Tápia should remain as governor that New Spain and Mexico would rise in revolt again. At that moment also Cristóbal de Olid arrived from Michoacan (for it was near Mexico) which he found peaceful, and they [the inhabitants] gave him much gold and silver, and as he was recently married and his wife was young and handsome he hastened his coming.

Then immediately after this affair of Tápia the rising at Panuco took place, and Cortés went to pacify it, as I have related in a former chapter which tells about it. Then we had to write to His Majesty and send the gold and give authority to our proctors whom I have already mentioned, and on account of these distractions which came one after another I will now call the matter to mind:—and it happened in the manner I will now describe.

CHAPTER CLX.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived with his army at a pueblo called Tuxtepec,[1] and what he did there and how he afterwards went on to Coatzacoalcos and all the rest that happened to him. Mind one place is called Tuxtepec and the other Tututepec.[2]

WHEN Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived at a pueblo named Tuxtepec all the province made peace except some Mexicans who were concerned in the deaths of sixty Spanish men and women from Castile who had remained behind ill in that pueblo when Narvaez came, and that was the time when we were defeated in Mexico, and then they [the Mexicans] slew them in this same pueblo. About two months after the people I have spoken about had been killed, I went [there] with Sandoval and I lodged in a small tower which had been a temple with Idols and which they [the Spaniards] had fortified when they were attacked, and there they were surrounded and perished of hunger and thirst and wounds. I mention that I lodged in that little tower because there were many mosquitos in that pueblo of Tustepeque in the day time, and as the tower was very lofty and exposed to the breeze there were not so many [mosquitos] there as there were down below, and moreover it was near Sandoval's quarters.

To go back to our story, Sandoval endeavoured to seize the Mexican Captains who had attacked and killed them [the Spaniards] and he captured the chief of them and placed him on trial and for sentence ordered him to be

[1] Tuxtepec, in the north of the State of Oaxaca on the River Papaloapan. Tustepeque in the text.

[2] Tututepec, in the south of the State of Oaxaca near the Pacific coast. Tutetepeque in the text.

burned, and there were many others who deserved the penalty of death as much as he did, but he let it pass and the one death paid for all.

When this was over he sent to summon to peace some pueblos of the Zapotecs, (another province about ten leagues distant from this town of Tuxtepec,) and they would not come, so he sent a Captain to bring them to peace. This was a man named Briones, often mentioned by me before, who was Captain of a sloop, and a good soldier in Italy according to his own account, and Sandoval gave him over one hundred soldiers, among them thirty musketeers and crossbowmen, and over a hundred allies from the pueblos which had made peace.

As Briones went on his way with his soldiers in good order, it seems that the Zapotecs were aware of his coming against their pueblos and they arranged an ambush on the road, which caused them [the Spaniards] to turn back in a hurry, rolling down some steep inclines, and more than a third of his soldiers were wounded and one of them died of his wounds. These hills where the Zapotecs live are so steep and difficult that horses cannot go among them, and the soldiers had to march on foot, one by one, in and out, along narrow paths, and there was always mist and dew and the paths were slippery. The Zapotecs were armed with very long lances, longer than ours are, with a fathom of cutting edge of stone knives which cut better than our swords, and with shields which cover the whole body, and many arrows, javelins and stones, and the natives were very daring and wonderfully lithe, and with a whistle or cry which they give among those hills the voice resounds and reverberates for a considerable time, as we should say like echoes.

So the Captain Briones returned with his men wounded and one of them dead, and he himself came back with an arrow wound.

The pueblo where he was defeated is called Tiltepec[1] and after it was brought to peace it was given in enconicenda to a soldier named Ojeda the one eyed, who now lives in the town of Santo Alfonso. When Briones returned to make his report to Sandoval of what had happened, and told him what great warriors they [the Zapotecs] were, as Sandoval was in good spirits and Briones posed as being very valiant and was wont to tell how in Italy he had killed and wounded and cleft the heads and trunks of men, said Sandoval: "It seems to me Señor Capitan that these lands are different from those where you [formerly] went soldiering" and Briones, half angry, replied and said that he swore to the truth of his statements and that he would rather fight against cannon and great armies of enemies whether of Turks or Moors than against those Zapotecs, and he gave reasons for it, that appeared acceptable. Still Sandoval told him he wished he had not sent him, since he was thus defeated, for he believed that he would have shown more valour, as he boasted he had done in Italy.

Let us leave this expedition which did more harm than good, and say how this same Gonzalo de Sandoval sent to summon to peace another province, which was called Xaltepec.[2] These people were also Zapotecs and they border on other pueblos called those of the Mijes,[3] a very active and warlike people who had disputes with the people of Xaltepec, the same who I say were now summoned. As many as twenty Caciques and chieftains made peace and brought a present of gold in the form of jewels of various workmanship and ten small tubes of gold in grains which they had just then extracted from the mines.

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[1] San Miguel Tiltepec. Dist. of Ixtlan, Northern Oaxaca or Tiltepec. Dist. of Choapam, Northern Oaxaca. Teltepeque in the text.

[2] Xaltepec or Jaltepec in the District of Choapam. Xaltepeque in the text.

[3] Minxes in the text.

The Chieftains came clothed in very long cotton clothes which reached to the feet worked with much embroidery and they were, so to say, like Moorish bornouses. When they came before Sandoval they offered it [their present] with great reverence and he received it with pleasure, and ordered them to be given beads of Castile, and paid them honour and made much of them. They asked Sandoval to give them some Teules, for so they call the Spaniards in their language, to go with them against the pueblos of their enemies the Mijes who made war on them. As Sandoval could spare no soldiers at that time, to give them the help they asked for, because those who had gone with Briones were all wounded and others were sick and four were dead, for the country was very hot and unhealthy, he told them in pleasant phrases that he would send to Mexico to tell Malinche (for so they called Cortés) to send plenty of Teules, and that they must restrain themselves until they arrived, and meanwhile that ten of his companions would accompany them to examine the passes and the country so that they could go and make war against their enemies the Mijes. Sandoval only said this in order that we could go and see the pueblos and the mines where they extracted the gold they had brought, and in this way he dismissed all but three of them whom he ordered to stay and go with us. Then he promptly sent a soldier named Alonzo de Castillo, the decided, to examine the pueblos and mines I have spoken about, and Sandoval ordered me and six other soldiers to go with him and examine the mines thoroughly and the nature of the pueblos. I wish to explain why that Captain who went with us as leader was called Castillo the decided, and it was for the reason that I will now state:—

In the Company which Sandoval commanded there were three soldiers with the surname of Castillo, one of

them was very elegant and took pride in it at that time, and for this reason they called him Castillo the elegant,[1] of the other two Castillos, one was of such a nature that he was always thoughtful, and when he was spoken to, he delayed long in thinking what he should say, and when he replied or spoke it was some foolishness or something that made us laugh, and on this account they called him Castillo the deliberate.[2] The other was Alonzo Castillo who now went with us who spoke his thoughts quickly and answered much to the point about anything they asked him, and they called him Castillo the decided.[3]

Let us cease talking about trifles and relate how we went to that province to see the mines, and took many Indians with us from those pueblos, and with some things in the shape of troughs they washed in three rivers before us, and from all three they extracted gold and they filled four small tubes with it, each tube the length of the middle finger of one's hand and they were a little thicker than the quill of a Spanish duck ; with this sample of the gold we returned to where Gonzalo de Sandoval was stationed and he was delighted thinking that the country was rich. He promptly set about making the division of those pueblos and that province among the settlers who were to remain there to people it, and he took for himself some pueblos called Huaspaltepec,[4] which at that time was the best thing there was in the province, very near the mines, and they even promptly yielded him over fifteen thousand pesos in gold. Sandoval believed that he was taking a very good thing and he entrusted the province of Xaltepec, whence we brought the gold, to Captain Luis Marin and thought that he was giving him an earldom, but they

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[1] El galan. [2] De los pensamientos. [3] De lo pensado.

[4] Guazpaltepeque in the text, near Playa Vicente on the Rio de Villa Alta.

all turned out very bad assignments, both that which Sandoval took as well as the one he gave to Luis Marin, and he even ordered me to stay in that province and gave me very good Indians with a good income, and would to God that I had taken them, they [the pueblos] were called Matlatan and Orizaba, where the Viceroys mills are now situated, and another pueblo called Ozotequipa,[1] but I did not want them, for it seemed to me, Sandoval being my friend, that if I did not go in his company I should not be acting up to my standard of personal honour, and Sandoval thoroughly understood my feelings, and so as to have me with him in the wars, if there should be any later on, acquiesced.

Let us leave this and relate that he named the town which he settled Medellin,[2] for so Cortés ordered him to do, because Cortés was born at Medellin in Estremadura.

At that time the port was at a river called Chalchocueca, which was the river to which we had given the name the 'Rio de Banderas' where we had gained sixteen thousand pesos by barter, and up that river proceeded the ships that came with merchandise from Spain, until the port was changed to Vera Cruz.

Let us leave this and go on our road to Coatzacoalcos which was distant a matter of seventy leagues from the town of Vera Cruz, which we had already settled. We entered into a province called Çitla[3] which was the coolest and the most thickly peopled and the best supplied with food that we had yet seen. The people at once made peace, and this province which I have mentioned is twelve

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[1] I cannot identify Matlatan, Orizaba and Ozotequipa, there is a Santiago Matatlan in the district of Tlacolula.

[2] This is going back; Sandoval settled Medellin, which is a little to the south of the modern Vera Cruz, sometime before arriving at Tuxtepec.

[3] This name has disappeared from the maps.

leagues long and about the same in breadth and all thickly peopled; and we arrived at the great river of Coatzacoalcos and sent to summon the Caciques of the pueblos which were the capitals of those provinces, and for three days they did not come nor did they send any reply, and on that account we thought that they intended war, and it is even said that they had made up their minds not to let us pass the river. They afterwards decided to come within five days, and they brought us food to eat and some jewels of very pure gold, and said that when we wanted to cross they would bring many large canoes. Sandoval thanked them greatly and took counsel with some of us as to whether we could dare to cross over all of us together at the same time in the canoes. What we thought best and advised was that four soldiers should cross over and observe the disposition of a village which was near the river, and should watch and endeavour to enquire and find out whether they were hostile, and that before crossing we should have in our power the principal Cacique who was named Tochel. So the four soldiers went over and found out all that we had sent them [to ascertain] and they returned to report to Sandoval that everything was peaceful and moreover the son of this same Cacique Tochel, for so he is called, came with them and brought another present of gold but it was not worth much. Then Sandoval caressed him and ordered him to bring a hundred canoes tied together two and two, and we passed the horses over the day after the feast of Espíritu Santo, and to cut the story short, we made a settlement in the pueblo which stood near the river, and it was a good place for sea traffic because the port lay four leagues down stream, and we called it the town of Espíritu Santo and we gave it that sublime name, on one account because on the feast of Espíritu Santo we defeated Narvaez, on another because that holy name was our

watchword when we defeated and captured him, and lastly because we crossed this river on this same day, and because all these towns came in peaceably without making war, and there we all of us settled, the flower of the gentlemen and soldiers who had come out from Mexico to settle with Sandoval. There was Sandoval himself and Luis Marin, Diego de Godoy, Captain Francisco de Medina, Francisco Marmolejo, Francisco de Lugo, Juan López de Aguirre, Hernando de Montesdoca, Juan de Salamanca, Diego Azamar, one Mansilla and another soldier named Mexia Rapapelo, Alonzo de Grado, the Licentiate Ledesma, Luis de Bustamante, Pedro Castellar, the Captain Briones, and I and many other gentlemen and persons of quality, and if I were to name them all here I could not finish quickly, but it may be taken for certain that we were wont to assemble in the Plaza for a rejoicing and review over eighty strong in horsemen, and eighty then was more than five hundred now-a-days, and the reason is that there were but very few horses there in New Spain and they were costly and only a few could afford to buy them.

Lèt us leave this and say how Sandoval apportioned those provinces and pueblos among us, after he had sent to visit them and form a judgment of the land, and examine the character of all the towns.

The provinces which he apportioned are those which I will now name:—

First of all Çitla, Coatzacoalcos and Huaspaltepec,[1] Tepeaca,[2] Chinantla[3] and the pueblos of the Zapotecs and [as well as] other pueblos which are situated on the other side of the river, the province of Copilco, Cimatan and

[1] Guazpaltepeque in the text.

[2] Tepeaca, further on called Tepeca, not to be confounded with Tepeaca near Puebla.

[3] Chinanta in the text.

Tabasco and the mountains of Quechula,[1] all the [land of] the Zoques towards Chiapas,[2] and Zinacantan and all the [land of] the Quilines and Papanaguasta. These pueblos that I have named were held in allotment by us settlers who had settled in that town [of Espíritu Santo] and it would have been better if I had not remained there, for, as it afterwards turned out, the land was poor and many lawsuits arose with three towns which were founded later on. One was with Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, over Huaspaltepec and Chinantla and Tepeaca,[3] another was with the town of Tabasco over Cimatan and Copilco and another with Chiapas over the Quilines and Zoques, another was with Santo Alifonso over the Zapotecs, for all those towns were established after we settled at Coatzacoalcos. Had they left us all the districts that we held we should have been rich. The reason why they established these towns that I have mentioned was that His Majesty sent an order that all the Indian pueblos bordering on or nearest to each town were decreed to be within the boundaries [of that town] so that they clipped our wings on every side and left us in the lurch. This was the reason why, as time went on, Coatzacoalcos was deserted, and from being the best township of honourable Conquistadores that existed in New Spain, it is now a village of a few inhabitants.

To return to our story:—while Sandoval was looking after the peopling of that town and bringing other provinces to peace he received letters saying that a ship had entered the Rio de Ayagualulco, which is a port, although not a very good one, about fifteen leagues distant; and that in it there had come from the Island of Cuba, the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez, surnamed la Marcayda, the wife of Cortés, her brother Juan Juarez,

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[1] Cachula in the text. [2] Chiapa in the text. [3] Tepeca in the text.

who was later on a settler in Mexico, brought her and another lady who was her sister, and there came Villegas, he of Mexico, and his wife [called] the festive,[1] and his children and also the grandmother and many other married women. It also seems to me that Elvira López, [nicknamed] the tall,[2] arrived at that time, she was then the wife of Juan de Palma who came with us and died hanged, and afterwards she was the wife of a certain Argeta and Antonio Diosdado also came, he was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, and many others arrived whose names I do not remember.

As soon as Gonzalo de Sandoval heard about this, he in person and most of us Captains and soldiers went to fetch those ladies and the other persons they had brought in their company. I remember that at the time it rained so heavily we could not travel along the roads nor cross the rivers and streams for they came down so swollen that they overflowed their banks. As there had been heavy northerly gales, it was on account of the rough weather and to avoid being driven ashore that they had put into that port of Ayagualulco. The Señora Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda and all her company were delighted to see us, and we promptly brought all those ladies and their company to our town at Coatzacoalcos. Sandoval sent the news of their arrival to Cortés post haste, and at once took them on the road to Mexico, and Sandoval himself and Briones and Francisco de Lugo and other gentlemen accompanied them.

When Cortés knew of it, it was said that he was very sorry that she had come, but did not show it. He gave orders for their reception and much honour was shown them in all the towns until they arrived in Mexico, and in that City there were rejoicings and tilting with reeds, and

[1] La Zambrana.

[2] La Larga.

within about three months of her arrival we heard a report that one night they found her dead from Asthma and that there had been a banquet the evening before and a great festival. Because I know nothing more about this than I have said we will touch no more on this delicate subject, which other persons spoke about more clearly and openly in the lawsuit that arose out of it later on before the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

Let us cease speaking of this affair that is past and gone and relate what happened to Villafuerte, who went to settle at Zacatula[1] and to Juan Álvarez the less[2] who went to Colima. On Villafuerte they made many attacks and killed some of his soldiers and the country was in revolt and wanted neither to obey nor to pay tribute, and neither more nor less happened with Juan Álvarez. When Cortés heard this he was sorry for it, and as Cristóbal de Olid had come from the affair at Michoacan, and was returning a rich man and had left the country at peace, it seemed to Cortés that he was the right man to go and secure and pacify those provinces of Zacatula and Colima. He [therefore] determined to send him as Captain and gave him fifteen horsemen and thirty musketeers and crossbowmen.

As he went on his way, when he had already arrived near Zacatula, the natives of that province awaited him very valiantly in a bad pass, and killed two soldiers and wounded fifteen, but nevertheless he conquered them and went on to the town where Villafuerte was stationed with the settlers who were established there. These did not care to go to the pueblos which had been apportioned to them lest they [the villagers] should prepare to kill them, as they had already killed four settlers in the pueblos assigned to them, for as a rule they began by appointing *encomenderos* to all the provinces and towns that were

[1] In the State of Guerrero.

[2] Juan Álvarez Chico.

settled, and as soon as these asked the natives for tribute they rose in revolt and killed all the Spaniards they could. When Cristóbal de Olid saw that he had quieted the province and the people had made peace, he went from Zacatula to Colima and found it at war, and he had some encounters with the natives and they wounded many of his soldiers, [however] he defeated them and left them peaceful. I do not know what became of Juan Álvarez Chico who went as Captain. I think he died at that town.

Then Cristóbal de Olid when he had quieted Colima and it appeared to him to be peaceful, returned to Mexico (for he was married to a beautiful Portuguese lady, whom I have already said was named Doña Felipa de Arauz or Zarauz) and he had hardly turned his back when the people of Colima and Zacatula rose again. At the same time Gonzalo de Sandoval had arrived at Mexico with the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda and Juan Juarez and all their company, as I have already related in the Chapter that tells about it. Cortés decided to send him [Sandoval] as captain to pacify those provinces, and with the small number of horsemen that he then gave him and a matter of fifteen crossbowmen and musketeers, all old Conquistadores, he proceeded to Colima and punished two Caciques and handled the affair with such dexterity that the whole country remained completely pacified and never revolted again. He did the same thing at Zacatula and quickly returned to Mexico.

Let us go back to Coatzacoalcos and state that as soon as Gonzalo de Sandoval left for Mexico with the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez nearly all the provinces which had been allotted rose against the settlers and we had the greatest trouble in pacifying them again. The first to revolt was Xaltepec of the Zapotecs, where the people lived among lofty and rugged mountains, and after this the people of Cimatan and Copilco, who live among great

rivers and swamps, rebelled, and other provinces rose in revolt, and even within twelve leagues of the town there were pueblos which killed their encomendero. We marched about quieting them with the greatest difficulty and while we were on an expedition with the Captain Luis Marin and an Alcalde ordinario and all the Regidores of the town, letters came to say that a ship had arrived in port in which had come Juan Bono de Quexo the Biscayan, and that he had come with the ship, which was a small one, up the river as far as the town, and said he had brought letters and decrees from His Majesty to notify us that we should promptly return to the town and desist from the [further] pacification of the province.

When we heard this news, as the Alcalde and the Regidores were [all] in the company of the Lieutenant Luis Marin, we went to see what it was that he [Juan Bono] wanted. After embracing us, and welcoming each other, for Juan Bono was very well known from the time when he came with Narvaez, he said that he begged us to be good enough to assemble in Cabildo as he wished to proclaim certain decrees of His Majesty and of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, the bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, and that he had brought many letters for all. It appears that Juan Bono had brought letters in blank with the signature of the Archbishop, and while they had gone to summon us from the pacification on which we were engaged, Juan Bono found out which of us were Regidores, and in the letter which he brought in blank he wrote the promises that the Bishop sent us if we should give up the country to Cristóbal de Tápia, whom Juan Bono refused to believe had returned to the Island of Santo Domingo, and the Bishop thought for certain that we would not receive him, and for that reason sent Juan Bono with that authority.

He brought to me as a Regidor a letter from the Bishop

himself written by Juan Bono. As soon as we had met in Cabildo and saw his despatches and decrees, (and he would never tell us what they were up to that moment) we quickly got rid of him by saying that Tápia had already returned to Castile, and that he had better go to Mexico where Cortés was, and there he might tell him what was suitable.

As soon as Juan Bono heard that Tápia was not in the country he desisted and was very sorrowful, and the next day he embarked and went to Villa Rica and thence to Mexico. I do not know what took place there, except that I have heard it said that Cortés helped him down to the coast and he returned to Castile.

Let us abstain from telling more stories, but it is right to add that all the time we stayed at that town there were never wanting hardships and conquests of the provinces that had revolted and let us go back and relate how Pedro de Alvarado fared in the expedition to Tututepec[1] and among its people.

CHAPTER CLXI.

How Pedro de Alvarado went to Tututepec to found a town and what happened to him in the pacification of that Province and the founding of the town.

WE must go back a little to recount the setting out of Pedro de Alvarado to found Tututepec, it was as follows:—As soon as the City of Mexico was captured and it was known in all the districts and provinces that such a strong city had been razed to the ground, they sent to congratulate Cortés on his victory and to offer themselves as Vassals of His Majesty, and among the many great pueblos that came at that time there was one called

[1] Tututepeque in the text.

Tehuantepec[1] of the Zapotecs, and they brought a present of gold to Cortés and told him that there were other pueblos in their province somewhat remote named Tututepec which were their inveterate enemies and had come to make war on them because the people of Tehuantepec had given their fealty to His Majesty; that these towns were situated on the South Coast and that the people were very rich in gold in the form of jewels as well as in mines, and they begged Cortés with much importunity to give them horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen to go against their enemies.

Cortés spoke to them very lovingly and told them that he wished to send Tonatio with them, for so they called Pedro de Alvarado, and he promptly gave him over one hundred and eighty soldiers, among them thirty five horsemen, and instructions to demand another twenty soldiers, chiefly crossbowmen, from Francisco de Orozco who was captain of the province of Oaxaca,[2] if that province were peaceable.

Carrying out his orders he [Alvarado] arranged his departure and set out from Mexico in the year [fifteen hundred and] twenty two, and Cortés directed him to go and inspect certain rocky hills on the way, which were called Ulamo, where [the people] were said to be in revolt, but he found them all peaceful and well disposed at that time.

He delayed more than forty days before reaching Tututepec, and the Lord of the pueblo and other chieftains when they knew that he was approaching near to their pueblo went out to receive him peaceably, and took him off to lodge in the most thickly peopled part of the pueblo where the Cacique had his Oratories and his large apart-

[1] Teguantepeque in the text.
[2] Guaxaca in the text.

ments, and the houses were very close one to the other, and they were made of straw, for in that province they have no azoteas as it is a very hot country.

Alvarado took the advice of his Captains and soldiers that it was not a good thing to lodge in those houses so near one to the other, for if they were set on fire they could not protect themselves, and they agreed to go to the end of the pueblo. As soon as they were lodged the Cacique brought him very great presents of gold, and plenty to eat, and every day they stayed there he brought him very rich presents of gold.

As Alvarado saw that they possessed so much gold he ordered them to make some stirrups of fine gold like others which he gave them as patterns and they made and brought them to him. A few days later, he took the Cacique prisoner, because the people of Tehuantepec told Pedro de Alvarado that all that province intended to make war on him, and that when they lodged him among those houses where the Idols and chambers stood that it was in order to set fire to them, so that all of them [the Spaniards] should perish ; and for this reason he made him prisoner. Other Spaniards of good faith and worthy of credence said that it was in order to extort much gold [from him] without bringing him to trial that he died in prison, and this is now accepted as certain, that one way or the other, that Cacique gave to Pedro de Alvarado over thirty thousand pesos, and he died from anger and from his imprisonment, and the Caciqueship went to his son, and he [Alvarado] got from him more gold than from his father. Then he sent to visit the pueblos in the neighbourhood and distributed them among the settlers and founded a town to which was given the name of Segura, because most of the settlers who peopled it had been formerly inhabitants of Segura de la Frontera, which was Tepeaca.

When this was accomplished and he had collected to-

gether a good sum in pesos de oro he took it to Mexico to give to Cortés.

It is also said that Cortés himself wrote to him that he should bring with him all the gold he was able to collect, in order to send it to His Majesty, because the Frenchmen had stolen all that he had sent by Alonzo de Ávila and Quiñones, and that he should give no share of it to any one of the soldiers who were in his company.

When Alvarado was already prepared to start for Mexico certain soldiers most of them musketeers and crossbowmen, formed a conspiracy to kill Pedro de Alvarado and his brothers on the following day, because he was carrying off the gold without giving them their share, although they had begged for it many times, but he would not give it up, also because he did not give them good assignments of Indians. If a soldier named Trebejo who was in the conspiracy had not revealed the plot to him, they would have attacked them the following night. When Alvarado knew about it, (and they told him about the hour of vespers) he went out hunting on horseback near some huts, and some of those who were in the plot went on horseback in his company. Then to deceive them he said "Señores, I have got such a stitch in my side, let us go back to our quarters and call me a barber to bleed me."

As soon as he got back he sent to summon his brothers Jorge, Gonzalo and Gómez, all Alvarados, and the Alcaldes and Aguazils, and they seized those who were in the plot and according to verdict they hanged two of them, one named something de Salamanca a native of the county [of Salamanca], who had been a pilot, and the other named Bernaldino the Levantine, and with these two hangings he pacified the others, and he set off at once for Mexico with all the gold, and left the town settled. When the inhabitants who remained in the town saw that the allotments

that had been given them were no good and that the country was unhealthy and very hot, and many of them were ill, and the servants and slaves they had brought with them had died, and that there were many bats and mosquitos and even bed bugs, and above all that Alvarado had not divided the gold among them but had taken it with him, they decided to avoid wrangling and to abandon the settlement. Many of them went to Mexico, others to Oaxaca and they scattered over other parts.

When Cortés heard of this he sent to make enquiry about it, and he found out that the abandonment was agreed upon by the Alcades and Magistrates in Cabildo, and those who were concerned in it were condemned to death, and they appealed, and the punishment was [reduced to] banishment. This is what happened in the matter of Tututepec which was never afterwards peopled because it was unhealthy although the land was rich. When the natives of that country saw that the place was abandoned and what Alvarado had done was without reason or justice, they rebelled again, and Pedro de Alvarado returned to them and summoned them to make peace and without need to attack them they became peaceful.

Let us leave this and say that when Cortés had got together over eighty thousand pesos de oro to send to His Majesty together with the Phœnix tax he had invented, news came at that time that Francisco de Garay had arrived at Panuco with a great fleet, and what was done about it I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXII.

How Francisco de Garay came from Jamaica to Panuco with a great fleet, and what happened to him and many things that took place.

As I have already said in another Chapter which deals with Francisco de Garay, he was a rich man and the Governor of the Island of Jamaica. He had heard news of our discovery of very rich lands during the expeditions of Hernando de Córdova and Juan de Grijalva, and how we had carried off twenty thousand pesos de oro to the Island of Cuba, and Diego Velásquez who was Governor of that Island had got possession of them, and that at that very time Cortés was setting out with another fleet, and Garay had a covetous desire to go and conquer some lands [himself.] He had much better equipment than any of the others, and he obtained news and information from Anton de Alaminos (whom we had brought as chief pilot when we made our discoveries) to the effect that from the Rio Panuco onwards there were very rich and thickly populated countries, which he might petition His Majesty to grant him.

After Garay had been thoroughly informed by the Pilot Alaminos about the discovery, and by other pilots who were with Alaminos at the time of the discovery, he determined to send his Mayordomo, named Juan Torralva, with money and letters to the court to beg the gentlemen who at that time were president and judges for His Majesty to bestow upon him the Government of the Rio de Panuco and whatever further country he might discover and settle. As at that time His Majesty was in Flanders and Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano was president of the Council of the Indies and directed everything with the Licentiate

Zapata and the Licentiate Vargas and the Secretary Lope de Conchillas, they sent him [Francisco de Garay] a commission as Adelantado of the Rio San Pedro and San Pablo and all [the land] he could explore. On the strength of this commission he immediately despatched three ships with as many as two hundred and forty soldiers with many horses and musketeers and crossbowmen and sent as their captain a certain Alonzo de Álvarez Pineda or Pinedo often mentioned by me before.

When he sent that fleet, as I have already related, the Indians of Panuco defeated it and killed the Captain Pineda and all the horses and soldiers he had with him, except about seventy soldiers who came to the Port of Vera Cruz in a ship under the command of Camargo and joined our company.

When Garay received no news of those ships, he sent two other ships after them with many soldiers, horses, and supplies under the command of Miguel Díaz de Ausuz and a certain Ramíres, already mentioned by me many times. These also came to our port when they had ascertained that neither hair nor hide of those already sent by Garay was to be found at the Rio Panuco, except the two wrecked ships. All these things I have already told in my story, but it is necessary to go back to the beginning so that it may be clearly understood. Now to return to our business and story. When Francisco de Garay saw that he had already expended many pesos de oro, and he heard of the good fortune of Cortés, and of the great cities that he had discovered, and about the great amount of gold and jewels that there was in the country, he grew more envious and covetous than ever, and his desire increased to come in person and bring the largest fleet he could, and he hunted up eleven ships and two sloops which made a total of . . . . sail and he got together one hundred and thirty six horses and eight hundred and forty soldiers, most of

them musketeers and crossbowmen, and he fitted them out well with all that was necessary, which was cassava bread and salt pork and sun-dried beef, for there was already a sufficiency of cattle, and as he was a rich man, and it all came from his own crops he did not feel the expense, and there was a superabundance of men and horses who flocked to the Island of Jamaica for the equipment of that fleet.

In the year fifteen hundred and twenty three he started from Jamaica with all his fleet on the day of San Juan de Junio[1] and reached the Island of Cuba at a port named Xagua, and there he learned that Cortés had already pacified the whole Province of Panuco and established a town and had spent in the pacification more than sixty thousand pesos de oro, and had sent to petition His Majesty to grant him the Government of that country as well as that of New Spain. When they told him of the heroic actions done by Cortés and his companions in New Spain, and when he heard the news that with two hundred and sixty six soldiers we had defeated Pánfilo de Narvaez who had brought with him over thirteen hundred soldiers including a hundred horsemen and as many more musketeers and crossbowmen and eighteen cannon, he felt afraid of Cortés's good fortune. During the time that Garay was at the port of Xagua many settlers in the Island of Cuba came to see him and eight or ten of the principal persons of that town joined his company, and the Licentiate Zuazo who, under orders from the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, had come to that Island to take the *Residencia*[2] of Diego Velásquez also came to see him. When Garay was conversing with the Licentiate about Cortés's good fortune and [saying] that he feared he would have trouble with him about the Province of Panuco,

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[1] Midsummer Day.

[2] Residencia. The examination and formal account demanded of a person holding Public Office.

[he] Garay begged him [the Licentiate] to go with him on that voyage to act as mediator between him and Cortés, and the Licentiate replied that he could not go at that time before he had taken the Residencia, but that he would be there soon.

Then Garay at once gave orders to set sail and steer in the direction of Panuco, and he had a stormy time on the way, and the pilots he had with him went higher up towards the Rio de Palmas and he dropped anchor in the river itself on Santiago's day, and at once sent to examine the country. The captains and soldiers whom he sent did not consider it a good country, or had no wish to stay there but to go on to the Rio de Panuco proper (because it was nearer to Mexico), and to the settlement and town that Cortés had established. When that news was brought to him Garay decided to exact an oath from all his soldiers that they would not desert their banners and would obey him as their Captain General. He appointed Alcaldes and Magistrates and all that was necessary for a town, and he said that the town was to be called Garayana. He ordered all the horses and soldiers to be disembarked and when the ships were empty he sent them along the coast under a captain named Grijalva, and he [Garay] and all his army went by land along the coast near to the sea, and he marched for two days through a bad uninhabited marshy country, and crossed a river which came from some mountains which they could see from the road, at a distance of about five leagues, and they crossed that great river on rafts and in some broken canoes which they found. As soon as they had crossed the river they came on a pueblo which had been deserted that very day, and found plenty to eat, maize, and even poultry, and there were plenty of very good guavas. Then in that pueblo Garay captured certain Indians who understood a little of the Mexican language. He flattered them and gave them shirts and

sent them as messengers to other pueblos which they told him were near by, in order that they should receive him peaceably. After going round a marsh, he went on to some pueblos, which were those spoken about, and they received him peaceably and gave him plenty to eat and many fowls of the country and other birds like geese which they captured in the lagoons. As many of the soldiers he took with him were wearied, and it seems that he did not give them the things the Indians had brought for them to eat, some of them mutinied, and went off to rob the Indians of the pueblos through which they had passed. They halted in this pueblo for three days, and on the following day they went on their way with guides and reached a great river which they were unable to cross without canoes which were supplied by the Indians of the peaceable pueblos where they had halted. They managed to take over all the horses by swimming, each canoe as it was rowed across leading a horse by a halter, and the horses were numerous and not very clever. On emerging from the river they got into some bad swamps and after suffering great hardship arrived at the land of Panuco.

When they arrived there they expected to find food, but all the towns were stripped of maize and other supplies, and were much disturbed, and this was on account of the wars Cortés had waged against them a short time before. If they possessed any food they had garnered it and placed it in safety, for when they saw so many Spaniards and horses they were afraid of them and deserted their pueblos, and where Garay looked for repose he found more hardship. In addition to this as the houses where they lodged had been deserted there were many bats and bugs and mosquitos, and everything went against them. Next another ill fortune befel them, the ships which were coming along the coast and bringing plentiful supplies had

not reached port nor had they been heard of. This they learned from a Spaniard who came to visit them or whom they found in a town which belonged to the settlers who were established at the town of Santistevan del Puerto. This man had fled from fear of punishment for a crime that he had committed, and he told them that there was a [Spanish] settlement very near by, and that in Mexico there was very good land and that the settlers who lived there were rich. When the soldiers whom Garay had brought with him heard from this Spaniard who conversed with them that the land in Mexico was good, and that of Panuco was not as good, many of them deserted and started for the pueblos to loot them, and went on to Mexico.

About that time, seeing that his soldiers were in revolt and he was not able to prevent it, Garay sent one of his Captains named Ocampo to the town of Santistevan to find out the intentions of Cortes's lieutenant, named Pedro de Vallejo, and he even wrote to him informing him that he brought commissions and authority from His Majesty constituting him Governor and Adelantado of those provinces and how he had made the Rio de Palmas in his ships, and about the bad road and the hardships that he had endured. Vallejo paid much honour to Ocampo and those who went with him, and gave them a pleasant reply, and told them that Cortés would be delighted to have such a good neighbour as Governor but that the conquest of that country had been a great expense to him and that His Majesty had been pleased to grant the government to him, but that he [Garay] could come when he pleased with his army and that he would do all he could to serve him, and he begged him to order his soldiers to do no injury to the Indians and not to rob them, for two pueblos had come to him to complain about it. After saying this Vallejo wrote post

haste to Cortés, and even sent him Garay's letter, and also made Gonzalo de Ocampo himself write another letter.

He sent to ask what Cortés's orders were and [to say] that he must either send many soldiers promptly or must come in person.

As soon as Cortés saw the letter he sent to summon Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Diego de Ocampo, a brother of the Gonzalo de Ocampo who had come with Garay, and he sent with them the authority that he held showing that His Majesty had commanded that all that he might conquer should be held by himself until the question of rights between him and Diego Velásquez should be cleared up and that this should be notified to Garay.

Let us stop talking about this and say that when Gonzalo de Ocampo returned with the answer of Vallejo to Francisco de Garay, it seemed to him a good answer and he came with all his army to occupy [a position] even nearer to the town of Santistevan del Puerto. Pedro de Vallejo, acting upon the information obtained from five of Garay's soldiers who had come to the town [of Santistevan], that the mutineers had halted in a fine and large town called Nachapalan and were very careless and never kept watch, had already made his arrangements with the settlers in the town [Santistevan], so Vallejo's men who knew the country well fell on Garay's people and captured over forty soldiers and carried them off to their town of Santistevan del Puerto. These men were glad of their imprisonment and the reason Vallejo gave for capturing them was that they went about looting the country without showing the commissions and authority that he [Garay] had brought.

When Garay saw this he was much distressed and again sent to Vallejo to say that he must release his soldiers, threatening him with punishment from our Lord and King.

Vallejo answered that as soon as he should see the Royal commissions he would obey them and place them on his head, and it would have been better for Ocampo to have brought and displayed them when he came, so that they might be carried out, and he begged him to order his soldiers to desist from robbing and looting His Majesty's pueblos. At that moment the captains arrived whom Cortés sent with his powers, and as Diego de Ocampo was at that time chief Alcalde for Cortés in Mexico, he began by issuing injunctions against Garay to prevent him entering the country, because His Majesty had commanded that Cortés was to hold it. Several days were taken up with demands and replies, and meanwhile each day many of Garay's soldiers deserted, they were present at dusk and absent at dawn, and Garay saw that Cortés's captains brought with them many horsemen and musketeers and that more arrived every day, and he learned that he had lost two of his ships which he had sent along the coast in a northerly gale which is a foul wind. The Lieutenant Vallejo sent to request the other ships, which were at the mouth of the harbour, to come at once into the river lest some disaster and storm like the last should overtake them, if not that he should treat them as pirates who go about and plunder. The captains of the ships replied that Vallejo had no business to give orders in the matter, and that they would come in when they chose. Just then Francisco de Garay was afraid of Cortés's good luck, and during this critical time the chief Alcalde Diego de Ocampo and Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval held secret conversations with the followers of Garay, and with the captains who were in the ships in port, and arranged with them to come into the harbour and go over to Cortés. Martin de San Juan a native of Lepusco and Castro Mocho, ship masters, surrendered themselves with their ships to the Lieutenant Vallejo for Cortés, and

as he held the ship in the name of Cortés, Vallejo went in them to demand of the Captain Juan de Grijalva, who was [still] at the entrance of the port either to come inside and anchor, or go off to sea whenever he pleased. He [Grijalva] answered him by firing many shots at him. Then they sent a King's notary named Vicente López in a boat to ask him to come into the port, and he also carried letters to Grijalva from Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval and from Diego de Ocampo with offers and promises that Cortés would grant him favours. When he saw the letters and that all the other ships had entered the river, Juan de Grijalva did so also with his flagship, and Vallejo told him that he was a prisoner in the name of the Captain Hernando Cortés; but he released him at once as well as the others who had been arrested.

When Garay saw how little authority he possessed and that his soldiers had deserted and mutinied, and his ships had gone ashore and the rest were taken for Cortés, if he was very sorrowful before they took them from him, he was still more so when he saw himself worsted, and he promptly demanded with many protests made to Cortes's captains, that they should give him back his ships and all his soldiers as he wished to return and settle at the Rio de Palmas, and he exhibited the commissions and authority that he had brought for that purpose, and in order to have neither contentions nor quarrels with Cortés he wished to go back. Those gentlemen answered that he might go and good luck attend him, and that they would order all the mutinous soldiers who were in the province and the pueblos to return at once to their captain and go in the ships, and they would order everything to be supplied to him that was necessary as well in the matter of food as of arms and cannon and powder, and that they would write to Cortés so that he might supply very fully everything of which there was need.

Garay was contented with this reply and offer, and a proclamation was promptly made in that town and in all the pueblos, and Alguaciles were despatched to seize the mutinous soldiers and bring them to Garay. Notwithstanding all the penalties that were threatened the proclamation was in vain, and profited nothing; some of those who were brought in as prisoners said that having arrived in the province of Panuco they were no longer bound to follow him [Garay], nor to keep the oath that he had exacted from them, and others were more outspoken and said that Garay was not a captain who knew how to command, nor a fighting man. When Garay saw that proclamations were of no avail, nor the kindly efforts which Cortés's captains seemed to him to be making to bring in his soldiers, he was in despair. Then, when he saw himself abandoned by all, the gentlemen who had come from Cortés advised him to write at once to Cortés himself and they would act as intercessors with him in order that he should return to the Rio de Palmas, [saying] that they believed Cortés to be so well disposed that he would help him in all that he was able, and that Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval would be surety for it, and would see that he carried it out.

Garay promptly wrote to Cortés giving him a very full account of his voyage, misfortune and hardships, [and said that] if his excellency ordered it he would come to see him and communicate things helpful to the service of God and His Majesty, commending his honour and estate to him [Cortés] and begging him to carry it [the order] out in a way which would in no way diminish his [Garay's] honour. Pedro de Alvarado, Diego de Ocampo and Gonzalo de Sandoval also wrote entreating Cortés on Garay's behalf that he should be assisted in every way.

As they had been great friends in times gone by, when Cortés saw those letters he was moved to pity Garay and

answered him with much gentleness that he was sorry for all his hardships and that he should come to Mexico and he promised to help him in every way he could with the greatest good will, and he should trust to his power, and he ordered that wherever he should pass great honour be paid him and everything provided that he stood in need of, and he even sent refreshments for him along the road, and when he arrived at Texcoco he had a banquet prepared for him and on his arriving at Mexico Cortés and many gentlemen went out to meet him, and Garay was confounded at seeing so many cities and more so when he saw the great city of Mexico. Cortés at once took him off to his palaces which were then being newly built.

When Cortés and Garay found themselves together, Garay related to Cortés his misfortunes and hardships and charged him to amend matters. Cortés promised it to him very willingly and even Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval proved themselves friendly intercessors, and within three or four days of his arrival there was talk of marrying a daughter of Cortés named Doña Catalina Cortés or Pizarro, who was a child, to a son of Garay, who was his heir, (and Cortés promised him as a dowry with Doña Catalina Cortés a great number of pesos de oro,) and that Garay himself should go to settle at the Rio de Palmas, and Cortés would supply him with everything that was needful for the settlement and pacification of that province, and he even promised to give him some of his own captains and soldiers so that with their help he would be relieved from anxiety in the wars that might ensue, and with these promises and the good will that Garay met with from Cortés he was very cheerful, and I am convinced that Cortés would carry it out in the way he had agreed and arranged.

Let us leave all this about the marriage and the promises and I will relate how at that time Garay went to lodge in

the house of Alonzo de Villanueva, because Cortés was building his houses and palaces and they were of vast size and had as many courts as the Labyrinth of Crete and as it appears that Alonzo de Villanueva had been in Jamaica, when Cortés sent him to purchase horses, (but I cannot say for certain if this was then or afterwards) he was a very great friend of Garay, and on account of this acquaintance Garay himself begged Cortés that he might go to Villanueva's house, and he [Cortés] paid him all the honour he could and all the settlers in Mexico did the same.

I wish to say that Pánfilo de Narvaez, (he whom we had defeated, as I have already related before) was in Mexico at that time, and he came to visit and talk to Francisco de Garay, and they embraced one another and each one began to talk of his hardships and misfortunes, and Narvaez who spoke very freely in the course of conversation said, half laughing, Señor Adelantado Don Francisco de Garay I have been told by some of the soldiers who mutinied and deserted from you that you said to the gentlemen whom you brought in your fleet "Look to it that we behave like men and fight stoutly against these soldiers of Cortés, do not let them catch us unprepared as they caught Narvaez." Well! Señor Francisco de Garay, when they fought with me they destroyed this eye, and robbed from me and burned all I possessed and even killed my ensign and many soldiers and they captured my captains but they never caught me as unprepared as they have told you I was. I would have you know that there has never been in the world so lucky a man as Cortés, and he has such captains and soldiers that one can quote each one of them as fortunate in his undertakings as Octavius, in conquests as Julius Cæsar, and in overcoming difficulties and fighting battles as Hannibal. Garay replied, there was no necessity to tell him so, one could see what he had

stated in their deeds, for what [other] man in all the world would, with so few soldiers, have dared to run his ships ashore, and trust himself to make war among such strong towns and great cities.

Narvaez answered reciting other great deeds and praises of Cortés and one and the other kept up the talk about the conquest of this New Spain in the manner of a conference.

Let us leave these flatteries that took place between them and say how Garay begged Cortés to give Narvaez permission to return to the Island of Cuba to his wife named Maria de Valenzuela who was rich on account of the mines and the good Indians which Narvaez owned, and, in addition to Garay begging it of him with many entreaties, the wife of Narvaez herself had sent to beg Cortés in writing to let her husband go, for it appears they were known to one another when Cortés was living in Cuba, and they were compadres.[1] So Cortés gave him permission and assisted him with two thousand pesos de oro. As soon as Narvaez received this permission he humbled himself greatly before Cortés, and after first promising him that in all matters he would be his servant, he went off promptly to Cuba.

We will not talk any more about this, but state what was the end of Garay and his fleet, and it was this, that on going one Christmas night in the year fifteen hundred and twenty three, in company with Cortés to Matins, after returning from the church, they breakfasted with much merriment, and an hour later, Garay was caught in a sudden draught and not having been well before, was taken with pleurisy and high fever. Doctors were sent for to bleed and purge him and when they saw that the malady was increasing they told him that he had better confess and make his will, which he did at once and left Cortés as executor, and after receiving the holy Sacra-

[1] The relationship between godfather and godmother.

ments, within four days of being taken ill he gave up his soul to our Lord Jesus Christ who created it. The land of Mexico has this peculiarity, that within three or four days they die of this malady of a pain in the side [pleurisy] as I have already stated before, as we had already learned by experience when we were at Texcoco and Coyoacan and so many of our soldiers died. So Garay was dead, may God pardon him. Amen. They paid high honour to him in his funeral and Cortés and other gentlemen put on mourning.

As there were some malicious persons who were on bad terms with Cortés, there were not wanting those who said that he had ordered arsenic to be given Garay in his breakfast and it was great wickedness on the part of those who thus slandered him, for he certainly died a natural death and the doctors Ojeda and the Licentiate Pedro López, who attended him, swore that it was so.

Garay died away from his own country, and in a strange house and far from his wife and children.

Let us cease talking about this and speak again of the province of Panuco. When Garay had come away to Mexico, as his captains and soldiers had no chief nor any one to command them, they wished to make captain one of the soldiers whom I will here name, whom Garay brought in his company, these were called Juan de Grijalva, Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonzo de Mendoza, Lorenzo de Ulloa, Juan de Medina the squint-eyed, Juan Dávila, Antonio de la Cerda, and one Taborda, this Taborda was the most turbulent of all those in Garay's camp, and over all of them there was appointed as Captain a son of Garay whom Cortés wished to marry to his daughter, but they did not respect him or pay any attention to him, neither those whom I have named nor any others of his company, on the contrary, they got together in parties of fifteen or twenty and went about robbing the pueblos and seizing by

force the women and the cloths and poultry as though they were in the land of the Moors robbing whatsoever they could find.

When the Indians of that province observed this, they agreed one and all to kill them, and within a few days they sacrificed and ate more than five hundred Spaniards all belonging to Garay's party. In one pueblo it happened that they sacrificed more than one hundred Spaniards together; in most of the pueblos they only killed, sacrificed and ate the stray Spaniards who were wandering about, for these could neither offer resistance nor would they obey the settlers of the town of Santistevan which Cortés had established. When they [the settlers] sallied out to make war on them [the Indians,] the multitude of warriors was so great that they could avail nothing against them, and things came to such a pass, and the Indians grew so daring, that many of them attacked the town and fought so boldly by day and by night, that it ran great risk of being taken, and had it not been for seven or eight Conquistadores, old followers of Cortés, and for the Captain Vallejo, who posted sentinels and went the rounds and encouraged the rest, [the Indians] would certainly have entered the town. Those Conquistadores told the rest of the soldiers of Garay that they must always endeavour to keep close to them in the field, and that there in the open they were much better off and that they should not return to the town, and so it was done, and they fought with them [the Indians] three times and although the Captain Vallejo was killed and many others were wounded they defeated the Indians and killed many of them. All the Indians, natives of that province, (I cannot now remember the name of it) were so furious that on one night they burned to ashes forty Spaniards and killed fifteen horses, and many of the men were followers of Cortés and all the rest followers of Garay.

When Cortés came to know about the havoc they wrought in this province he was so angry that he wished to go against them in person, but as he was very ill with a broken arm he could not go, and he promptly ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go with a hundred soldiers, fifty horsemen, two cannon and fifteen musketeers and crossbowmen and he gave him eight thousand Tlaxcalans and Mexicans and he ordered him, not to return until he left them well punished so that they could not revolt again.

Sandoval was very valiant, and when he was entrusted with matters of importance neither slept at night nor delayed long on the road, and he gave orders to the horsemen with the greatest forethought how they were to charge in and out among the enemy. As he had received news that all the companies of warriors of those provinces were awaiting him at two bad passes, he determined to send one half of his army to one bad pass, and he halted with the other half of his company on the other pass, and he gave orders to all the musketeers and crossbowmen that only some of them should fire while the others loaded, and that they should attack the enemy and see if they could put them to flight. The enemy shot off many javelins, arrows and stones and wounded eight soldiers and many of our allies. When Sandoval saw that he could not get through them, he stayed at that pass until it was night and sent to order the others who were at the other pass to do the same. The enemy never deserted their posts, and the following morning when Sandoval saw that he was not gaining any advantage by stayihg there as he had ordered, he sent to summon the other companies, whom he had sent to the other bad pass, and made them strike camp and return on the road to Mexico as though they were frightened. When the natives of those provinces who were close by thought that they were retreating through fear, they came out into

the road and followed after them yelling and shouting out insults, and although more Indians were coming out in his rear, still Sandoval never turned on them, and this was to put them off their guard so that as they had already stood waiting there three days, he could return and get through the bad passes that night with all his army. This he did returning at midnight and, catching them somewhat off their guard, he got through with his horsemen, but it was not so free from danger, for they killed three of his horses and wounded many soldiers. As soon as he found himself and his armies in good country and clear of the bad pass, he on one side and the rest of his company on the other, fell on the great squadrons which had collected together that night as soon as they knew that he had turned back, and they were so numerous that Sandoval had some misgiving lest they should break his ranks and rout him, and he ordered his soldiers to close upon him so that they might fight together, for he saw and understood that enemies of that sort would come like rabid tigers and throw themselves on the points of their swords. They had already captured six lances from the horsemen who were not men accustomed to warfare, and Sandoval was so angry at this that he said it would have been better to bring fewer soldiers [but men] whom he knew, instead of those he had brought.

He there gave instructions to the horsemen who had lately arrived how they were to fight, that is with their lances held rather short, and not to stop to give thrusts, except at the faces, and to press on ahead until the enemy were put to flight, and he told them that it was a well-known thing that if they stopped to give thrusts that the first thing the wounded Indian did was to catch hold of the lance; that as soon as they saw the enemy turn tail that then they should follow them at an easy pace the lance still held short, and if they [the Indians] should catch hold of the lance, (for even then they will grab at them,)

they should put spurs to their horse, and wrest it quickly out of their hands, holding the lance tightly with the hand and firmly grasped under the arm so as to gain more strength to drag it from the power of the enemy, and if he would not leave go to drag him along by the strength of the horse.

Then when he had already given them orders how they were to fight and had seen all his soldiers and horsemen closed up together, he camped that night on the banks of a river, and there he stationed good sentinels, and watchmen and patrols and ordered the horses to be kept saddled and bitted throughout the night, and the musketeers crossbowmen and soldiers all to be on the alert. He ordered the Tlaxcalans and Mexicans to encamp their companies a little way apart from us, for he already had experience in the affairs at Mexico that if the enemy were to come during the night to attack the camps our allies would be no hindrance to them. Sandoval was afraid they would come because he had observed companies of the enemy gathering together very near his camps, and made sure they must come and attack us that night, and he heard many yells and trumpets and drums very near by. It was understood that our allies had told Sandoval what the enemy were saying, that as soon as dawn came they intended to kill Sandoval and all his company. The patrols came twice to give notice that troops were being called together from many parts and were assembling, and as soon as there was daylight Sandoval commanded all his companies to set out in grand array. He once more reminded the horsemen of what he had often told them before, and they advanced through the field towards some huts where they heard the drums and trumpets, and they had hardly gone a quarter of a league before three squadrons of warriors came out to meet him and began to surround them. When he saw that he ordered half of the

horsemen to attack them on one side and the other half on the other, and although they killed two of the soldiers who had lately come from Castile, and three horses, still he broke them up in such a way that from that time on he kept on killing and wounding them and they did not get together as before. Then our allies the Mexicans and Tlaxcalans did much damage in all those pueblos, and captured many persons and set fire to all the pueblos they found before them until Sandoval was able to reach the town of Santistevan del Puerto and found the settlers in such a state and so weakened that they kept inside, some of them badly wounded and others ill, and what was worse they had no corn to eat neither they nor the twenty eight horses, and this was because they were attacked both by day and by night and they had no opportunity to bring in maize or anything else, and up to the very day that Sandoval arrived they [the Indians] had not desisted from attacking them, but they then abandoned the attack.

After all the settlers of that town had gone to see and speak to Captain Sandoval and to give him thanks and praise for having come to them in time to rescue them, they told him about Garay and that had it not been for seven or eight old Conquistadores, followers of Cortés, who helped them greatly, they would have run great risk of losing their lives, for those eight [soldiers] went out every day into the open, and made the other soldiers go out also and held out so that the enemy could not get into the town, for they acted as leaders and everything was done according to their advice, and they ordered the sick and wounded to stay inside the town and all the rest to wait in the open, and in that way they held out against the enemy.

Sandoval embraced them all and ordered these same Conquistadores, whom he knew well and who were his friends, especially one Navàrrete y Carracosa and one de

Alamilla and five others, all followers of Cortés, to divide among them the horsemen, musketeers, and cross-bowmen which [he] Sandoval had brought with him, and go in two directions and bring in maize and supplies and make war and capture all the people they were able, especially the Caciques. Sandoval gave these orders because he could not go himself as he was badly wounded in the thigh, and had been struck by a stone in the face. Many other soldiers in his company were wounded, and so that they should get cured he stayed in the town for three days and did not go out to make war, for as he had sent out the captains already mentioned, and knew that they would do well, and saw that they quickly sent in maize and supplies, on this account he remained in camp for three days.

They also sent him many Indian women and common people who had been captured and five chieftains who had been captains in the wars, and Sandoval ordered them to free all the common people except the chieftains, and sent them word that from that time onwards only those should be taken who were concerned in the death of Spaniards, and no women nor boys, and that with kindly words they should send to summon them, and they did so.

Certain soldiers from among those who had come with Garay who were persons of importance whom Sandoval found in that town, and who were those through whose doings those provinces had risen in revolt, (I have already named most of them in the last chapter) when they observed that nothing whatever was apportioned to them by the followers of Cortés, began to murmur among themselves and they even persuaded other soldiers to speak evil of Sandoval and his actions, and even began to talk of raising an insurrection in the country, under the pretence that the son of Francisco de Garay was there with them as Adelantado. When Sandoval got to know about it, he spoke very clearly to them and said "Gentlemen, instead

of thinking well of me, because thanks to God, I came to your assistance, I have been told that you say things that gentlemen such as you are should not say, I am not depriving you of your position and honour by sending those whom I found here as leaders and captains, if I had found your honours here as commanders how base would I have been, if I had deprived you of your commands. I should like to know one thing. Why were you not commanders before the siege was raised? What you have one and all told me, is that if it had not been for those seven old soldiers that you would have suffered greater hardships, and as they knew the country better than your honours for that reason I appointed them. Therefore gentlemen in all our conquests in Mexico we do not consider these points and matters, but only how to serve His Majesty well and loyally; and thus I beg that from now onwards you will do the same. I shall not stay in this province many days, unless they kill me here, as I am going to Mexico. The man who will be left here as lieutenant of Cortés will give you plenty of employment, as for me, grant me your pardon."

With this he finished with them, yet they did not give up their ill will towards him. After this had taken place Sandoval promptly set out the following day with those whom he had brought in his company from Mexico, and with the seven whom he had sent out, and he had such a method that he captured as many as twenty Caciques all of them concerned in the death of over six hundred Spaniards who had been killed, partly followers of Garay, and partly followers of Cortés who had remained as settlers in the town. He also sent to summon all the other towns to make peace, and many of them came, and with the others he forgave it although they did not come. When this was done he wrote post haste to Cortés giving him an account of all that had happened, and [asking] what his

orders were with regard to the prisoners, and as Vallejo (whom Cortés had appointed his lieutenant) was dead of an arrow wound, who should be put in his place? He also wrote to say that the soldiers, mentioned by me, had behaved like very brave men. When Cortés saw the letter he was delighted that the province was already at peace, and at the time the letter was given to Cortés there were in his company many gentlemen who were Conquistadores and others who had come from Spain, and Cortés said before them all "Oh! Gonzalo de Sandoval under what great obligation I am to you and of how many difficulties you relieve me." And all praised him highly, saying that he was a very perfect captain, and might be classed among the most famous.

Let us leave these praises and say that Cortés promptly wrote [to say] that, in order that with more justification he could legally punish those who were concerned in the death of so many Spaniards and robberies of goods and deaths of horses, he would send the chief Alcalde Diego de Ocampo to act as judge, and the punishment to which he would justly sentence them should be carried out, and he ordered him as far as he was able to appease the natives of that province, and not allow the followers of Garay nor any other persons whatever to rob or illtreat them.

When Sandoval saw the letter and that Diego de Ocampo was coming he was rejoiced at it, and within two days of the arrival of the chief Alcalde Ocampo, after Sandoval had given him an account of what he had done and what had happened, they commenced a suit against the captains and Caciques who were concerned in the deaths of the Spaniards, and on account of their confessions they pronounced sentence against them and some of them they hanged and burned, and others they pardoned and they gave the office of Cacique to their sons and brothers to whom it would descend by right.

When this had been done, it appears that Diego de Ocampo brought instructions and orders from Cortés for an enquiry as to who those were who invaded and robbed the country and busied themselves in factions and quarrels enticing other soldiers to mutiny, and he ordered that they should be made to embark in a ship and sent to the Island of Cuba, and he even sent two thousand pesos for Juan de Grijalva if he should wish to return to Cuba [and said] that if he wished to remain he would help him and give him full permission to come to Mexico and the end of many arguments was that all willingly wished to return to the Island of Cuba where they owned Indians, so he ordered them to be given plentiful supplies of maize and poultry and all the things that the country produced and they returned to their homes in the Island of Cuba.

As soon as this was done Sandoval and Diego de Ocampo returned to Mexico where they were well received by Cortés and all the City, and from that time onwards that province never revolted again. Let us cease to speak further about it and relate what happened to the Licentiate Zuazo in the voyage when he came from Cuba to New Spain.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

How the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo came in a Caravel to New Spain and ran on some Islands called Las Víboras (the Vipers) and what else happened to him.

AS I have already related in the last chapter, which speaks about the visit of the Licentiate Zuazo to Francisco de Garay at the Port of Xagua which is in the Island of Cuba, near to La Trinidad, and how Garay pressed him to come along in his fleet so as to act as mediator between him and Cortés, because he was well aware that disputes over the Government of Panuco were sure to arise, and Zuazo

promised to do so after he had rendered an account of the Residencia, for the responsibility rested with him of seeing justice done in that Island of Cuba where he was at present living. As soon as he [Zuazo] was through with his work he hastened to hand in his reports and to set sail and get to New Spain whither he had promised to go. He embarked in a small ship and whilst proceeding on his voyage, after passing the Point called San Anton, which is also called the land of the Guanataveys, who are savage Indians and do not serve Spaniards, sailing in his ship which was of small burden, either because his pilot mistook the course or because the course was varied by currents, he struck on some islands which are among the shoals known as Las Víboras. Not far distant from these shoals are others called Los Alacranes, and among these Islands large ships have often been lost, and what saved the life of Zuazo was that his ship was of small burden.

To return to our story; so as to get the ship to an Island which they saw near-by, which was not flooded by the sea, they threw overboard much salt pork and other things which they had brought as ship's stores so as to lighten the ship and be able to reach the island without touching ground. Then a great number of sharks fell on the pork, and were so greedy that they seized one of the sailors who had jumped into the water, which was up to their waists, and tore him to pieces and swallowed him, and if the rest of the sailors had not quickly returned to the Caravel all would have perished, as the sharks were inflamed with the blood of the sailor they had killed. Using their best efforts they reached the Island with the Caravel, and as they had already thrown into the sea the supplies and cassava bread, they had nothing to eat, nor any water to drink, nor fire, nor anything else with which to sustain themselves, save only some sun-dried beef which they had failed to throw into

the sea. By good luck they had brought in the Caravel two Cuban Indians who knew how to make fire with some small dry sticks which they found on the Island to which they were carried, and with these they made fire, and they dug in a sand beach and got out some brackish water. As the Island was small and had sand beaches, many turtles as broad and round and bigger than large shields, came to lay their eggs there, and as they came out [of the water] the Cuban Indians turned them over with their shells upwards, and each one of them was wont to lay over two hundred eggs about the size of ducks' eggs, so with these turtles and many eggs they had enough to sustain the thirteen persons who escaped to that Island. They also killed some seals which came out by night to the sand beach and were very good as food.

Finding themselves in this condition, as there happened to have come in the Caravel two ships carpenters and who had their tools with them, they determined to build a boat in which to sail, and with the boards, nails, tow, tackle and sails which they took from the ship that was wrecked they made a very good boat, like a jolly-boat, in which three sailors, one soldier and a Cuban Indian set out for New Spain. For supplies they carried turtle and the cooked [flesh of the] seals, and with some brackish water and a chart and ships compass, after commending themselves to God, they went on their voyage sometimes with fair weather and sometimes with foul, until they arrived at the port of Chalcocueca, which is the Rio de Banderas, where at that time the merchandize that came from Spain was discharged, and thence to Medellin where Simon de Cuenca was stationed as Lieutenant for Cortés. When the sailors who came in the boat told the Lieutenant the great danger in which the Licentiate Zuazo was placed, Simon de Cuenca promptly, without any delay, searched for sailors and a ship of small burden, and despatched

it with plentiful supplies to the Island where Zuazo was [stranded].

And Simon de Cuenca wrote to the Licentiate himself how delighted Cortés would be at his coming, and at the same time he let Cortés know all that had happened and how he had sent the ship well supplied. Cortés was pleased at the good provision that the Lieutenant had made and ordered that when he [Zuazo] arrived in port he should be given all that was needful, clothes and horses, and that he should be sent to Mexico.

Let me go back to say that the ship had a good voyage to the Island, at which Zuazo and his people were rejoiced, and they embarked in it and with good weather speedily arrived at Medellin, where much honour was paid him, and he went to Mexico, and Cortés gave orders that they should go out to receive him and carried him off to his palaces, rejoiced with him, and made him his chief Alcalde. So ended the voyage of the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo and let us cease talking about it. I declare that this account that I have given is taken from a letter that Cortés wrote us to the town of Coatzacoalcos to the municipality, in which what I have here said was stated, and within two months this very boat in which the sailors had come to give the news about Zuazo, arrived at the port of that town, and it was there used as a lighter for discharging cargo, and the same sailors told us the story in the way it is here written down. Let us leave this and I will relate how Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to pacify the provinces of Guatemala.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

How Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to the province of Guatemala to found a city and bring the people to peace, and what was done about it.

CORTÉS always had lofty thoughts and in his ambition to command and rule wished in everything to copy Alexander of Macedon, and as he always had excellent Captains and accomplished soldiers about him, after he had established the great cities of Mexico, Oaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, la Vera Cruz, Panuco and Coatzacoalcos, as he had received news that in the Province of Guatemala there were strong towns with large populations, and that there were mines there, he determined to send Pedro de Alvarado to conquer and settle it; for although Cortés himself had already sent to that province to beg the people to come in peaceably, they would not come. So he gave to Alvarado for that expedition over three hundred soldiers and among them one hundred and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen. Moreover, he gave him one hundred and thirty five horsemen and four cannon and much powder, and a gunner named something de Usagre and over two hundred Tlaxcalans and Cholulans, who went as auxiliaries. Then he gave him [Alvarado] his instructions, charging him to endeavour with the greatest care to bring the people to peace without making war on them, and to preach matters concerning our holy faith by means of certain interpreters and ecclesiastics whom he took with him, and not to permit sacrifices nor sodomy nor the robbing of one another; and that when he met with prisons and cages in which it was the custom to keep Indians confined in order to fatten them up for food, he should break them down, and liberate the captives from the prisons, and with kindness and good-will he should

bring the people to render obedience to His Majesty, and in all respects should treat them well.

Then after Pedro de Alvarado had said good-bye to Cortés and all the gentlemen who were his friends in Mexico, they took leave of one another and he set out from that city on the thirteenth day of the month of November in the year fifteen hundred and twenty three.

Cortés ordered him to go by certain rocky hills in the province of Tehuantepec, which were near his road, where the people were in revolt. He brought [the inhabitants of] these rocky hills to peace. The hill was known as the Peñol de Guelamo because it was then in the encomienda of a soldier named Guelamo.

From thence he went to Tehuantepec, a large pueblo of the Zapotecs, where they received him very well for they were at peace, and they had already gone from that town (as I have stated in a former chapter which tells about it) to Mexico and given their fealty to His Majesty and had seen Cortés and moreover had taken him a good present of gold.

From Tehuantepec he [Alvarado] went to the province of Soconusco, which at that time was thickly peopled by more than fifteen thousand inhabitants[1]; they also received him peaceably and gave him a present of gold and surrendered themselves as vassals to His Majesty. From Soconusco he arrived near to another group of villages named Zapotitlan,[2] and on the road at a bridge over a river where there was a bad pass, he came across many squadrons of warriors who were waiting for him to prevent his passage, and he fought a battle with them in which they killed a horse and wounded many soldiers and two of them

[1] The word is *vecinos*, which here applied to natives probably means households, not individuals.

[2] Çapotitan in the text. (Zapote in the District of Soconusco, State of Chiapas ?)

died of their wounds. So numerous were the Indians who had joined together against Alvarado, not only from Zapotitlan but from other towns in the neighbourhood, that in spite of the number that they [the Spaniards] wounded they were not able to drive them off. Three times they attacked Alvarado and it pleased Our Lord that he conquered them and they made peace.

From Zapotitlan the road led to a strong pueblo named Quetzaltenango, and before reaching it he had other encounters with the natives of that pueblo and with others from a neighbouring pueblo called Utatlan[1] which was the capital of certain pueblos which in their turn are in the neighbourhood of Quetzaltenango, and they wounded some soldiers and killed three horses, although Pedro de Alvarado and his people killed and wounded many of the Indians. Then there was a bad ascent for more than a league and a half through a defile. With the musketeers and crossbowmen and all his soldiers in good order he began the ascent, and at the top of the pass he found a fat Indian woman who was a witch, and a dog (one of those they breed because they are good to eat and do not know how to bark) sacrificed. Further on he came upon a vast number of warriors who were laying in wait for him, and they began to surround him; as the track was bad and among mountains the horsemen were not able to gallop or turn swiftly nor to make use of their mounts, but the musketeers and crossbowmen and soldiers with sword and shield fought stoutly with them hand to hand, and they went on fighting from the hill and pass downwards until they reached some barrancas where they had another but not very severe skirmish with other squadrons of warriors which were waiting for them in those barrancas. This was owing to a stratagem which

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[1] Utlatan in the text.

they had arranged among themselves in this manner: that as Pedro de Alvarado advanced fighting, they should pretend to retreat, and as he would go on pursuing them to where over six thousand warriors, men from Utatlan and other pueblos subject to them were laying in wait there they intended to kill them (the Spaniards). Pedro de Alvarado and all his soldiers fought with them with the highest courage, and the Indians wounded twenty-six or twenty seven soldiers and two horses; nevertheless he [Alvarado] put them to flight, but they had not gone far before they rallied with other squadrons and turned to fight again, thinking to defeat Pedro de Alvarado. It was near a spring that they awaited them so as again to come hand to hand, and many of the Indians would lay in wait by twos and threes near to a horse and try by force to pull it down, and others caught them by the tail. And here Pedro de Alvarado found himself in great straits, for the enemy were so numerous they were not able to bear up against the squadrons who attacked them from so many directions. Then he and all his men, as soon as they saw that they had either to conquer or die, fearing that they might not defeat the enemy, on account of the cramped position in which they found themselves, made a bold attack with the muskets and crossbows and with sturdy sword cuts, and obliged them to draw back somewhat. Then the horsemen were not slow in spearing the enemy and trampling them down and passing through them until they had them routed, so that they did not assemble again for three days. When he [Alvarado] saw that there was no longer any enemy with whom to fight, he remained in the open country foraging and seeking for food, without going to any settlement for two days. Then he went with all his army to the pueblo of Quetzaltenango, and there he learnt that in the past battles they had killed two Captains who were Lords of Utatlan. While he was resting and

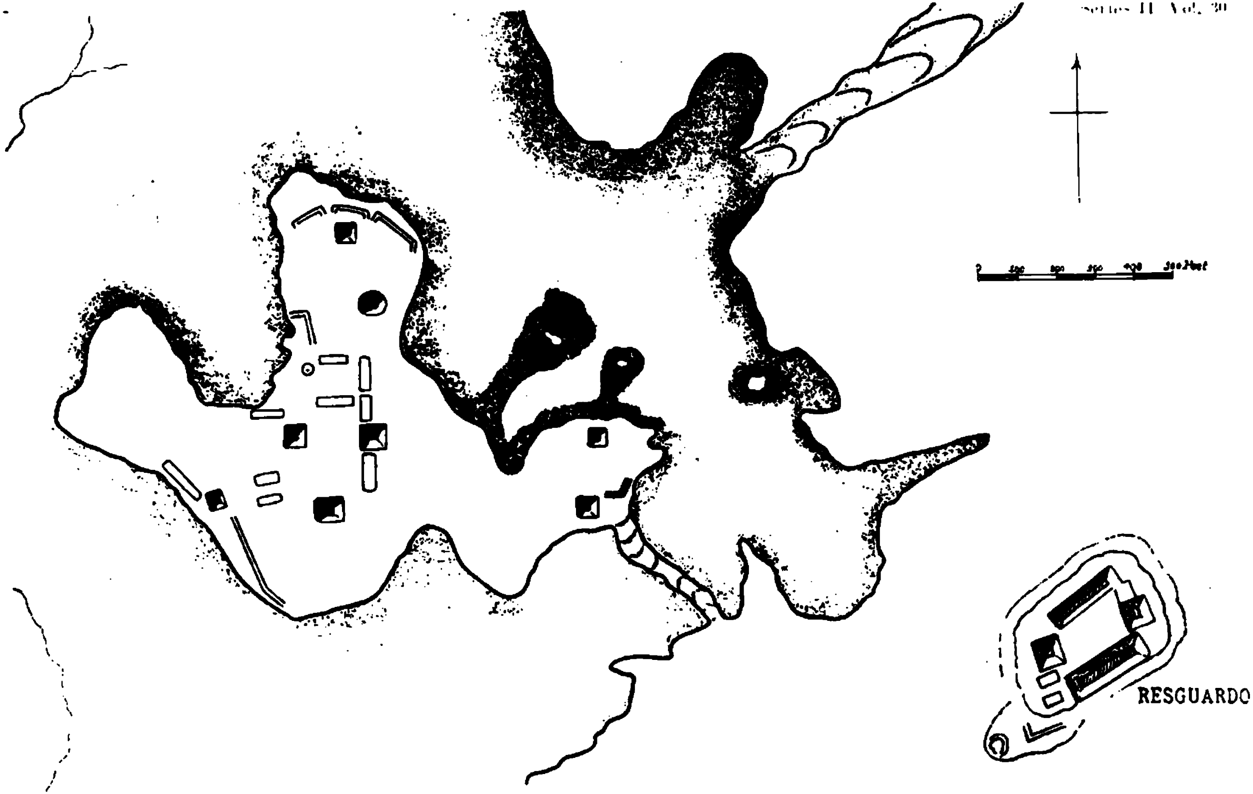
tending the wounded he received the news that all the forces of those neighbouring pueblos were again marching against him ; that a great number had assembled together,[1] and they were coming with the determination to die to the last man or to conquer.

When Pedro de Alvarado knew this he sallied out with his army to a plain, and as the enemy came on with such determination and began to surround the army and to shoot javelins, arrows and stones and [to attack] with lances, and as the ground was level, and the horses were able to gallop in all directions, he charged on the squadrons of the enemy in a way that soon made them turn their backs. Here many soldiers were wounded as well as a horse, and it seems that some Indian Chieftains from that pueblo itself were killed as well as from all that country, so that after the victory those pueblos had a great fear of Alvarado, and the whole of the district agreed to send to him and beg for peace, and they sent him a present of gold of little value to induce him to make peace.

It was fully agreed between all the Caciques of all the pueblos in the province that they should again collect a far greater number of warriors than before, and they ordered their warriors to assemble secretly among the barrancas of that town of Utatlan.

If they sent to ask for peace it was because Pedro de Alvarado and his army were in Quetzaltenango making expeditions and raids and continually bringing in Indian men and women as prisoners, and so as to induce him to go to another pueblo named Utatlan which was stronger and surrounded by barrancas, in order that when they had him inside, in a place where they thought they could get

[1] Blotted out in the original, "more than two Xiquipiles, that is sixteen thousand Indians, for each Xiquipil numbers eight thousand warriors.



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Plan of the Ruins of Utatlan

the better of him and his soldiers, they might attack them with their warriors who were already prepared and hidden away for that purpose.

Let us go back to say that when the numerous chieftains came before Pedro de Alvarado with the present, after making obeisance according to their custom, they asked his pardon for the past wars and offered themselves as vassals of His Majesty, and said that as their pueblo was large and in a pleasanter position and was nearer to other townships where they could attend to him better, they begged him to go there with them.

Pedro de Alvarado received it [the present] with great [show of] affection, and did not understand the cunning they were employing, and after alluding again to the evil they had done in making war, he accepted their overture of peace. The next day early he accompanied them with his army to Utatlan[1] for so the pueblo was called.

When he had made his entry, he saw what a stronghold it was, for it had two gateways, and one of them had twenty-five steps before entering the town, and the other entrance was by a causeway that was very bad and broken in two places, and the houses were close together and the streets narrow, and there were neither women nor children in any part of the town, which was surrounded by barrancas, and no food had been provided except what was bad and [that came] late and the chieftains were very shifty in their speeches. [Moreover] some Indians from Quetzaltenango warned Pedro de Alvarado that that very night it was intended to burn them all in the town if they remained there and that many squadrons of warriors had been stationed in the barrancas so that as soon as they saw the houses were burning they should join the people of Utatlan and attack them [the Spaniards] some from

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[1] Vtlatan, in the text.

one side and some from the other and that with the fire and the smoke they would be helpless and would be burned alive.

When Pedro de Alvarado understood the grave danger in which they stood, he quickly ordered his Captains and all his army without delay to get out into the open, and he told them the danger they were in, and when they understood it there was no delay in getting out on to the level part close to some barrancas, for just then they had not time to get [right] out into the open plain from the midst of such dangerous passes.

Throughout this Pedro de Alvarado displayed good will towards the Caciques and chieftains of that town and of the other towns in the neighbourhood and told them that as the horses were accustomed to go about grazing in the fields for a part of the day, that was the cause of his having come out of the town, as the houses and streets were so crowded. The Caciques were very sorrowful at seeing them depart in this way, and Pedro de Alvarado could no longer tolerate the treason which they had planned in concert with the squadrons that they had assembled, so he ordered the Cacique of the town to be seized and as justly ordered him to be burned, and he gave the lordship to his son. Then he promptly got out on to the level land away from the barrancas and fought the squadrons which had been got ready for the purpose I have mentioned, and after having thus provoked his strength and ill will, they were defeated.

Let us cease talking about this and say how at that time news had reached a large pueblo called Guatemala[1] of the battles that Pedro de Alvarado had fought since he entered the Province, in all of which he had been victorious, and

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[1] Guatimala in the text. This is Tecpan-Guatemala, or Iximché, about 23 miles N.E. of the Lake of Atitlan.

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Plan of the Ruins of Iximché (Guatemala)

Surveyed by A. P. Maudslay, 1887

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that at present he was in the land of Utatlan whence he was making expeditions and attacking many pueblos. As the people of Utatlan and their dependent pueblos were enemies of the people of Guatemala,[1] the latter determined to send messengers with a present of gold to Pedro de Alvarado and offer themselves as Vassals to His Majesty and they sent word that if he had any need of their personal services for that war they would come.

Pedro de Alvarado received them with good will and gave them many thanks for their offer, and in order to see if what they had told him was true, and because he knew nothing of the country, he sent to ask for two thousand warriors to show him the way, and he did so on account of the many barrancas and bad passes that had been intentionally made in order to impede their passage, so that if it were necessary they [the native warriors] should put them in order, and they could carry the baggage. The people of Guatemala sent them (the warriors) to him with their captains.

Pedro de Alvarado remained in the province of Utatlan seven or eight days, making raids against the rebel pueblos which had given their fealty to His Majesty and after giving it had risen in revolt. They branded many slaves and Indian women, and after the royal fifth was paid the rest were divided among the soldiers. Then he went to the City of Guatemala and was received and entertained by the Caciques of that city, who told him that near by there were some pueblos on the borders of a lake who were their enemies and made war on them and they held possession of a very strong rocky hill, and that the people of that pueblo although they knew well that they [the Spaniards] were not far off, and that Pedro de Alvarado

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[1] Utatlan was the Capital of the Quichés, Guatemala the Capital of the Cachiouels.

was with them, did not come to tender their fealty as the other pueblos had done, and they were bad people and of worse habits. The said pueblo was called Atitlan[1] and Pedro de Alvarado sent to summon them to come and make peace, and told them that he would treat them well and sent them other smooth messages.

The reply they made was to ill-treat his messengers. Seeing that this availed nothing, he sent other messengers to induce them to make peace, and because he sent three times to ask for peace, and each time they used abusive words [to his messengers], Pedro de Alvarado went in person to them, and he took with him over one hundred and forty soldiers and among them twenty musketeers and crossbowmen and forty horsemen and two thousand Guatemalans. When he arrived near the pueblo he again requested them to make peace, and they only replied to him with bows and arrows and began to shoot.

When he saw this and that not far off there was a rocky hill in the water crowded with warriors, he went to the margin of the lake and two fine squadrons of Indian warriors came out to meet him with great lances and good bows and arrows and many other arms and corselets, sounding their drums, and with ensigns and plumes, and he fought with them for a good while and many of the soldiers were wounded, but the enemy did not remain long on the field but went fleeing for protection to the rocky hill, with Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers after them.

They soon gained possession of the Peñol and many [of the enemy] were killed and wounded, and there would have been more if they had not all thrown themselves into the water and crossed to an island.

Then they [the Spaniards] looted the houses which were near the lake and went to a plain where there were many

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[1] Atitan in the text.

THE LAKE OF ATITLAN.

SMOKE and CLOUD.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

maize fields and they slept there that night. The next day early in the morning they went to the pueblo of Atitlan, for so I have already said it was called, and found it deserted. Then he ordered his men to scour the country and the orchards of Cacao trees[1] of which there were many, and they brought in two chieftains of that pueblo as prisoners.

Pedro de Alvarado promptly sent these two chieftains, together with those who had been captured the day before, to beg the other Caciques to make peace, saying that he would give up all the prisoners to them and would receive them and pay them honour, but if they did not come he would wage war on them as he had on the people of Quetzaltenango and Utatlan and would cut down the trees in their Cacao plantations and do all the damage he could.

At the end of more arguments with these promises and threats they soon came to make peace and brought a present of gold and offered themselves as vassals to His Majesty.

Then Pedro de Alvarado and his army returned to Guatemala and were there some days without doing anything worthy of record, but all the pueblos of the neighbourhood made peace as well as others on the south coast named the Pipiles. Many of these pueblos which came to make peace complained that on the road by which they came there was a town called Escuintepeque[2] where there were bad people who would not allow them to pass through their country, but came to rob their pueblos and

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[1] Alvarado, in his letter to Cortés describing this expedition, says nothing about cacao plantations, certainly there are no cacao plantations at the level of the lake, 5000 ft. above the sea. The Spaniards must have gone over the pass and down the Pacific slope to find them.

[2] Escuintla or Mataquescuintla?

they made many other complaints against them, and they were not true, for persons whose words are worthy of credit say that they [the complaints] were made up, and he [Alvarado] went there to rob them of very beautiful Indian women and did not summon them to make peace.

Pedro de Alvarado determined to go to them with his entire force of horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen and many allies from Guatemala, and he fell upon them one morning by surprise and did them great damage and made many captures, and it would have been better had he not done so, for, as in justice must be admitted it was an ill deed and not in accordance with His Majesty's commands.

Now we have told the story of the Conquest and pacification of Guatemala and its provinces, and it is told more completely in a history which has been compiled of it by a settler in Guatemala a relation of the Alvarados, named Gonzalo de Alvarado, where it can be seen more fully, in case I have here made any mistakes.

I say this because I was not present at these conquests [and did not enter this country] until the time that we passed through these provinces when they were all at war in the year 1524, and that was when we came from Higueras and Honduras with Captain Luis Marin, and we found ourselves there at the time that we were returning to Mexico, and moreover I state that we had at that time some warlike encounters with the natives of Guatemala and they had made many pits and impediments in bad passes among the mountains so that we should not pass on account of the great barrancas, and even between a town named Cuajiniquilapa[1] and Petapa in some deep ravines we were detained fighting with the natives of that land for two days for we could not cross a bad pass, and

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[1] Juanagaçapa in the text.

then they wounded me with an arrow shot, but it was a small matter, and we got through with great difficulty although many warriors from Guatemala and other towns, were stationed in the pass.

As there is much to tell about this and I am obliged to recall to mind some things which should come in their proper time and place, (and all this happened at the time when there was a report that Cortés and all of us who had gone with him to Higueras were dead) I will leave it now and tell about the expedition that Cortés sent to Higueras and Honduras; I will also state that in this province of Guatemala the Indians were not fighters for they only lay in wait for us in the barrancas, and with their arrows they did nothing.

CHAPTER CLXV.

How Cortés sent a fleet to pacify and conquer the provinces of Higueras and Honduras, and sent Cristóbal de Olid as Captain, and what happened I will go on to relate.

NOW Cortés heard news that there were rich lands and good mines in the country of Higueras and Honduras, and some pilots who had been in those parts, or very near to them, gave him to understand that they had met with some Indians fishing in the sea, whose nets they had seized, and the sinkers attached to them for the fishing were made of a mixture of gold and copper, and they also told him that in those parts they believed that there was a strait by which one could pass from the north to the south coast. Moreover, as we understood that His Majesty had instructed and ordered Cortés during all his discoveries to be on the look-out, and use the greatest diligence and perseverance in searching for a strait, pass or passage to the Spice Islands, so at this time, whether it was on account of the

gold, or to search for the passage, Cortés decided to send Cristóbal de Olid, who had been Quartermaster during the affair of Mexico, as Captain of the expedition—on the one hand because he was a man of his own making, and was married to a Portuguese lady named Doña Felipa de Arauz, already mentioned by me on other occasions,—on the other hand because Cristóbal de Olid held a good assignment of Indians near to Mexico, and Cortés thought he would be faithful and do what he was told to do.

Because such a long journey by land involved great difficulty, hardship and expense, he decided to send him by sea as it would not be so troublesome and costly, and he gave him five ships and a sloop well supplied with guns and powder and provisions and sent in them one hundred crossbowmen and musketeers and twenty-two horses, and among the soldiers were five Conquistadores of our company who came with Cortés himself in the beginning, and had served His Majesty well throughout the conquest, and they already possessed homes and were taking their rest. I thus express it because it was no use saying to Cortés, "Señor, let me take a rest, for I have done work enough," for he made them go, whither he ordered, by force if they would not go willingly.

He (Cristóbal de Olid) took with him one Briones, a native of Salamanca who had been a Captain of a launch and a soldier in Italy, and this Briones was very turbulent and an enemy of Cortés, and he took many other soldiers who were not on good terms with Cortés because he had not given them good assignments of Indians nor shares of the gold. In the instructions which Cortés gave him (C. de Olid) it was stated that from the port of Villa Rica his course would be to the Havana, and that there in the Havana he would find one Alonzo de Contreras an old soldier of Cortés, a native of the town of Orgaz, who had taken with him six thousand pesos de oro, with which to

buy horses and cassava, hogs, bacon and other things necessary for the fleet. Cortés sent this soldier on ahead of Cristóbal de Olid, because if the settlers at the Havana saw the fleet approaching they would raise the price of horses and all the other provisions. He ordered Cristóbal de Olid, on arriving at the Havana to take over all the horses which had been bought, and from thence to shape his course for Higueras, which was an easy passage and quite near by, and he ordered him, as soon as he had disembarked, in a friendly way, and without killing any Indians, to endeavour to found a town at some good harbour and to bring the natives of the province to peace, and to seek for gold and silver, and to make enquiries and endeavour to find out if there was a Strait, and what harbours there were on the South Coast, if he should reach it. He gave him two Clerics, and one of them understood the Mexican language, and he ordered him to preach diligently to the natives on the subject of our holy faith, and not to permit sodomy nor human sacrifices but quietly and in a friendly way to root them out. He also ordered him to break open all the wooden houses where they kept Indian men and women imprisoned, fattening them to be sacrificed and eaten, and to free the unhappy prisoners. He also ordered him to set up crosses all over the country, and he gave him many images of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria so that he could place them in the towns, and he said these words to him:

"Brother Cristóbal de Olid, in the manner which you have seen that we have acted in this New Spain, endeavour to act yourself."

And after embraces and farewells with much affection and good will Cristóbal de Olid took leave of Cortés and all his household and went to Villa Rica where his fleet was stationed fully equipped, and on a certain day of the month and year he embarked with all his soldiers and with

good weather arrived at the Havana. There he found the horses that had been bought and all the rest of the supplies, and five soldiers, who were persons of quality, of the company that had been turned out of Panuco by the orders of Diego de Ocampo because they were such robbers and so turbulent. I have already given the names of some of those soldiers in a former Chapter dealing with the pacification of Panuco, and for that reason I will not name them now. These soldiers advised Cristóbal de Olid, as there was reported to be rich country where he was going, and as he had such a large and well equipped fleet and many horses and soldiers, to revolt at once against Cortés and not to acknowledge him any longer as his superior, or to support him in anything. Moreover, Briones, often mentioned by me before, who accompanied him in the flagship had often said the same thing to him in secret, and as soon as this plot was agreed upon he [Briones] promptly wrote on the subject to the Governor of the Island who as I have already said many times was named Diego Velásquez, the mortal enemy of Cortés.

Diego Velásquez came to where the fleet was stationed, and what was arranged was that he and Cristóbal de Olid should between them take the land of Higueras and Honduras for His Majesty, in his royal name, and that Diego Velásquez would provide what was necessary and would make it known to His Majesty in Castile so that the Government should be given to him [Velásquez]. In this way the partnership in the fleet was arranged.

I wish to state here the quality and demeanour of Cristóbal de Olid; had he been as wise and prudent as he was personally energetic and brave both on foot and on horseback he would have been a perfect man, but he was not fit to command but only to be commanded; he was about thirty-six years of age and a native from near Baeza or Linares and in appearance was tall, brawny, very

robust and broad across the shoulders, he had a good figure and was somewhat ruddy, and he had very good features and his lower lip was always wrinkled as though it were cleft. His speech was somewhat coarse and threatening, but he was a fluent talker and had the additional good trait of being generous.[1] In the beginning when he was in Mexico he was a faithful follower of Cortés, but his ambition to command and not be commanded, added to [the advice of] bad councillors, blinded him, moreover as he was brought up in the house of Diego Velásquez when a youth, and was interpreter in the Island of Cuba, he felt the obligation of the bread that he had eaten in his house, [although] he was more beholden to Cortés than he was to Diego Velásquez.

When this arrangement had been made with Diego Velásquez, many other settlers from the Island of Cuba joined Cristóbal de Olid, especially those who as I have stated, advised a revolt.

As there was nothing further to be done in that Island, for all the stores had been placed on board the ships, he ordered the whole fleet to hoist sail, and with favourable weather, went on to disembark in a sort of bay about fifteen leagues beyond Puerto Caballos. He arrived there on the 3rd May, and for this reason he named the town, which he promptly laid out, Triunfo de la Cruz, and he appointed as Alcaldes and Regidores those to whom (when he was in Mexico) Cortés had ordered him to give appointments and pay respect. He took possession of those lands for His Majesty and for Hernando Cortés in his Royal Name, and he issued other decrees which were necessary, and all this that he did was so that the friends of Cortés should not understand that he was in revolt, and so that if

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[1] Blotted out in the original, "he never had anything of his own, for he gave it all away." G. G.

possible he might make good friends of them when the matter came to their knowledge.

Moreover, he did not know if the land would turn out to be rich and productive of mines as they told him. He shot at two marks, the one was, as I have said, that if there were good mines and the country was thickly peopled, to revolt with it, and the other, if it did not turn out so well, to return to Mexico to his wife and assignments and to excuse himself to Cortés by telling him that the partnership which he made with Diego Velásquez was in order that he should supply him with provisions and soldiers and not to support him [Velásquez] in any way, and this he could easily [see], for he took possession through Cortés; and these were his thoughts according to what many of his friends, who have been consulted on the subject have stated.

Let us leave him already settled at Triunfo de la Cruz, Cortés knew nothing about it for more than eight months. And because I shall be obliged to return again and speak about him I will drop the matter at present and relate what happened to us at Coatzacoalcos and how Cortés sent me with Captain Luis Marin to pacify the province of Chiapas.

NOTE TO CHAPTER CLXVI.

THE topography of the States of Tabasco and Chiapas presents great difficulties. The modern maps are very imperfect, and many of the original Indian names have disappeared. The topography of the State of Tabasco will be more fully dealt with in the next Volume (which deals with Cortés's march to Honduras), in which I hope to include the map of the State drawn by Melchior de Santa Cruz in 1579. It will here suffice to say that in the sixteenth century the main stream of the great river of Chiapas, after passing Huimanguillo, appears to have flowed into the sea at the Barra de dos Bocas, by what is now marked on some maps as the Rio Seco, and what is

now the main stream between Huimanguillo and San Juan Bautista, called the Rio Mescapalapa, was then merely a connecting link between the Rio de Chiapas and the Rio Grijalva.

Between Latitude 17° 50′ N. and the sea, the rivers Chiapas, Grijalva and Usumacinta are all connected by a network of waterways.

CHAPTER CLXVI.

How those of us who had settled at Coatzacoalcos were constantly going about pacifying the provinces which revolted against us, and how Cortés ordered Captain Luis Marin to go and conquer and pacify the Province of Chiapas and ordered me to go with him and what happened during the pacification.

As many of us old Conquistadores and persons of quality were established in the town of Coatzacoalcos and had large tracts [of land] allotted to us consisting of this same province of Coatzacoalcos and Cintla,[1] Tabasco, Cimatan,[2] Chontalpa[3] and in the mountains above Quechula[4] and the [land of the] Zoques and Quilines towards Zinacantan[5] and Chamula[6] and the City of Chiapas of the Indians and Papanaguastla and Pinola[7] and on the other side, toward the borders of Mexico, the province of Xaltepec[8] and Huaspaltepec,[9] Chinantla, Tepeca and many other pueblos, and as at the beginning most of the provinces of New Spain rose in revolt when we demanded tribute from

[1] Çitla in the text, Cintla near Tabasco, see vol. i, p. 108.

[2] Çimatan in the text is not marked on the modern maps. In the map of Melchoir de Santa Cruz the cattle ranch of Don Francisco Cimatan is marked on the Rio Mescapalapa and the three pueblos of Oscimatanes on the Rio Acathapa (Acachapa).

[3] Chontalpa, now Cardenas, a province of Western Tabasco.

[4] Cachula in the text, 40 miles N.W. of Tuxtla Gutierrez.

[5] Zinacantan, near San Cristóbal, State of Chiapas.

[6] Chamula, near San Cristóbal, State of Chiapas.

[7] Pinola, between San Cristóbal and Comitan.

[8] Xaltepec, or Jaltepec, District of Choapam.

[9] Guaspaltepec in the text, near Playa Vicente, Dist. of Choapam

them, and even murdered their Encomenderos and killed[1] those Spaniards whom they could capture with safety, it came to pass that there was hardly a province left belonging to this town that was not in rebellion, and for this reason we were always going about from pueblo to pueblo with a company, bringing them to peace. As the people of Cimatan would neither come to the town nor obey the commands that were sent to them, Captain Luis Marin decided, (so as to avoid sending a company of many soldiers against them,) that four of the settlers should go and pacify them. I was one of them and the others were named Rodrigo de Nao a native of Ávila, and Francisco Martin a Semi-Biscayan, and the other was called Francisco Ximénes a native of Ynguejuela[2] in Estramadura. What our Captain ordered us to do was to summon them firmly and with kindly affection to be peaceable, and not to use language that might offend them. So we went on our way to their province where the pueblos stand amidst great swamps and rapid rivers, and when we arrived within two miles of their pueblo we sent messengers to say we were coming, and the answer they gave was that three squadrons of archers and lancemen came out against us, and in the first skirmish they killed two of our companions with their arrows, and they gave me my first arrow wound in the throat, and with the great loss of blood, (I could neither bind up the wound nor check the flow of blood immediately), my life was in great danger. Then my other companion Francisco Martin the Biscayan, who was wounded, although he and I always kept our faces to the enemy and wounded some of them, decided to cut and run and take refuge in some canoes which were near the great river called the Maçapa.[3]

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[1] Acapillavan in the text. See note, vol. ii, p. 4.
[2] Herguijuela? [3] Mezcalapa?

As I was left alone and badly wounded, dazed and stupified I thought of hiding among some high bushes so that they should not quite kill me, but coming to myself with a brave heart I said: "May our Lady avail me, if it is true that I must die here to-day in the hands of these dogs" and I was so emboldened that I sallied out of the thicket again and rushed upon the Indians and after some good cuts and thrusts they made way for me and I got out from among them and, although they wounded me again, I reached the canoes where I found my companion Francisco Martin the Biscayan already in one of them with four friendly Indians, who were those whom we had brought with us to carry our provisions, and those Indians, while we were fighting with the Cimatecs, had abandoned their burdens and taken refuge in the canoes on the river, and what saved my life and that of Francisco Martin was that the enemy stopped to plunder our clothes and boxes.

Let us cease talking any more about this and say that it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that we should escape death there, and in the canoes we crossed that river, which is very large and deep and has many alligators in it, and so that the Cimatecs, (for so they are called) should not follow us we remained for eight days in the forest.

When a few days later this news was known in Coatzacoalcos, and the Indians who brought the news (who were some of those we had taken with us) reported that we were dead as well as all four Indians who, as I have said, remained in the canoes, but the very Indians who carried this news had fled as soon as they saw that we were wounded and left us to do the fighting. Within a few days they arrived in the town, and as we did not appear, and there was no news of us they thought that we were dead. As is the custom with regard to Indians, and was usual at that time, the Captain Luis Marin had already allotted our Indians to other Conquistadores and had sent

off messengers to Cortés to send the warrants of allotment, and they had even sold our property. At the end of twenty days we arrived at the town, at which some of our friends rejoiced, but those to whom our Indians had been given were sorry . . . . . .

When Captain Luis Marin saw that we could not pacify those provinces I have named, but, on the contrary, they killed many of our Spaniards, he decided to go to Mexico to ask Cortés for more soldiers and assistance and military stores, and he ordered that while he was away none of the settlers should leave the town to go to pueblos far away but should only go to those within four or five leagues and then only to procure food. When he reached Mexico he reported to Cortés all that had happened and he (Cortés) ordered him to return to Coatzacoalcos and sent with him about thirty soldiers and among them Alonzo de Grado, whom I have often mentioned, and he gave orders for us to go with all the settlers in the town and the soldiers that he (Luis Marin) was bringing with him to the province of Chiapas which was hostile, to pacify it and establish a town.

When the Captain arrived with those despatches we all of us got ready, both those who were settled there as well as those he had just now brought, and we began to clear a road through some very bad forest and swamps, and we threw into them logs and branches so that the horses could pass, and after great difficulty we managed to come out at a pueblo named Tepuzuntlan,[1] for up to that time we were accustomed to go up the river in canoes, for there was no other road opened. From that pueblo we went to another pueblo up in the hills called Quechula,[2] and that it may be clearly understood, this Quechula is in the mountains in

[1] On the Rio Mescalapa or Grijalva.

[2] Quechula, Cachula in the text, on the right bank of the R. Mescalapa, or Grijalva, dist. of Tuxtla.

the province of Chiapas, and I say this because there is another town of the same name near Puebla de los Angeles. From Quechula we went to some other small towns subject to this same Quechula and we went on opening new roads up the river which comes from the town of Chiapas for there was no road whatever.

All the people in this neighbourhood stood in great fear of the Chiapanecs[1] for certainly at that time they were the greatest warriors that I had seen in all New Spain, although that includes Tlascalans, Mexicans, Zapotecs and Mijes,[2] and this I say because the Mexicans had never been able to master them. At that time the province was thickly peopled and the natives of it were extremely warlike and waged war on their neighbours the people of Zinacantan[3] and all the pueblos of the Quilena language, also against those called the Zoques and continually robbed and took prisoners in other small pueblos where they were able to seize booty, and with those whom they killed they made sacrifices and glutted themselves.

In addition to this on the roads to Tehuantepec[4] they had many warriors stationed at bad passes to rob the Indian merchants who traded between one province and the other, and because of the fear of them trade between one province and another was sometimes stopped. They had even brought other pueblos by force and made them settle and remain near to Chiapas, and held them as slaves and made them cultivate their fields.

Let us return to our road, we proceeded up the river towards their city, and it was during Lent in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-three, but this matter of the year I do not remember well, and before reaching the town

[1] Chiapanecs, the people of Chiapas (Chiapa in the text).

[2] Minxes in the text.

[3] Zinacantan, near San Cristóbal.

[4] Teguantepeque in the text.

of Chiapas a review was held of all the horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen and soldiers who went on that expedition, and it could not be done before this time, because some of the settlers of our town and others from outside had not joined, for they were busy in the pueblos of the allotments of Quechula demanding the tribute that these were obliged to pay, for now that they came under the protection of a Captain and soldiers they dared to go among those who before had neither paid tribute nor cared a snap of the fingers for us.

Let us go back to our story, there proved to be twenty-seven horsemen fit for fighting and another five who were not fit, fifteen crossbowmen and eight musketeers and one cannon and plenty of powder and a soldier for gunner and this same soldier said that he had been in Italy, and I say this here because he was no good at all and a great coward, and we mustered seventy soldiers with sword and shield, and about eighty Mexicans and the Cacique of Quechula with some of his chieftains, and these people of Quechula that I have mentioned went trembling with fear, and by flattering them we got them along so that they might help us to clear the roads and carry the baggage.

As we went along in good order, and were already near to their townships, four of the most active soldiers, of whom I was one, always went ahead as spies and scouts. I left my horse for others to bring along, for it was not [the sort of] country where horses could gallop. We always kept half a league ahead of the Army, and as the Chiapanecs are hunters, they were then out hunting the deer. As soon as they perceived us they were all called together by great smoke signals, and as we arrived at their townships we observed they had very broad roads and large plantations of maize and other vegetables, and the first pueblo we came upon which is called Ixtapa[1], which is

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[1] Estapa in the text, about 15 miles N.E. of Chiapas.

about four leagues distant from the Capital, had just then been deserted, and there was much maize and other supplies there and we had plenty to eat for our supper. While we were resting at this spot, and had stationed our sentinels, spies and scouts, two horsemen who had been acting as scouts came in to report, shouting: Alarm! Alarm! they are coming, all the fields and roads are crowded with Chiapanec warriors! We who were always fully on the alert went out to meet them before they reached the pueblo and fought a great battle with them, for they had many fire hardened javelins and their throwing-sticks and bows and arrows, and lances much longer than ours, and good cotton armour and plumes, and others had clubs like *macanas* and where the battle took place stones were plentiful and they did us much damage with their slings, and they began to surround us so cleverly that with the first shower of arrows they killed two of our soldiers and four horses, and wounded over thirteen soldiers and many of our allies, and they gave Captain Luis Marin two wounds. We were fighting that battle from the afternoon until after nightfall, and as it grew dark and they had felt the edge of our swords, and the muskets, crossbows and lance thrusts, they retreated at which we rejoiced. We found fifteen of them dead and many others wounded and unable to get away, and with two of those whom we captured there, who appeared to us to be chieftains, we held conversation and obtained news, and they said that the whole country was prepared to attack us on the following day. That night we buried the dead and looked after the wounded and the Captain who was ill with his wounds, for he had lost much blood because he would not leave the fighting to attend to them or bind them up and they had become chilled.

As soon as this was done we stationed good sentinels, spies and scouts and we kept the horses saddled and

bridled and all of us soldiers were on the alert, for we felt sure that they would attack us during the night, and as we had seen their tenacity in the past battle, and that neither with crossbows, lances nor muskets and not even with swordplay could we make them retreat or give way a single step, we took them to be very stout fighters and high spirited in battle.

That night orders were given as to how we horsemen were to attack in parties of five each, with the lances held short, and that we were not to stop to give lance thrusts until they were put to flight, but to hold the lances high, aimed at their faces, and to trample them down and go on ahead. This method I have already said before, Luis Marin and even some of us old Conquistadores, had given as advice to the new comers from Castile, and some of them did not trouble to obey the command, thinking that in giving a lance thrust to the enemy they were doing some good, but it turned out badly for four of them, for the Indians seized their lances and with these they wounded them and the horses. I wish to say that six or seven of the enemy got together and threw their arms round the horses thinking to capture them by hand and they even dragged one soldier off of his horse, and if we had not come to his rescue they would have carried him off to be sacrificed,—he died within two days.

To return to our story, the next morning we decided to continue our march to the city of Chiapas for truly one can call it a city and it was thickly peopled and the houses and streets well arranged, and there were more than four thousand citizens, not counting many other subject pueblos around it. We went on our way in good order, with the cannon loaded and the gunner wide awake to what he had to do, and we had not marched four leagues when we met all the forces of Chiapas, plains and hills were crowded with them, they came on with their great plumes and good

armour, long lances, arrows and javelin throwing-sticks, slings and stones, and with loud shouts, yells and whistles, it was appalling to see how they attacked us hand to hand and began to fight like raging lions. Our negro gunner whom we had brought with us—and well one may call him black—restrained by fear and trembling, neither knew how to aim nor to fire the cannon, and when at last through the shouts we hurled at him he did fire it, he wounded three of our own soldiers and did no good whatever.

When the Captain saw how things were going, all of us horsemen charged, formed in groups as we had arranged, and the musketeers, crossbowmen, and soldiers with sword and shield forming in a body helped us very much, but the enemy who fell upon us were so numerous that it was fortunate that we who were present in those battles were men who were innured to even greater dangers by which others would have been scared, and even we were astonished ourselves, and when Captain Luis Marin said to us "Señores, Santiago and at them, let us repeat our charge once more," with brave spirit we struck them such a blow that they soon turned their backs. Where this battle was fought there was some rocky ground very bad for galloping horses, so we were not able to pursue them. As we went along after them not very far from where the fight began, and we were going rather carelessly thinking that they would not get together again that day, there were other squadrons of warriors, larger than the last, all fully armed, behind some hills, and many of them carried ropes with which to cast lassos over the horses and tie them so as to pull them over, and on all sides they had stretched many nets such as they use for catching deer, for the horses and for us. All the squadrons that I have mentioned were coming to clash with our army and being very strong and vigorous warriors they gave us such a drubbing with

arrows, javelins, and stones that they wounded nearly all of us, and they captured four lances from the horsemen and killed two soldiers and five horses. Then they brought in the middle of their squadrons a rather aged and very fat Indian woman, and they were said to look on that woman as a goddess and prophetess, and she had told them that as soon as she arrived where we were fighting we should at once be vanquished, and she brought some incense in a brazier and some stone Idols, and all her body was painted and cotton was stuck on to the painting, and without the slightest fear she went among our Indian allies who came on in a body with their captains, and the cursed goddess was promptly cut to pieces.

To go back to our battle, as soon as Luis Marin and all of us saw such a multitude of warriors coming against us and fighting so boldly, we commended ourselves to God and charged upon them in the same order as before, and little by little we broke them up and put them to flight. They hid themselves among some great rocks and most of them threw themselves into the river which was close by and was deep, and went off swimming, for they are especially good swimmers.

As soon as we had defeated them we gave thanks to God, and we found many of them dead where the battle had been fought, and others wounded, and we decided to go to a village on the river (near to the ford [leading] to the city),[1] where there were very good cherries, for as it was Lent it was the time when they were ripe, and in that village they were very good.

There we halted all the rest of the day, burying the dead in places where the natives of the village could not get at them or find them and we attended to the wounded and ten [wounded] horses and there we decided to sleep

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[1] The site of the city appears to have been on the left bank of the river.

with every precaution of sentinels and spies. A little after midnight ten Indians crossed over from two villages which were situated near the capital City of Chiapas, and they came in five canoes across the river which is here large and deep and they came rowing in silence, and the rowers were ten Indians, persons of importance, natives of the villages which were near the Rio de los Pueblos, and they disembarked near our camp, and as they jumped on shore they were promptly captured by our sentinels, and they were content to be captured and taken before the Captain and said "Sir, we are not Chiapanecs but belong to other provinces called Xaltepeque, and these evil Chiapanecs in the great wars they have made on us have killed many people and the greater part of our townspeople with their women and children they brought here to settle, and they have taken all the property we possessed and have already held us as slaves for more than twelve years and we work their plantations and maize fields, and they make us go fishing and do other service and they take our daughters and wives from us, and we come to give you notice that to-night we will bring you many canoes in which you may cross the river, and we will also show you a ford although it is not very shallow, and what we beg Señor Captain, if we do this good deed, is that when you have conquered and routed these Chiapanecs you will give us leave to get out of their power and return to our own lands. To incline you the more to believe our statements to be true we are bringing you in the canoes, which have now crossed over and been hidden away in the river with some of our companions and brothers, presents of three jewels shaped like diadems, and we also bring poultry and cherries." Then they asked leave to fetch them and said that it had to be done very silently so that the Chiapanecs who were watching and guarding the passes of the river should not perceive them.

When the Captain understood what these Indians told him and the great assistance they would be in crossing that strong and rapid river, he gave thanks to God, and showed good will to the messengers, and promised to do what they asked him and even to give them clothes and the spoil we might gain in that city. He learned from them that in the two last battles we had killed and wounded more than one hundred and twenty Chiapanecs, and that they had many other warriors ready for the next day and they had made the villages where these messengers lived come out to fight against us, but that we should have no fear of them, on the contrary they would assist us, and that they [the Chiapanecs] would be waiting for us when we crossed the river although they thought it impossible that we should have the daring to cross it, and that when we were crossing it they would there defeat us.

When they [the Xaltepecs] had given this information, two of these Indians stayed with us and the rest went to their pueblo to give orders that very early in the morning twenty canoes should be brought, and they kept their word very well.

After they had departed we rested a little during what remained of the night, but not without caution and patrols, sentinels and spies for we heard the great murmur of the warriors who were assembling on the bank of the river and the sound of their trumpets, drums and horns.

As soon as it was dawn we saw the canoes which were being openly brought, in spite of the Chiapas forces, for it seems that they [the latter] had already found out that the natives of those small pueblos had risen in revolt and had gained courage, and were on our side, and some of them had been captured, and the rest had entrenched themselves in a great Cue, and for this reason there were skirmishes and fights between the Chiapanecs and the small pueblos I have mentioned. They promptly went to show us the

ford, and these allies made us hurry on so as to cross the river quickly for fear lest their companions who had been captured that night should be sacrificed. Then when we came to the ford which they showed us, it was running very deep, all of us formed up in good order, both cross-bowmen, musketeers and horsemen, and the friendly Indians from the two small pueblos with their canoes, and although the water reached nearly to our chests we all huddled together so as to resist the force and impetus of the water, and it pleased Our Lord that we crossed nearly to the other side of the river, but before we finished crossing many warriors came against us and poured on us a rain of javelins from throwing sticks, and arrows and stones, and others came with great lances and wounded almost all of us some with two or three wounds, and they killed two horses, and one horse soldier named something Guerrero or Guerra was drowned while crossing the river by falling with his horse into a strong rapid, he was a native of Toledo, and his horse got to land without his master.

To return to our fight, for some time they were attacking us as we crossed the river and we could neither make them retreat nor were we able to reach the land, but just then the people of the small pueblos who had grown valiant against the Chiapanecs came to our aid and fell on the rear of those who were fighting with us in the river, and they killed and wounded many of them, for they were very hostile to them for having kept them captive so many years. As soon as we saw this the horsemen quickly got to land and next the crossbowmen, musketeers, the sword and shield men and the friendly Mexicans, and we gave them a good drubbing and they went fleeing to their pueblo, and no Indian waited for another. Then without further delay we formed up in good array with our banners unfurled, and with many Indians from the two small

pueblos in our company, we entered the city and when we reached the densest part of it where their great Cues and Oratories stood, the houses were so close together that we did not dare to make our camp there but [went out] into the open and a site where even if they did set fire to it, they could do us no damage.

Our Captain at once sent to summon the Cacique and Captains of that town to make peace, and three Indians from the small friendly pueblos went as messengers, one of them was called Xaltepec, and six Chiapanec Captains whom we had taken prisoners in the late battles were sent with them. And he [Luis Marin] sent to tell them to come promptly to make peace and he would pardon them for what was past, but if they did not come, we would go and look for them and make worse war on them than before, and would burn their city. Owing to those hectoring words they came at once and even brought a present of gold and excused themselves for having made war and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and prayed Luis Marin not to allow our allies to burn any houses, for before entering Chiapa they had already burned many houses in a small pueblo situated a short distance before reaching the river, and Luis Marin gave them his promise and he kept it, and ordered our Mexican allies and those we had brought from Quechula not to do any harm or damage. I wish to say that this Quechula that I mentioned here is not the one that is near Mexico but a pueblo of the same name in the mountains on the road to Chiapas over which we passed. Let us leave this and say that in that city we found three prisons of wooden gratings, full of prisoners fastened by collars round their necks, and these were those whom they had captured on the roads, some of them were from Tehuantepec and others Zapotecs and others Quilines and others from Soconusco; these prisoners we took out of the prisons,

and each one went to his own home, and we broke up the gratings.

We also found in the Cues very evil figures of the Idols they worshipped, and many Indians and boys sacrificed two days ago, and many evil things of the sodomy they practise.

The Captain ordered them at once to go and summon the neighbouring towns to come in peaceably and give their fealty to His Majesty.

The first to come were from a township named Zinacantan and Copanahuastla[1] and Pinola, Gueyguistlan[2] and Chamula[3] and other towns whose names I do not remember of the Quilines, and other pueblos of the Zoque tongue, and all gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they were still astounded that, few as we were, we had been able to defeat the Chiapanecs, and they certainly showed great satisfaction for they were ill disposed towards them.

We stayed in that city for five days, and just then one of the soldiers whom we had brought in our army strayed from our camp and went without leave from the Captain, to a pueblo which had made peace, which I have already mentioned, named Chamula, and he took with him eight of our Mexican Indians and he ordered the people of Chamula to give him gold, and said that the Captain commanded it. The people of that pueblo gave him golden jewels and because they did not give him more he took the Cacique prisoner, and when the people of the pueblo saw him commit that excess they wished to kill this daring and inconsiderate soldier and they at once revolted, and not only they, but their neighbours the

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[1] Copanahuastla, not marked on the map.

[2] Gueyguistlan (modern Huistan near San Cristóbal?), spelt in the text Gueguistlan, Quiaguyztlan, Guequyztlan and Gueyguyztlan.

[3] Chamula, near San Cristóbal.

people of another pueblo, named Gueyguistlan were also inclined to revolt.

When Captain Luis Marin heard of this, he seized the soldier and ordered him to be taken post haste to Mexico for Cortés to punish him. Luis Marin did this because this soldier thought himself a man of importance and for his honour's sake I will not mention his name, until occasion arises at a time when he did a thing that was worse, and because he was wicked and cruel to the Indians; about a year later he died in the affair of Xicalango in the hands of the Indians as I will tell later on.

When this was done the Captain sent to summon the pueblo of Chamula to come and make peace and sent to tell them that he had already punished and sent to Mexico the Spaniard who demanded gold and did them those injuries, and the reply they gave him was bad, and we thought it all the worse because of the neighbouring pueblos which had made peace, lest they should revolt. So it was decided to fall upon them at once and not to leave them until they were brought to peace. After this the Chiapanec Caciques were spoken to very gently and they were told through good interpreters things concerning our holy faith, and that they must abandon their Idols and sacrifices and sodomies and robberies, and crosses were set up and an image of Our Lady on an altar that we ordered them to make. They were made to understand that we were the Vassals of His Majesty and many other things that were fitting, and we still left more than halt their city inhabited.

The two friendly pueblos that had brought us the canoes to cross the river and had helped us in the war were freed from their power, and with all their property and women and children went to settle lower down the river about ten leagues from Chiapas, where the town of Xaltepec is now established. The other small pueblo called

Ystatan[1] went to its own home for they belonged to Tehuantepec.

Let us return to our expedition to Chamula, we at once sent to summon the people of Zinacantan who were sensible people and many of them traders, and he [Luis Marin] told them to bring us two hundred Indians to carry our baggage and that we would go to their pueblo for it was on the road to Chamula. At the same time he demanded from the people of Chiapas another two hundred Indian warriors with their arms to go in his company, and they gave them at once and we set out from Chiapas one morning and went to sleep at some salt pits where they had made us very good ranchos, and the next day at mid-day we arrived at Zinacantan and there we kept the Holy feast of the Resurrection.[2] Then we again sent to summon the people of Chamula to make peace and they would not come, and we had to go to them and it was a matter of three leagues from where Zinacantan then stood, and the houses and town of Chamula were at that time situated in a fortification very difficult to capture with a very deep fosse on the side where we had to attack, and on other sides it was worse and stronger. Thus as we approached with our army they shot from above so many stones, javelins and arrows that they covered the ground. Then [they had] very long lances with more than two fathoms of flint cutting edge[3] which, as I have said before, cut better than our swords, and shields made like *pavesinas* which cover the whole body when fighting, and when they are not needed they roll and double them up so that they are no inconvenience to them. They had slings and plenty of stones and they shot arrows and stones so

[1] Ishuatan (?), near the Laguna Inferior, in the district of Juchitan.

[2] 5th April, 1523.

[3] Dos braças de cuchilla de pedernales in the text.

fast that they wounded five of our soldiers and two horsemen and with so many shouts and loud yells, whistles, howls, and trumpets, drums and shell trumpets it was enough to frighten anyone who did not know them.

When Luis Marin saw this and understood that the horses could be of no use there as it was mountainous, he ordered them to turn and descend to the plain, for where we stood was a steep hill and fortification. He ordered them to do this because we feared that the warriors from other pueblos that were in revolt called Gueyguistlan would come to attack us there, so that the horsemen might oppose them.

Then we began to shoot many arrows and fire muskets at the people in the fort, but we could do them no harm whatever on account of the great barricades they had [erected] but on the contrary they constantly wounded many of our men. We stood fighting in this way all that day and they did not give way at all to us, and if we attempted to get through them to where they had constructed their barricades and battlements, there were over a thousand lancers at their posts for the defence of those whom we were endeavouring to get through. If we should have wished to risk our persons by making a dash into the fortress, we should have jumped from such a height that we must have been smashed to pieces, and it was not worth while to take the risk.

After it was carefully decided how and in what way we were to make the attack, it was settled that we should bring wood and boards from a small deserted pueblo that was near by, and should make *burros* or *Mantas*[1] for so they are called and in each one of them there should be room for twenty persons, and with iron adzes and picks

[1] Burros or Mantas, movable shelters for battering purposes.

which we had brought with us, and with other wooden adzes of the country that were there, we should excavate and destroy their fortress and break down a small gate to enable us to enter, for in any other way it was useless [to try] because on two other sides they had the same defence and we examined it all for more than a league around. In the neighbourhood there was another very difficult entrance, even harder to capture than where we were, because there was a descent so steep and bad that one could say it was like going into the bottomless pit.[1]

To go back to our barricades and mantas, while we were destroying their fortress with them they threw down from above quantities of burning pitch and rosin and blood and water all mixed together, very hot, and at other times fire and hot ashes and greatly impeded us, and then after that such a multitude of very large stones that they broke our engines and we had to retreat and mend them. We promptly returned to the attack, and as soon as and when they saw that we made larger breaches, four priests and other principal persons placed themselves on one of the battlements and came covered with their shields and other *talarbadones* of wood, and said: "If you wish for or desire gold come inside for here we have plenty," and they threw us from the ramparts seven diadems of fine gold and many moulded beads and other beads like shells and four ducks all of gold and after them many arrows, javelins and stones.

When we had already made two great breaches, and as it was night and it began to rain, at that moment we left the combat until the next day, and slept there that night with every precaution. The Captain ordered some of the horsemen who were on the level ground not to leave their posts and to keep their horses saddled and bridled.

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[1] Abismo in the text.

Let us go back to the Chamultecs who were all the night sounding drums and trumpets and shouting and yelling and saying that next day they were going to kill us for so their Idol had promised them. As soon as it was dawn we returned with our engines and Mantas to make larger breaches, and the enemy defended their fortress with great spirit and even wounded five of our men that day, moreover they gave me a good thrust with a lance which pierced my armour and if it were not for the good quilting of thick cotton that it had, they would have killed me. Good as it was, it was pierced and a good wad of cotton pushed out and I received a small wound.

By that time it was past mid-day and a great shower fell and then a very dense mist, for as the mountains are high there are always mists and showers, and as it was raining our Captain withdrew from the fight, and as I was experienced in the late wars in Mexico I fully realised that while the mist was gathering the enemy were not yelling and shouting as much as before, and I noticed many lances close by the battlements ramparts and barbicans and as I could only see about two hundred of them moving about, I suspected what was happening, that they intended to go or were retreating. Then I and another, my companion, quickly entered through a breach, and there were a matter of . . . [two hundred] warriors who threw themselves upon us and gave us many thrusts with their lances, and had we not been promptly supported by some Indians from Zinacantan who shouted to our soldiers who at once entered after us into the fortress we should have there lost our lives. When those Chamultecs who were standing there facing us with their lances saw the supports they turned to flight, for the other warriors had already fled under cover of the mist, and our Captain with all the soldiers and allies entered within. They had already carried off their provisions and even the women

and children and they had gone by that very bad pass which I have said was very deep and had a bad ascent and worse descent, and we went in pursuit and captured many women, boys and children and over thirty men. No spoil was found in the pueblo save provisions.

When this was done we returned with our prisoners on the road to Zinacantan, and it was settled that we should place our camp near to the river where the Ciudad Real is now established, which for another name they call Chiapas of the Spaniards. From this place Captain Luis Marin set free six Indians with their wives from among the prisoners taken at Chamula, in order that they should go and summon the people of Chamula, and he told them to have no fear, and he would give them up all the prisoners, and the messengers set off and the next day they came in peaceably and brought all their people, none were left behind and after giving their fealty to His Majesty, Captain Luis Marin entrusted me with that town, for Cortés had written to him from Mexico that he should give me something good out of what he conquered, also because I was a great friend of Luis Marin, also because I was the first soldier who got into the fortress.

Cortés sent me a Warrant of Allotment, and up to this day I have the Warrant of Allotment well taken care of, and they paid me tribute for more than eight years, during which time the Ciudad Real was not settled for it was founded later and my pueblo was given towards the founding of it.

Let us leave this and return to our story :—As Chamula was already at peace and Gueyguistlan was in revolt and would not make peace although we sent to summon it, our Captain arranged that we should go and seek the people in their pueblos, and I say here pueblos for there were then three villages all standing within forts. We left our wounded and baggage in the place where our

ranchos were, and the most active and healthy soldiers went with the Captain, and the people of Zinacantan gave us over three hundred Indian warriors who went with us. From there to the pueblos of Gueyguistlan was a matter of four leagues, and as we marched towards their pueblos we found the roads blocked, full of timber and felled trees and so much obstructed that the horses could not pass, and we cleared them with the help of the allies we had brought with us and they removed the timber and we went to one of the three pueblos which I have already said was a fortress and found it full of warriors and they began to shout and yell at us and to shoot javelins and arrows and they had great lances and shields and two handed swords [edged] with stones that cut like knives, just like those at Chamula. While our Captain and all of us were ascending to the fortress, which was much stronger and more difficult to capture than that of Chamula, they made up their minds to take to flight and left the pueblo deserted without any food supplies in it. The Zinacantecs captured two of their Indians who were promptly brought before the Captain who ordered them to be released so they could summon all the rest of their neighbours to make peace. We waited there one day for them to come with the reply, and they all came peaceably and brought a present of gold of little value and plumes of Quetzals which are feathers which are greatly valued among them.

We returned to our ranchos, and as many other things happened which do not concern our story I will not recount them, and will relate how as soon as we returned to our ranchos we began to discuss if it would be well to found a town there where we were, in accordance with Cortés's orders that we should make settlements. And many of us soldiers who were there said that it would be a good thing and others who had good Indians at

Coatzacoalcos opposed it and advanced as a pretext that we had no shoes for the horses, and that we were few in number and most of us wounded, and that the land was very thickly peopled and most of the pueblos were fortified and among great mountains and that the horses were of no use or profit to us, and to the same effect they said other things, and the worst was that Captain Luis Marin and Diego de Godoy who was a King's Notary and a very meddlesome person did not wish to settle but to return to our town. It appeared that Alonzo de Grado, whom I have at other times mentioned in the last chapter, who was more of a bully than a fighting man, had secretly brought a Warrant of Allotment signed by Cortés which gave him the half of the pueblo of Chiapas as soon as it was pacified, and by virtue of that warrant he demanded of the Captain Luis Marin that he should give him the gold that was acquired in Chiapas by gift from the Indians, and the other [lot] which was captured in the Temples of the Idols in this same Chiapas, which amounted to one thousand five hundred pesos. Luis Marin said that was to help to pay for the horses that were killed in the war and on that journey, and over this and over other disputes they were very ill disposed one to the other, and they came to such words that Alonzo de Grado who was ill-conditioned went too far in what he said. The man who interfered and stirred up all the strife was the Notary Diego de Godoy, so that Luis Marin imprisoned both one and the other, and he kept them in fetters and chains for six or seven days, and he decided to send Alonzo de Grado to Mexico, and on account of offers and promises and through kind intercessors he set Godoy free, and that made matters worse, for El Grado and Godoy at once planned to write from there to Cortés post haste saying much evil of Luis Marin, and Alonzo

de Grado even begged me to write myself to Cortés and excuse Grado from blame in my letter, for Godoy told Grado that Cortés would give credit to my letter when he saw it, and that I should not speak well of Marin. I wrote what seemed to me to be the truth not giving blame to Captain Marin.

Alonzo de Grado was promptly sent a prisoner to Mexico and an oath was taken from him that he would present himself before Cortés within eighty days, for from Zinacantan to Mexico by the road we came was over one hundred and ninety leagues.

Let us cease talking of all these broils and embarrasments. When Alonzo de Grado had set off, we decided to go and punish the people of Cimatan who had killed the two soldiers already mentioned by me, at the time when Francisco Martin the Biscayan and I escaped out of their hands. So we went along towards some pueblos called Tapilula,[1] and before reaching them there were some mountains and defiles so difficult both of ascent and descent that we considered it a most arduous task to cross by that pass, and Luis Marin sent to beg the Caciques of those pueblos to clear the road so that we could go to them. This they did and with much labour we got the horses across, and then we went by other pueblos named Sulusuchiapa[2] and Coyumelapa and thence we went to this Istapangajoya[3] and after arriving there went on to other towns named Tecomayacate and Teapa,[4] which at that time was all one pueblo and stood together, house to house and was one of the largest in that province and was in my allotment, given me by Cortés and even this very

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[1] Tapelola
[2] Silo Suchiapa
[3] Panguaxoya
} In the text,— all towns on the road from San Cristóbal to Teapa.

[4] Ateapan in the text.

day I possess the Warrants of Allotment signed by Cortés.

There were at that time many villages and other towns joined with them, which came out to attack us at the passage of a very deep river which flowed by the town, and they wounded six soldiers and killed three horses, and we were there a good while fighting with them. At last we crossed the river and they fled, and they themselves set fire to the houses and took to the forest. We remained six days attending to the wounded and making expeditions where we captured very good looking Indian women, and he [Marin] sent to summon them to make peace and said that he would give them up the people we had captured and would forgive them for the late war, and almost all the Indians came in and re-peopled their town and demanded their women and children as had been promised, and the Notary Diego de Godoy advised the Captain Luis Marin not to give them up but to brand them with the King's brand which was applied to those who having once given their fealty to His Majesty rose in revolt without any cause, and because those pueblos came out to attack us and shot at and killed three horses, they should pay for the horses with those Indian girls who were prisoners.

I replied that they ought not to be branded and it was not just, because they had come in peaceably. Over this Godoy and I had a great argument and dispute and even to sword thrusts so that both came out wounded when they separated us and made us friends. The Captain Luis Marin who was very good and not suspicious and saw that it was not just to act otherwise than as I asked him, as a favour ordered all the women and all the others who had been captured to be given up to the Caciques of the towns, and we left them in their houses fully pacified. Thence we crossed to the pueblo of Cimatan and to other

pueblos called Talatupan, and before the entrance to the pueblo they had made some loopholed walls and ramparts close to a hill and near some swamps and as we approached they suddenly let fly at us such a flight of arrows with such precision and spirit that they wounded over twenty soldiers and killed two horses, and if we had not promptly routed them and destroyed their palisades and loopholes they would have killed and wounded many more, and they soon sought refuge in the swamps. The Indians of these provinces are great archers and they can pierce with their bows and arrows double folds of well quilted cotton armour which is a great feat. We remained in their pueblo for two days and we sent to summon them and they would not come in peaceably, and as we were tired and there were many swamps which shake, where the horses were not able to go, and indeed no one can go into them without sticking in the mud or get out again unless he should crawl out on all fours, and they are so dangerous that it is a wonder if he gets out at all, and not to waste words about this, we all agreed to return to our town of Coatzacoalcos, and we returned through some pueblos of Chontalpa called Guimango and Nacajuca and Teotitan Copilco[1] and we passed other pueblos and Jalpa[2] and the river of Agualulco and that of Tonalá and finally reached the town of Coatzacoalcos.

The gold that was acquired in Chiapas and Chamula, rated at so much per pound, went to pay for the horses killed in the war.

Let us leave this and relate how Alonzo de Grado arrived in Mexico and came before Cortés, who when he knew how he had been acting, said to him very angrily: "How is it Señor Alonzo de Grado you cannot fit into

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[1] In the text. Guymango Encaxuyxuyca E Teotitan Copileco.

[2] Ulapa in the text.

one place or another, I am troubled at it, and I beg you to change these bad manners, if not, in truth, I must send you to the Island of Cuba although I will arrange to give you three thousand pesos on which to live there, for I cannot put up with you any longer." Alonzo de Grado humbled himself in such a way that he again became on good terms with Cortés. Luis Marin wrote to Cortés about all that had taken place, and I will leave off here and relate what happened at Court about the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano.

CHAPTER CLXVII.

How our Proctors who were in Spain challenged the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Burgos, and what else happened.

I HAVE already said in former chapters that Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, for so he was called, was greatly interested in the affairs of Diego Velásquez but hostile to those of Cortés and all of us. It pleased Our Lord Jesus Christ that in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty one, our very holy father the Pope Adriano de Lobayna was chosen in Rome for the Chief Pontificate, and at that time he was in Castile as its Governor, and resided in the City of Vitoria, and our Proctors went to kiss his holy feet, and a great German Lord who belonged to His Majesty's cabinet named Mosiur de Lasao came to congratulate him on his pontificate on behalf of Our Lord the Emperor. His Holiness and Mosiur de Lasao already had news of the heroic deeds and great exploits which Cortés and all of us had accomplished in the conquest of this New Spain and the many great and distinguished services which we were always rendering to His Majesty, and of the conversion of so many thousands of Indians to our Holy Faith, and it

seems that this German nobleman begged the Holy Father Adriano to deign to decide very promptly the affairs pending between Cortés and the Bishop of Burgos. His Holiness was much concerned because beside the complaints that our Proctors placed before our Holy Father many other persons of quality had gone to him to complain of the Bishop himself, on account of the many injuries and injustices which they alleged he was committing, for as His Majesty was in Flanders and the Bishop was President of the [Council of the] Indies, he ordered everything, and he was hated, and from what we understood our Proctors found the courage to dare to challenge his jurisdiction. So Diego de Ordás, and the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez a cousin of Cortés and Martin Cortés father of the said Cortés united at the Court and with the support of other gentlemen and great Lords who favoured them, and the one of them who interposed most [actively] was the Duke de Bejar, and with this support with great boldness and daring they challenged the jurisdiction of the Bishop so often mentioned by me, and the reasons they advanced were very well proved:—the first was that Diego Velásquez had given the Bishop a very good town in the Island of Cuba, and with Indians from the said town extracted gold for him from the Mines and sent it to him to Castile, and that no town whatever had been given to His Majesty, although he was under more obligation to him than to the Bishop; the other was that when in the year one thousand five hundred and seventeen we got together one hundred and ten soldiers under the Captain named Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and at our expense bought ships and ships' stores and all the rest, and set out to discover New Spain, the Bishop of Burgos reported to His Majesty that Diego Velásquez discovered it, and it was not so; the next was that Diego Velásquez sent to the country we had discovered his

nephew named Juan de Grijalva and that they made further discoveries and acquired on that voyage over twenty thousand pesos de oro by barter, and that Diego Velásquez sent the most of it to the Bishop himself, and gave none of it to His Majesty; and that when Cortés came to conquer New Spain and sent a present to His Majesty, which was the Golden Moon and the Silver Sun, and much gold in grains got out of the Mines, and a great quantity of jewels and ingots and objects of gold of different kinds, and Cortés and all of us soldiers wrote to His Majesty giving a report and account of all that happened and sent it by Francisco de Montejo and another gentleman named Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Count of Medellin, he [the Bishop] would not listen to them and took away the entire present of gold which was going to His Majesty, and abused them calling them traitors [adding] that they came to petition in favour of another traitor; and that he suppressed the letters addressed to His Majesty and wrote others very different from them, saying that his friend Diego Velásquez was sending that present, and that he did not send all they brought, for the Bishop kept half or the greater part of it, and because Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, who was one of the two Proctors whom Cortés sent, asked the Bishop to give him leave to go to Flanders where His Majesty was residing he ordered him to be thrown into prison and he died in jail. He [the Bishop] sent orders to the India House[1] at Seville to the accountant Pedro de Ysasaga and to Juan López de Recalte, who were there as His Majesty's officers, not to give any assistance to Cortés either with soldiers or arms nor anything else, and appointed to offices and employments, without consulting His Majesty, worthless men who neither deserved them

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[1] Casa de Contratacion.

nor possessed the ability or knowledge for command, such as Cristóbal de Tápia, so as to marry his niece Doña Potronilla de Fonseca with Tápia, or Diego Velásquez [to whom] he promised the Government of New Spain, and approved as correct the false reports and legal documents which the Proctors of Diego Velásquez put forward, such as those of Andrés de Duero, Manuel Rojas and the Padre Benito Martin, and he sent them to His Majesty as reliable, and the reports of Cortés and all of us who were serving His Majesty, which were very truthful, he concealed and twisted and condemned as wrong.

They advanced many other charges all very well supported, and it was not possible to hide anything however much they alleged on his behalf.

After this was done and written out fair, it was taken to Zaragoza where His Holiness was then staying and the complaint was made. As soon as he [the Pope] obtained an insight into the records and legal documents quoted in the accusation, and [saw] that the statements of the partisans of Diego Velásquez were refuted notwithstanding their claims for expenses incurred by him for ships and maintenance, on account of his not having applied to our Lord the King, but only to his friend the Archbishop of Burgos, whilst Cortés had done what was his duty as a loyal servant, His Holiness in his capacity as Governor of Castile . . . as well as Pope, ordered the Bishop of Burgos at once to resign the office of judging in the affairs and suits of Cortés and to have no further intervention in the affairs of the Indies, and he appointed Hernando Cortés as Governor of this New Spain and [said] that if Diego Velásquez had expended anything that we should pay it back to him.

He even sent to New Spain Bulls with many indulgences for the Hospitals and Churches and wrote a letter charging Cortés and all of us Conquistadores who were in his com-

pany always to exercise much diligence in the holy conversion of the Natives, and that it should be done without killing and robbery, but peaceably and as well as it could be done, and that we should prohibit and do away with [human] sacrifices and sodomy and other wickedness and he said in his letter that, on account of the great service we were rendering our Lord God and His Majesty, His Holiness as our father and pastor would undertake to pray to God for our Souls on account of the great good that all Christendom had received at our hands. Moreover he sent us other Holy Bulls for our absolution.

When our Proctors saw what the Holy Father commanded both as Pontiff and Governor of Castile they at once sent messengers past haste to where His Majesty was staying, for he had already returned from Flanders and was in Castile. They moreover took letters from His Holiness for our Monarch, and after being well informed about what I have already spoken about, he [the Emperor] confirmed what the high Pontiff had ordered and declared Cortés to be Governor of New Spain, and that Diego Velásquez should be repaid what he had expended from his property on the fleet. Moreover he ordered the Government of the Island of Cuba to be taken from him inasmuch as he had sent the fleet with Pánfilo de Narvaez without permission of His Majesty, notwithstanding that the Royal Audiencia of the Geronimite Friars who resided in Santo Domingo as Governors had forbidden it, and in order to take it [the Armada] from him had even sent a Judge of the Royal Audiencia named Lucas Velásquez de Ayllon to stop the fleet from sailing, but instead of obeying him [the Judge] they made him prisoner and sent him in chains in a ship.

Let us cease speaking of this and say how when the Bishop of Burgos knew all that I have already stated and what His Holiness and His Majesty had commanded

should be notified to him, he was so angry that he became very ill and left the Court and went to Toro where he had his residence and houses, and for all that his brother Don Antonio de Fonseca Señor de Coca y Alexos made attempts to support him, he was not able to reinstate him in the authority which he formerly held.

Let us stop talking about this and say that after the great prosperity which ensued in favour of Cortés opposition soon followed and overtook Cortés in the antagonism of grave accusations brought against him by Pánfilo de Narvaez, Cristóbal de Tápia and by the Pilot Cárdenas, who, as I have said in the chapter that treats of it, fell ill from brooding because they had not given him a share of gold from the first that was sent to Castile. Gonzalo de Umbria also accused him,—he was the pilot whose feet Cortés ordered to be cut off, because he revolted with his ship, and with Cermeño and Pedro de Escudero whom he (Cortés) ordered to be hanged.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez and Cristóbal de Tápia and a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, and another soldier named Cárdenas appeared before His Majesty with the support of the Bishop of Burgos (although he had no authority to interfere in matters concerning the Indies, for they had already taken his authority from him ;) these named by me were all staying in Toro, and they brought before His Majesty many complaints against Cortés, and what was done about it.

I HAVE already said in the last chapter how His Holiness saw and understood the great services that Cortés and all of us conquistadores who fought in his company had performed for Our Lord God and for His Majesty and all Christendom, and how he favoured Cortés by making

him Governor of New Spain, and had sent Bulls and indulgences for the Churches and Hospitals and holy absolutions for all of us. When His Majesty had seen all that the Holy Father ordered, after being well informed about all its truth, he confirmed it with other royal appointments. At that time the Bishop of Burgos was removed from his office of President of [the Council of] the Indies and went to live at the City of Toro. Just then Pánfilo de Narvaez who had been captain of the fleet which Diego Velásquez sent against us, arrived in Castile and Cristóbal de Tápia arrived at the same time, whom the Bishop himself had sent to take over the Government of New Spain, and they brought in their company Gonzalo de Umbria and another soldier named Cárdenas, and they all went together to Toro to demand support from the Bishop of Burgos, so that they could go and complain of Cortés before His Majesty, for His Majesty had already returned from Flanders.

The Bishop wished for nothing better than to lodge complaints against Cortés and against us, and he gave them support and promises to this end, and they assembled the proctors of Diego Velásquez who were at Court, namely Bernaldino Velásquez whom he had already sent from Cuba to represent him, and Benito Martin and Manuel de Rojas, and they all went together before our Lord the Emperor, and complained strongly of Cortés. The Charges they preferred against him were that Diego Velásquez sent to explore and settle New Spain three times, and expended a great sum of pesos de oro in ships and arms and ships' stores, and things that he gave to the soldiers, and that he sent Hernando Cortés in the fleet as its Captain, and that he (Cortés) revolted with the fleet and made him no return whatever. They also charged him that, notwithstanding all this, when Velásquez sent Pánfilo de Narvaez as Captain of more than fourteen hundred

soldiers in eighteen ships with many horses, musketeers and crossbowmen, and with letters and decrees of His Majesty signed by his President of the [Council of the] Indies, who was the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, [ordering him] to hand over the Government of New Spain, and he (Cortés) would not obey, on the contrary he attacked him [Narvaez], defeated him and killed his standard bearer and other Captains, and put out his eye, and burned all the property he possessed and seized Narvaez himself and other Captains who were in his company. That notwithstanding this defeat the said Bishop of Burgos decreed that Cristóbal de Tápia should go, and he went to take over the Government of those Countries in the name of His Majesty, and he [Cortés] would not obey him, and by force made him embark and return; and they accused him [Cortés] of having demanded much gold from all the cities of New Spain in the name of His Majesty and that he took it and hid it and has it in his possession.

They accused him that to the annoyance of all his soldiers he took a *fifth* like a king of all the country that had been annexed in Mexico; they accused him of having ordered the burning of Guatemoc's feet, and those of other Caciques, so that they should give him gold, and they also advanced the charge of the death of Catalina Juarez la Marcayda the wife of Cortés; they accused him of neither giving nor assisting his soldiers with shares of the gold, but keeping all of it for himself; they accused him of building palaces and fortified houses as big as a village and making all the cities in the neighbourhood of Mexico work at them, and bring great Cypress trees and stone from distant lands: they accused him of giving poison to Francisco de Garay so as to take over his men and fleet, and they advanced many other complaints and accusations so numerous, that His Majesty was angry at

hearing all this injustice that they alleged he had committed, believing it to be true.

In addition to this Narvaez speaking very loudly said these words which you will [now] hear.

"So that Your Majesty may know how things went on the night when they captured and defeated me, having some royal decrees in my bosom, when I drew them out quickly (and my eye was destroyed) so that they should not be burnt, for at that time the chamber in which I stood was on fire, they were forcibly taken from my bosom by one of Cortés's Captains named Alonzo de Ávila who is now a prisoner in France, and he would not return them to me, and stated publicly that they were not decrees but bills that I came to collect". Then they say the Emperor laughed. The reply he [the Emperor] gave was that he would order justice to be done, and would do it in the matter; and he promptly ordered certain gentlemen to assemble from his royal Councils and from the royal cabinet, persons in whom His Majesty had confidence that they would do strict justice, and they were named Mercurino Catirinario, Grand Chancellor and an Italian, Monsior de Lasao and the Doctor de la Rocha, Flemmings, Hernando de Vega, Lord of Graxales and Grand Commander of the Order of Castile, the Doctor Lorenzo Galíndez de Caravajal, and the Licenciado Vargas, Treasurer General of Castile.

When they told His Majesty that they were assembled he charged them to examine with full proofs the suits and disputes between Cortés and Diego Velásquez and those complainants and to do justice in all without respect of persons nor favour to any except to Justice.

As soon as those gentlemen had understood the Royal Order they decided to meet in some houses and palaces where the Grand Chancellor was lodged and commanded the appearance of Narvaez, Cristóbal de Tápia, the Pilot

Umbria, Cárdenas, and of Manuel de Rojas, Benito Martin and a Velásquez, these were Proctors for Diego Velásquez. There also appeared on behalf of Cortês, his father, Martin Cortés, the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez and Diego de Ordás, and they ordered the Proctors of Diego Velásquez to bring forward all their complaints, demands and charges against Cortés and they repeated the same complaints they had laid before His Majesty. To this Cortés's Proctors replied that as to what was said about Diego Velásquez being the first to send and discover New Spain having spent many pesos de oro, it was not as they stated, those who discovered it were Francisco Hernández de Córdova with one hundred and ten soldiers, at their own expense. On the contrary Diego Velásquez deserved heavy punishment because he ordered Francisco Hernández and his companions who made the discovery, to go to the Island of the Guanaxes to capture Indians by force to serve as slaves, and of this they showed proofs and on this point there was no contradiction. They also said that if Diego Velásquez next sent his relation Grijalva with another fleet, Diego Velásquez did not send him to form a settlement but to trade, and the greater part of what was expended on the fleet was found by the Captains who had charge of the ships and not by Diego Velásquez; that they gained twenty thousand pesos by barter, and that Diego Velásquez kept the greater part of it and sent it to the Bishop of Burgos to get his support, and that he did not give a share of it to His Majesty, only as much as he had a mind to. Moreover he gave Indians to the said Bishop in the Island of Cuba to extract gold for him, and to His Majesty he gave not one town, although he was under greater obligation to His Majesty than to the Bishop; of this there was good proof and it was not refuted. On this point they also declared that if he sent Hernando Cortés with another fleet it was by the grace

of God and in the interest of the Emperor himsélf, and it was certain that if he had sent another Captain he would have been defeated on account of the great multitude of warriors who assembled against him, and that when Diego Velásquez despatched him he did not send him to settle but to trade; proofs of this were shown, that if he (Cortés) remained to form a settlement it was at the request of his companions, and seeing that it was to the service of God and of His Majesty he formed settlements, and that it was a very successful matter and a report of it had been sent to His Majesty, and he had sent him all the gold he was able to acquire, and he wrote two letters to him about it, informing him of what has been stated above, and that [he] Cortés and all his companions bowed to the ground in compliance with his royal commands. Then a report was made of all the things that the Bishop of Burgos did for Diego Velásquez, and that we sent our Proctors with the gold and letters, and the Bishop concealed our many services and did not forward our letters to His Majesty, but others such as suited him, and that he kept most of the gold that we sent for himself and distorted nearly everything that His Majesty ought to have known, and he did not tell the truth about anything, as he was bound to do, to our King and Lord, and because our Proctors wished to go to Flanders [to appear] before his royal person, he threw one of them named Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Count of Medellin, into prison and he died there. The said Bishop ordered the officials of the India House at Seville not to give any assistance to Cortés either in the matter of arms or of soldiers, but to thwart him in everything, and he loudly called us traitors. The Bishop did all this because he was arranging a marriage between Diego Velásquez or Tápia and his niece or daughter named Doña Petronilla de Fonseca, and had promised that he would make him

Governor of Mexico, and for all of this that I have stated they exhibited copies of the letters we had written to His Majesty, and other sufficient proofs; and on behalf of Diego Velásquez this was not refuted in any particular because they had nothing to oppose to it.

As to what was said about Pánfilo de Narvaez, that Diego Velásquez sent him with eighteen ships, fourteen hundred soldiers, one hundred horses, eighty musketeers and as many crossbowmen and had been put to great expense, they replied that Diego Velásquez deserved the punishment of death for having sent that expedition without His Majesty's permission, and because when he sent his Proctors to Castile he submitted nothing whatever to Our Lord the King as was his duty, but only to the Bishop of Burgos.

The Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, sent to the Island of Cuba to order Diego Velásquez under pain of heavy punishment not to despatch that fleet until His Majesty should know about it and he had His Royal permission to do so, for to act otherwise was to do a great dis-service to God and His Majesty by raising discords in New Spain during the time that Cortés and his companions were conquering and converting such a great number of natives, who were converted to our Holy Catholic faith; and in order to detain the fleet they sent a Judge of the same Royal Audiencia named the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and instead of obeying him and the royal orders that he brought, they threw him in prison and without any [show of] respect, sent him away in a ship. As Narvaez who was present was the one who committed that irreverent offence touching on the crime of "laesa Magistatis", he (also) was deserving of death, and they begged those gentlemen mentioned by me who were serving as judges to order him to be

punished, and they (the judges) replied that they would see that justice was done.

Let us continue the relation of the refutations made by our Proctors, as to what had been said about Cortés not wishing to obey the royal decrees brought by Narvaez, and having made war on him and defeated him and destroyed his eye and captured him and all his Captains and set fire to his quarters. To this they replied as follows :—

When Narvaez arrived in New Spain and disembarked the first thing he did was to send word to the great Cacique Montezuma, whom Cortés held prisoner, that he had come to release him and to kill all of those who were with Cortés, and he disturbed the country to such an extent that where all had been peaceful it reverted again to warfare. As soon as Cortés heard that Narvaez had come to the Port of Vera Cruz he wrote to him very courteously that if he brought decrees from His Majesty, he wished to see and obey them with the respect he owed to his King and Lord, and he [Narvaez] would not answer his letters but in his camp was always calling him [Cortés] a traitor, which he was not, but a loyal servant of His Majesty, and when Narvaez ordered a proclamation of blood and fire and free loot to be made in his camp against Cortés and his companions, he [Cortés] begged him many times for peace and to be careful not to upset New Spain in a way that would result in all being lost. He offered to go away to such a part of the country as he might wish to conquer and Narvaez should go in any other direction which pleased him best, and that between them they would serve God and His Majesty and pacify those countries, but not even to this would he [Narvaez] give any reply. When Cortés saw that all those acts of courtesy were in vain, and he was not shown the royal decrees, and heard of the great irreverence

Narvaez had committed in seizing His Majesty's Judge, he decided, in order to punish him for that crime, to go and speak to him and see the royal decrees and learn for what reason he had seized the Judge. [Our Proctors also stated] that Narvaez had certainly arranged to capture Cortés . . . . . . and of this they produced proofs and sufficient attestations, and moreover as a witness [they called] Andrés de Duero who was there on the side of Narvaez when that happened, and it was this same Duero who gave notice of it to Cortés. To all this the party of Diego Velásquez could offer no refutation whatever. As to the accusations regarding the coming of Francisco Garay to Panuco with a great fleet and decrees from His Majesty by which he was made Governor of that province, and that Cortés had shown great cunning and assiduity in inducing Garay's soldiers to rise against him, and the Indians of the said province killed many of them, and his taking certain ships from them, and committing other excesses, until Garay saw that he was lost and deserted and without captains or soldiers and went to place himself within Cortés's doors and lodged in his house, and within eight days of breakfasting with him he died of poison that they had then given him,—they replied that it was not so. For there was no need for Cortés to make Garay's soldiers mutiny, because as Garay was not a man suited for warfare he had no skill with soldiers, and because they did not meet with good land when he disembarked, but with rivers and bad swamps and mosquitos and bats, and those whom he brought in his company heard news of the great prosperity of Mexico and the riches and the good report of the liberality of Cortés, there was reason enough for them to go to him to Mexico; and his [Garay's] soldiers wandered about through the pueblos of those provinces robbing the natives and taking their daughters and wives, and the natives rose against them

and killed the soldiers and he [Cortés] did not, as they say, seize the ships, but they were wrecked. If Cortés sent his Captains it was so that they might speak to Garay offering themselves to him on behalf of Cortés, and to examine the royal decrees, whether they were at variance with those which Cortés already possessed, and that Garay seeing himself deserted by his soldiers, and his ships run aground, came to get help in Mexico, and Cortés ordered much honour to be paid to him on the road, and [prepared] banquets in Texcoco, and when he entered Mexico he went out to receive him, and lodged him in his house, and had arranged a marriage between their children, and wished to give him support and assistance to settle at the Rio de Palmas, and that if he fell ill and God was pleased to take him from this world what fault had Cortés in the matter? Great honour was paid to him in his burial, and they put on mourning for him and the doctors who attended him swore that it was pleurisy and that was the truth and there was no refutation. As to what was said about his exacting a fifth like a King, they answered that when they made him Captain General and Chief Justice, until His Majesty might decide otherwise, the soldiers promised to give him a fifth from the shares after the royal fifth was taken out, and he took it because he afterwards spent all he possessed in His Majesty's service, for he went on the expedition to Panuco and paid over sixty thousand pesos de oro from his property, and sent in presents to His Majesty much of the gold that had come to him from his fifth, and they exhibited proofs of all they said and there was no refutation from the Proctors of Diego Velásquez.

As to what was alleged about Cortés having taken from the soldiers the shares of gold which fell to them, they said that they were given to them in accordance

with the account of the gold which was found on the Capture of Mexico, for very little was found, because the Indians of Tlaxcala and Texcoco and the other warriors who were present in the battles and wars had stolen it all; and there was no refutation to this. Concerning what was stated about the death of Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda the wife of Cortés, they denied it, for she was already ill with asthma and died the next morning. As to what was said about Cortés ordering the feet of Guatemoc and the other Caciques to be burnt with oil, so as to make them yield up the gold, to this they replied that His Majesty's officers did the burning against the wish of Cortés, to make them [the Caciques] betray the whereabouts of the treasure of Montezuma, and for this they furnished plenty of evidence.

Regarding the charge that he had built very great houses and held court in them[1] and had caused tree timber and cypresses and stone to be brought from distant lands, they replied that the houses were in truth most sumptuous for he had them built for His Majesty's service and in his Royal Name, but that the timber and cypresses grew close to the city and were brought by water, and as for stone, there was so much from the temples of the idols which they destroyed, that there was no necessity to bring it from outside, and in order to dress it, all that was needed was to order the great Cacique Guatemoc to have it dressed by Indian artizans of whom there are many, both builders and carpenters, and Guatemoc had summoned all his towns for the purpose, for it was the custom among the Indians to build the houses and palaces of their Lords in this manner.

As to the complaint of Narvaez, that Alonzo de Ávila

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[1] Avia en ellas una villa.

snatched the royal decrees from his breast by force and would not give them back and gave out that they were bills which he had come to collect, and that he did it by Cortés's orders:—they answered that they saw no decrees but only three notes of hand for certain horses and mares which had been sold on credit, and these they gave back to Narvaez. Cortés never saw any such decrees nor ordered them to be taken from him.

As to the complaint of the Pilot Umbria that Cortés had ordered his feet to be cut off and ill treated for no reason whatever:—they answered that they were cut off, according to justice and judgment that was given on the matter, for he tried to revolt with his ship and to desert his Captain in wartime and go to Cuba with two other men whom Cortés justly ordered to be hanged. As to the plea of Cárdenas, that they had not given him his share of the first gold that was sent to His Majesty, they said that he signed [a declaration] with many others that he wanted no share in it, but that it should be sent to His Majesty, and in addition to this Cortés gave him three hundred pesos to take to his wife and children, and that Cárdenas not being a man fit for warfare and crack brained and of no use he was very well paid with the three hundred pesos. And finally they answered that if Cortés went against Narvaez and defeated him and destroyed his eye and took him and his captains prisoners and burnt his quarters, Narvaez himself was the cause of it, according to what they had [already] stated and alleged, and [it was done] as a punishment for the great irreverence he had committed in seizing one of His Majesty's Judges, and as right was on the side of Cortés and his companions in that battle which he fought with Narvaez Our Lord God was pleased to give the victory to Cortés who with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers, without horses or muskets or crossbows but with great

skill and presents of gold, defeated Narvaez and destroyed his eye and captured him and his Captains who brought against Cortés thirteen hundred soldiers and among them one hundred horsemen, and as many musketeers and cross-bowmen, and had Narvaez remained as Captain of New Spain, it would have been lost. As to what was said about Cristóbal de Tápia coming to take over the Government of New Spain with decrees from His Majesty and their refusing to obey him:—to this they answered that Cristóbal de Tápia, who was there present, had been content to sell some horses and negroes, and had he gone to Mexico where Cortés was stationed and shown him his authority, he [Cortés] would have obeyed it, but as all the gentlemen and the municipalities of all the cities and towns saw that it was desirable that Cortés should hold the Government at that time, because Tápia was not fit for it, they protested against the royal decrees to His Majesty, as appears in the deeds which were drawn up on the subject.

After they had finished stating their demands on behalf of Diego Velásquez and Narvaez, and those gentlemen [already] mentioned by me, as Judges had taken note of the replies, and all that was alleged on behalf of Cortés and proved, and had been occupied for five days in listening to one side and the other, they decided to submit the whole matter in a consultation to His Majesty, and after a unanimous decision had been reached, the judgment they delivered was as follows:—

Firstly, they considered Cortés a good and loyal servant of His Majesty, as well as everyone of us the true conquistadores who went with him, and they esteemed highly our great fidelity and they praised and extolled in the highest degree the great battles and the daring we showed against the Indians, and did not omit mentioning how few in number we were when we defeated Narvaez, and

promptly silenced Diego Velásquez as to his claim to the government of New Spain, and that if he had spent anything on the fleets that he might justly demand it from Cortés. They next gave judgment that Cortés should be governor of New Spain according to the orders of the high Pontiff and they approved in the name of His Majesty of the allotments Cortés had made, and gave him authority to grant lands from that time forward, and they approved of all he had done for it was clearly for the service of God and His Majesty.

In the affair of Garay, and in other matters touching the charges they brought against him [such as] the death of his wife Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda, they came to no decision with regard to it, it was reserved for a future time when they would send to take his Residencia. As to the charge Narvaez put forward, about their snatching the decrees from his breast, and that it was Alonzo de Ávila [who did it] who was at the time a prisoner in France, for Juan Florin, the great Pirate, had seized him when he stole Montezuma's jewels which we were sending; those gentlemen declared that he [Narvaez] had better go and ask him in France or that they should cite him to appear before His Majesty's Court, so as to hear what he would answer to it. As to the two pilots Umbria and Cárdenas, they ordered them to be given royal grants so that they should each be given Indians in New Spain who would produce an equivalent of a thousand pesos de oro. They ordered that all the conquistadores should receive a preference and that they should give us good allotments of Indians, and that we should be entitled to seats of honour, both within the holy churches as well as in other places.

When this judgment was given and delivered by those gentlemen whom His Majesty had appointed as Judges, they took it to Valladolid where His Majesty was re-

siding, to be signed, for at that time (having come from Flanders) he had ordered all his royal Court and Council to proceed there, and His Majesty signed it, and issued other royal decrees to turn out other renegades from New Spain; so that there should be no obstacle to the conversion of the Natives. He also ordered that no lawyers should go there for some years, for, wherever they are, they stir up lawsuits, arguments and discord. All these decisions were issued with His Majesty's signature and counter-signed by those gentlemen who acted as judges and by Don García de Padilla in this same city of Valladolid on the seventeenth of May in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty something, and they came legalized by the Secretary Don Francisco de los Cobos[1] who was afterwards Comendador Mayor of Leon.

Then His Majesty wrote to Cortés and all of us who had gone with him thanking us for the many good and distinguished services we had performed for him, and at that time also Don Hernando of Hungary, King of the Romans and father of the present Emperor,[2] wrote another letter in reply to one Cortés had written and sent to him with a present of many golden jewels, and what the King of Hungary said in the letter he wrote, was that he had already heard the news of the many and great services that he had performed first to God and to his Lord and brother the Emperor and to all Christendom and he (Cortés) should let him know of any wishes he might have so that he could intercede for them in favour of their fulfilment with his Lord and brother the Emperor, for his (Cortés') generous personality was entitled to more than that, and he should give his allotments to his valiant

[1] Francisco de los Covos. Marqués de Camerasa.

[2] Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles V., succeeded to the Empire on death of Charles V. in 1558.

soldiers who had assisted him. He added other complimentary expressions, and I remember that he signed himself "I, the King and Infante of Castile," and it was countersigned by his Secretary named somebody of Castillejo, and this letter I read two or three times in Mexico for Cortés showed it to me, so that I might see in what high esteem we the true conquistadores were held.

When our Proctors received those warrants they promptly despatched them post haste by Rodrigo de Paz, a cousin of Cortés and a relation of the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez, and there also went with them an hidalgo from Estremadura, also a relation of Cortés, named Francisco de Las Casas and they engaged a quick sailing ship and set their course for the Island of Cuba, and in Santiago de Cuba, where Diego Velásquez was Governor they notified him of the decrees and sentences ordering him to abandon his suit against Cortés, and to demand of him the disbursements he had made. The notification was made by sound of trumpet, and Diego Velásquez fell ill from vexation and died within a few months poor and discontented.

So as not to have to turn back again to recite what Francisco de Montejo and Diego de Ordás negotiated in Castile, I will state it now; to Francisco de Montejo His Majesty granted the Government of Yucatan and Cozumel and made him Adelantado which conveyed [the titles of] Don and Señoria; to Diego de Ordás His Majesty confirmed the [grant of] Indians that he held in New Spain, and gave him a Commandery of [the order of] Señor Santiago, and the Volcano which is near Huexotzingo as a coat of Arms, and with this they went back to New Spain, and within two or three years Ordás himself returned to Castile, and petitioned for leave to conquer Marañon, where he lost his life and all his property.

Let us leave this and say that when the Bishop of Burgos who in due time heard of the great favours which His Majesty bestowed on Cortés and all of us Conquistadores, and how those gentlemen already mentioned by me as Judges had gained full knowledge of the agreements that existed between him and Diego Velásquez and how he took the gold that we sent to His Majesty and concealed and distorted our many services and approved as good those of his friend Diego Velásquez, if he had been very sad and reflective before, he now on this occasion fell seriously ill on account of this and other annoyances which he suffered through a gentleman who was his nephew named Don Alonzo de Azevedo Fonseca, who was Archbishop of Santiago, for Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca claimed that Archbishopric.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how Francisco de Las Casas and Rodrigo de Paz arrived in New Spain and entered Mexico with the royal decrees which they brought from His Majesty to the effect that Cortés was to be Governor, what happiness and rejoicing they caused and what messengers started through all the provinces of New Spain to claim rewards in the towns which had been settled, and what favours Cortés conferred on Las Casas and on Rodrigo de Paz and others who came in their company who were from his home at Medellin. He made Francisco de Las Casas a Captain and at once gave him a town named Aguitlan, and to Rodrigo de Paz he gave other very good towns and made him his chief steward and secretary, and he ended by managing Cortés himself. To all those who came from his home at Medellin he gave Indians, and to the Master of the ship which brought the news that Cortés was governor, he gave gold with which he returned to Castile a rich man.

Let us cease from reciting the rejoicings and rewards

that were given on account of the news I have mentioned, and let me answer what some inquisitive readers have asked me, and they are quite right to bring up the discussion:—how was it possible for me to know what had happened in Spain, both what His Holiness commanded as well as the complaints they made against Cortés and the replies that our Proctors offered for consideration, and the judgment that was given in the matter, and many other particulars which I have here spoken of and stated, and which as I was at the time conquering in New Spain and its provinces, I could neither see nor hear? I answer them that not only did I get to know it, but all the conquistadores [did so] who cared to see and read it in four or five letters and reports which explained in their chapters how and when and at what time all that I have related had taken place, and these letters and reports our Proctors wrote from Castile so that we should know that they were pressing our business with great fervour.

I often said at the time that it looked as though what they obtained was solely on account of Cortés's affairs and their own, and that as for us who had won and conquered it [the country] and placed Cortés in the position that he occupied, we were always left to face one difficulty after another, and as there is much to be said on this subject, let it stay in the inkpot, except to pray our Lord God to remedy it and to incline the heart of our Great Cæsar to order his honest justice which in all things is infallible to be carried out.

Let us pass on and speak of what Cortés was occupied about after he was invested with the Government.

CHAPTER CLXIX.

What Cortés was engaged upon after he was invested with the Government of New Spain, how and in what way he allotted the pueblos of Indians and other things that took place, and a sort of grumbling it led to among the recipients.

THE Government of New Spain had no sooner been conferred on Cortés than it occurred to me and others of the original Conquistadores of most mature and prudent judgment that it would have to be Cortés's duty to bear in mind all the hardships that ensued from the day that he set out from the Island of Cuba onwards, and remember who were the persons who supported him when we disembarked on the Sand-dunes, and when he was chosen Captain General and Chief Justice of New Spain. Who again were those who were always to be found at his side in all the wars, those of Tabasco and Cingapacinga and in the three battles of Tlaxcala, and in that of Cholula, when they had the pots all ready with Chili peppers to cook and eat us, and also who took his side when on account of six or seven soldiers who were not on good terms with him they bid him return to Villa Rica instead of going to Mexico, putting before him the great strength of warriors and the powerful fortification of the city, and who were those who entered Mexico with him and aided in the capture of the great Montezuma. Then when Pánfilo de Narvaez came with his fleet, who were the soldiers whom he took with him to aid him in the capture and defeat of Narvaez, and who were those who returned with him to Mexico to the relief of Pedro de Alvarado and were present at the bridges and the great attacks they made on us until we fled from Mexico, and out of the thirteen hundred soldiers eight hundred and fifty

were left dead, counting those who were killed in Tuxtepec and on the roads, and only four hundred and forty of us through God's Mercy escaped; and he should also be reminded who in that fearful battle of Otumba, after God, helped him to come out a conqueror from that extreme danger, and later on who were they and how many who helped him to conquer Tepeaca and Cachula and their neighbourhood, and Izucar and Guacachula, and how we took the round by way of Texcoco to Mexico, and the many other expeditions we made from Texcoco such as the affair of Iztapalapa when they tried to drown us, letting out (as they did) the water of the lake thinking to drown us in it; and in the same manner of the battles we fought with the natives of that pueblo and the Mexicans who helped them, and then of the expeditions to Zaltocan, and the Peñoles which they now call the Peñoles del Marqués, and many other expeditions; and the round of the great pueblos of the lake, and the many encounters and battles that took place during that journey such as those at Xochimilco and those at Tacuba; and on our return to Texcoco who were those who helped him against the conspiracy which was planned and settled to kill him, on which account he hanged one Villafaña. After this who were those who helped him to conquer Mexico and suffered many battles and wounds and hardships day and night for ninety-three days on end, until Guatemoc, who governed Mexico at that time, was captured. Who were those who helped him and backed him up when a certain Cristóbal de Tápia came to New Spain to take over the Government, and more than all this, who were the soldiers who wrote three times to His Majesty in praise of the many great, good and notable services that Cortés had done him, and [affirmed] that he was worthy of the highest rewards and should be made Governor of New Spain. I do not

wish now to call to mind other services which we were constantly performing for Cortés, we the manly and hardy soldiers who had gone through all this; but now when the Government had come to him, (and, after God, it was through our help that it was given to him) it would be seemly that he should take count of Dick, Tom and Harry[1] and others who deserved it, and the soldier and comrade who was perchance in Colima or Zacatula, or in Panuco or Coatzacoalcos, and those who fled away when Tututepec was abandoned, and who were poor because the luck of [possessing] good Indians had not fallen to their share, for there was property to dispose of, and [means of] removing them from unprofitable lands, as His Majesty had many times ordered and charged him to do in his Royal letters. Cortés gave nothing from his own property and he should have given what would have supported them and have given them preference in all things. When he wrote to the proctors who were in Castile he should have written in our name telling them to solicit on our behalf, and Cortés himself should have written to His Majesty very graciously begging him to give us for ourselves and our children all the appointments and royal offices that there were in New Spain, but I say other peoples troubles weighed lightly with him[2], and he solicited for himself alone the Government which they brought him not only before he was made a Marquis, but after he went to Castile and came back a Marquis.

Let us leave this and mention here another proceeding which would have been a very right and just way of apportioning the whole of the Pueblos of New Spain, according to the very learned Conquistadores of prudent

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[1] Con Pero y Sancho y Min.
[2] Mal ageno de pelo cuelga.

and mature judgment who captured it. What should have been done was this, to divide New Spain into five parts, one fifth part of the best cities and capitals of all the population to be given to His Majesty as his royal fifth, leaving another part for allotment so that the rent should go to the churches, hospitals and monasteries, and to enable His Majesty to grant some favours to gentlemen who had done him service if he wished to do so, and there would have been enough for all; and the three parts that remained should have been divided between Cortés and all of us original Conquistadores according to the rank which he considered that each of us held, and it should have been granted in perpetuity, for at that time His Majesty would have approved of it, as he had expended nothing on these conquests and neither knew nor had heard of this country, (residing as he did at that time in Flanders) and seeing that as loyal subjects we had delivered over to him a considerable part of the lands of the New World he would have been graciously pleased to make us a grant of them, and with that we should have settled down and should not have wandered on as we wander now like a lame mule, dejected and going from bad to worse under Governors who do just as they choose, while many of us Conquistadores have not enough to live on, [nor do we know] what will become of the children we leave behind us.

I wish to state what Cortés did and to whom he gave the pueblos; first of all [he gave them] to Francisco de Las Casas, to Rodrigo de Paz, to the Factor, the Veedor and the Accountant who at that time came from Castile, and to a certain Avalos and Saavedra his relations, and to one Barrios to whom he married his sister-in-law, sister of his wife la Marcayda, so that they should not accuse him of the murder of his wife, and to Alonzo Lucas and to one Juan de la Torre and Luis de la Torre

and to a Villegas and to one Alonzo Valiente and a Ribera the squint-eyed. Why do I count these few when to as many as came from Medellin, and to any servants of great lords who told him stories that pleased him he gave the best of New Spain. I do not say that it was better to abstain from giving to all, for there was plenty, but that he should have first considered those whom His Majesty recommended and the soldiers who helped him to gain the position and power he possessed, and should have assisted them. Now that it is done I do not wish to repeat any more, but I remember that a saying was current among us when there was anything of much importance to be divided that they used it as a proverb when there were debates about it, and they were wont to say "Not to divide it like Cortés who took all the gold and the most and the best of New Spain for himself" while we remain poor in the towns where we settled in the misery which fell to our lot, but when it comes to going on expeditions which suit his purpose he remembers well enough where we are and sends to summon us for battles and warfare as I will relate later on.

I will stop reciting grievances and the oppression to which he subjected us for it cannot now be remedied, and I will not omit to relate what Cortés said after they took the Government from him (which was when Luis Ponce de Leon came, and when Luis Ponce died he left Marcos de Aguilar as his lieutenant as I will report further on) and that is when some of us gentlemen and captains, old companions who had helped him in the conquest, went to Cortés to tell him to give up some of the many Indians that he then possessed, for His Majesty ordered some of them to be taken from him, and they had to be given up and were promptly taken from him, and the answer he gave was that they must suffer as he was suffering, but if His Majesty should again grant him

the Government, by his conscience, (for that was his [customary] oath,) he would not make the mistakes he had done in the past, but would give good allotments to those whom His Majesty should designate, and would amend the great error which he committed in the past, and with such [promise of] allotments and smooth words he thought they were contented but they went about abusing him and even cursing him and his entire family and all that he possessed, and wishing him bad luck with it, him and his daughters.

Let us leave this now and relate that at that time or a few days earlier, the Officers of His Majesty's Treasury arrived from Castile namely Alonzo de Estrada the Treasurer a native of Ciudad Real and the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar who said that he was the eldest son of Cristiano who was born in Granada and they say his ancestors came from Burgos, and Rodrigo de Albornoz also arrived, for Julian de Alderete was dead, and this Albornoz was a native of Paldinas or of Ragama. The Veedor Pedro Almíndez Chirino came, a native of Ubeda or Basca and many other persons came who had official appointments.

Let us leave this, and I wish to state that at this time one Rodrigo Rangel whom I have often mentioned before (who had not been present at the capture of Mexico, nor at any of the battles which had been fought in New Spain) so that he might gain in some repute, begged Cortés to give him a company to go and conquer the Pueblos of the Zapotecs who were at war, and that he might take Pedro de Írcio in his company to act as adviser in what was to be done. As Cortés knew that Rodrigo Rangel was not the man to be entrusted with any task because he was always ailing with great pain from boils and was very feeble and his thighs and legs were very thin, and all his body and head covered with

running sores, he refused him that expedition, saying that the Zapotec Indians were a difficult people to conquer on account of the great and lofty mountains where they lived, so that it was impossible to take horses, and that there were always fogs and mists there, and the roads were narrow and slippery and one could not walk along them unless, so to speak, with the feet of those going ahead on a level with the heads of those who came behind (this is to be understood in the way I here state it, as it is true, because those who go above and those who come behind, go head to foot) and that it was not a suitable undertaking [for him] to go against them, and if they did go they would have to take soldiers who were very active and strong and experienced in warfare.

However, as Rangel was very obstinate and came from the same country as Cortés which is Medellin, he persuaded him to grant his request, and as we afterwards learned Cortés was in favour of sending him to a place where he might die, for he had a bad tongue and said evil things. So Cortés himself wrote to Coatzacoalcos to ten or a dozen of us whom he named in the letter begging us to go with Rangel and assist him; and among the soldiers ordered to go he named me, and all of us went, that is all those settlers to whom Cortés had written.

I have already said that there are great mountains in the land inhabited by the Zapotecs and that the natives are very active and lithe people and that with certain calls and whistles which they give all the valleys resound just like echoes.

As we had to take along Rangel we could not hurry and do what we ought to do, and when we reached a pueblo we found it deserted and as the houses were not close together but one on a hill and another in a valley and it was the rainy season and poor Rangel was crying

out with pain from his boils, and we all disliked marching in his company, and seeing that it was a waste of time we feared that some disaster might happen, if by chance the Zapotecs should wait for us and face us (for they are active and have long lances, much better than ours, and they are great archers and shoot stones from slings and we could only move along the roads in single file,) and as Rangel was worse than when he started he agreed to abandon the black conquest, for black one might call it and return each one to his home. Pedro de Ircio whom he brought as adviser was the first to give this advice and he left Rangel and went off to Villa Rica where he lived and Rangel said that he wished to go with us to Coatzacoalcos as it was a warm country, to be cured of his illness, and the bad luck fell to us residents of Coatzacoalcos who were then present to carry that laggard back with us.

When we arrived at Coatzacoalcos he at once said that he wished to go and pacify the provinces of Cimatan and Talatupan[1] which (as I have already said many times in the chapter that treats of the subject) did not want to make peace because of [the protection afforded them by] the great rivers and quaking bogs among which they lived, and in addition to this stronghold of swamps they were by nature great archers and used very large bows and were excellent shots. To go back to our story, Rangel displayed in that town decrees from Hernando Cortés [to the effect] that he sent him as Captain to conquer the provinces that were at war, especially that of Cimatan and Talatupan and he summoned nearly all the settlers of the town to accompany him, and Cortés was so greatly feared that although we regretted it, we did not dare to disobey when we beheld his decrees, and over one hundred

[1] Tacotalpa?

foot soldiers and horsemen and as many as twenty-six crossbowmen and musketeers set out with Rangel.

We went by [way of] Tonalá, Ayagualulco, Copilco, and Zacualco and we crossed many rivers in canoes and rafts and we passed by Teotitan Copilco and by all the towns we called La Chontalpa which were peaceable and arrived within five leagues of Cimatan, and in some swamps and bad places there were assembled nearly all the warriors of that province and they had erected fences and great barricades of logs and thick timbers, and from within some battlements and loopholes whence they could shoot promptly they gave us such a vigorous attack of arrows and fire hardened javelins from their spear throwers that they killed seven horses and wounded more than eight soldiers and they gave Rangel himself who was on horseback an arrow wound in the left arm, but it only entered a little way.

We old Conquistadores had told Rangel that active men should always go [in advance] on foot examining the road and looking out for ambuscades, and had already said at other times that these Indians were used to fight very bravely and with cunning, but as he was a man who talked much he said, curse it all, if he had believed us that would not have happened to him, and from this time onwards that we should be the captains and should command him in the war. As soon as the soldiers were healed as well as certain horses which were wounded in addition to the seven which were killed, Rangel ordered me to go scouting ahead and to take a very fierce lurcher that belonged to him and also two soldiers and crossbowmen, and I told him to keep well back with the horsemen and that the soldiers and musketeers should go with me. On our way to the pueblo of Cimatan which was at that time well populated we met with other barricades and fortifications neither more nor less than those we had already passed,

and they let fly at us who were going ahead such [a number of] arrows and javelins that they promptly killed the lurcher and but for my thick armour I should have fallen there, for seven arrows were hanging from me checked [from piercing me] by the thick wadding of my armour, however, even so I came out wounded in one foot, and all my companions were wounded.

Then I cried out to some friendly Indians who were a little way behind [to tell] the musketeers, crossbowmen and foot soldiers to come at once to our assistance, but the horsemen to stay behind for they could not gallop there nor make any use of their horses and they would have been shot with arrows. And they soon came to my support as I had sent to tell them, for before I had gone on ahead it had all been so arranged that the horsemen should keep well back and that all the others should be on the alert for a signal or order. When the crossbowmen and musketeers came up we drove the enemy from the barricades and they took refuge in some great quaking swamps, and no one could enter them and get out again except on all fours or with much assistance.

At this time Rangel arrived with the horsemen and [as] there were many houses round about abandoned by their owners we rested [there] that day and treated the wounded. The next day we marched on the way to the pueblo of Cimatan and there were great level savannahs, and in the middle of the savannahs most horrible swamps, and in one of them the enemy waited for us, and it was with cunning that they agreed among themselves to await us in the open field of the savannahs, and they foresaw that, in their greediness to overtake them and spear them, the horsemen would come galloping after them full tilt, and would stick in the mud of the swamp, and it happened just as they had planned in spite of all we had told and advised Rangel that he should be on the

look out as there were many swamps, and that he should not gallop over the savannahs with loose reign, for the horses would stick in the mud and that these Indians were known to use these stratagems and make fortifications and places to shoot from near to the swamps, but he would not believe it. The first to get stuck in the swamp was Rangel himself, and his horse was killed [and they would have captured him] if he had not been promptly rescued, for many Indians had thrown themselves into those dangerous swamps in order to seize him and carry him off alive to be sacrificed. However he came out with the ulcers on his head scarified.

As all that province was thickly peopled we went to another small pueblo close by and the inhabitants fled from it, and there we doctored Rangel and the three soldiers who were wounded, and thence we went to some other houses, also without inhabitants for their owners at once deserted them, and we found another fortification well fenced with great baulks of timber and loopholes for arrows, and we had not rested more than a quarter of an hour when so great a number of Cimatec warriors came and surrounded us in the pueblo that they killed one soldier and two horses, and we barely succeeded in driving them off.

At that time our Rangel was suffering greatly from his head and there were many mosquitos so that he could sleep neither by night nor day and huge bats which bit him and sucked his blood. It was always raining, and as some of the soldiers newly arrived from Castile, whom Rangel had brought with him, saw that the Indians of that province had already made a stand against us in three places and had killed eleven horses and two soldiers and wounded many others, they advised Rangel to turn back for it was a very poor country and full of swamps, and Rangel was anxious to do so, but

in order that the retreat should not appear to be of his own free will and wish, but on account of the advice of the majority, he determined to call a council to consider it, [composed] of persons who were of his way of thinking so that the retreat should take place.

At that moment twenty of us soldiers had gone out to see whether we could capture some people in the neighbouring cacao groves and we brought back two Indian men and three women. Then Rangel called me aside and consulted me and spoke of his headache and how the other soldiers had advised him to turn back, and told me all that had happened. Then I censured him about the retreat and said to him "what will they say of your Honour being so near to the pueblo of Cimatan and wishing to turn back? Cortés will not be pleased at it, and evil disposed persons who wish you ill will throw it in your face that neither in the expedition against the Zapotecs nor in this one have you achieved a single good result although you were accompanied by such fine conquistadores, namely, the men of our town of Coatzacoalcos. In so far as our honour and that of Your Excellency is concerned I and other soldiers are of opinion that we should go forward, and I and my companions will go on ahead examining the swamps and forests and with the crossbowmen and musketeers we will go to the Capital of Cimatan, and your Honour can give my horse to some other gentleman who is expert with a lance and has the courage to manage him, for he is of no use to me in what I am doing, and he can come behind with the horsemen."

When Rodrigo Rangel heard this from me as he was a loud voiced man and a great talker he came out from the hut where [he had] been holding council and in a loud voice called together all the soldiers and said "the die is cast that we are to go ahead curse it all

(for this was always his way of swearing and talking) if Bernal Díaz del Castillo has told me the truth it is what suits all of you," and although some soldiers were sorry for it, others thought it right, and we at once began our march with the crossbowmen and musketeers in good order close by me, and the horsemen in the rear on account of the forest and swamps where horses could not gallop, until we reached another pueblo which the natives abandoned. Thence we went to the capital of Cimatan and went through another affray of arrows and javelins, but we soon put the enemy to flight and the native dwellers in that pueblo set fire to many of their houses, and there we captured fifteen men and women, and sent the women to bid the Cimatecs to make peace and we would pardon them for the warfare, and the relations and husbands of the women and common folk whom we held as prisoners came and we gave them up all the spoil, and they said that they would bring the whole pueblo to peace, but they never returned with an answer. Then Rangel said to me "Curse it all, but you have deceived me and you must make an expedition with other companions and find me as many Indian men and women as those you have made me release through your advice."

So fifty of us soldiers with myself as Captain promptly set out and we came on some ranchos placed among quaking bogs which we did not dare to enter, whence [the inhabitants] fled through some great thickets and thorn brakes which they call among themselves Xihuaquetlan, which are very dangerous and pierce one's feet, and in some cacao groves we captured six men and women with their little children and we returned to our Captain and with this we appeased him, and he again set the prisoners free so that they should summon the Cimatecs to make peace, and in

spite of persuasion they would not come, and we resolved to return to our town of Coatzacoalcos.

So ended the expeditions against the Zapotecs and against the people of Cimatan, and this is the report which should have been made of Rangel when he begged this conquest of Cortés.

I wish to relate some things which Rangel did on the march for they are laughable; when they were in the Zapotec mountains, it appears that one of the soldiers newly arrived from Castile made him angry, and Rangel said and swore "Curse it all, he must be tied to a whipping post", and he said, "is there no knave to lend a hand and help me to tie him"? There was a soldier there who now lives in Oaxaca named Hernando de Aguilar and as he was a simple-minded man he said "I want to get away from here, don't ask me to lend a hand," and Rangel laughed so much at this that he promptly pardoned the soldier who had angered him on account of what Aguilar said. Another time a horse broke away from a soldier named Salazar and he could not catch it and Rangel said, "let one of the greatest rogues and swindlers that have come with us help him to catch it," and there came a gentleman, a person of quality, who did not understand what Rangel said and captured the horse, and it sent Rangel into fits of laughter and we were all made to laugh at the things that he said. There was a dispute between two soldiers about a tribute of cacao given to one of them by a small pueblo which Cortés had assigned to them and which they held in partnership between them, and although the partners did not wish it, Rangel made them cast lots [to decide] who should have the pueblo. And he did and said other things which were subjects for laughter rather than for description.

Gonzalo de Ocampo said of this Rodrigo Rangel that

on account of the oaths and imprecations that he swore and things he said, that they examined them in Castile in the Holy Office. I did not wish to write a chapter by itself about this Captaincy which they gave to this Rodrigo Rangel for we did no good for lack of time, and above all, because the Captain was so ill and not able to keep his feet.

Two years afterwards or a little later we returned in earnest to the Zapotecs and the other provinces and conquered them and brought them to peace, which I will relate further on. Let us leave this and tell how Cortés sent to His Majesty in Castile over eighty thousand pesos de oro by the hands of Diego de Soto a native of Toro, and I think by one Ribero the one-eyed, who was his Secretary, and then he sent the very valuable gun made of low-grade gold and silver which they called the bird Phœnix, and he also sent to his father Martin Cortès many thousands of pesos de oro, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXX.

How Captain Hernando Cortés sent to Castile to His Majesty eighty thousand pesos in gold and silver and sent a cannon which was a culverin very richly adorned with many figures all over it and the greater part of it consisted of low-grade gold mixed with silver from Michoacan, and the name given to it was the Phœnix; he also sent to his father Martin Cortés over five thousand pesos de oro, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.

As Cortés had collected and got together à matter of eighty thousand pesos de oro, and the forging of the culverin called the Phœnix was finished and resulted in a cannon of excellent quality for presentation to such an

exalted Emperor as our great Cæsar as an inscription engraved on the culverin itself stated:

Aquesta, ave, nació, sin par	This bird born without an equal,
Yo en serviros sin segundo y	I second to none in serving you,
Vos sin ygual en el mundo	Your Highness without equal in the world.

Cortés sent it all to His Majesty by a gentleman named Diego de Soto a native of Toro, and I cannot remember clearly if a certain Juan de Ribera, who had been secretary to Cortés and who was blind of one eye, which had a film over it, went at that time.

What I felt about Ribera was that he was a bad lot[1] for when he played at cards or dice it did not seem that he played fair, and in addition to this he had many bad qualities and I state this because when he arrived in Castile he went off with the pesos de oro which Cortés gave him for his father Martin Cortés. And because Martin Cortés demanded it [the money] of him Ribera being naturally of evil disposition instead of speaking well of his master [as he should have done] considering the favours that Cortés when a poor man had conferred on him, he said so many evil things and argued in such a way, that as he had great power of expression and had been the Secretary of Cortés himself, he gained credit especially with the Bishop of Burgos as well as with Narvaez, so often mentioned by me, and Cristóbal de Tápia and the Proctors of Diego Velásquez and others who assisted them. And as the death of Francisco de Garay had happened at that time, they all joined in making many complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, so numerous and in such a manner, that His Majesty believed that the judges he had appointed had shown partiality for Cortés on account of gifts he had

[1] Mala yerba.

sent them for that purpose, and the judgment was again reversed and Cortés in such disfavour that had it not been for the Duque de Bejar who took his part and guaranteed that if His Majesty would send and take his Residencia he would not find him guilty [all would have been lost.] The Duke acted thus because a marriage was already being arranged between Cortés and his niece, a lady named Doña Juana de Zuñiga, the daughter of Don Carlos de Arrellano, Conde de Aguilar, and sister of some noblemen and favorites of the Emperor. At that time the eighty thousand[1] pesos de oro arrived and the letter from Cortés giving many thanks to His Majesty, and containing many promises on account of the great favour he had shown to him in giving him the Government of Mexico, and in having been pleased to order that he should be treated with justice in the decision which he gave in his favour at the time of the commission which he ordered to be appointed from among gentlemen of His Royal Council and Cabinet, as has often been mentioned by me before. As the result of further consideration all that had been alleged against Cortés tended to change the intention of having his "Residencia" taken, and nothing more was then said about it.

Let us stop talking about these clouds which were already threatening to burst over Cortés and let us speak of the cannon. When its inscription, in which Cortés described himself as so exalted a servant, became known at court, certain Dukes, Marquises and Counts and men of great importance who looked upon themselves as fully as distinguished servants of His Majesty, and bore in mind that other gentlemen had served the Royal Crown quite as well as they had, began to grumble about the

[1] Blotted out in the original "fifty, sixty, seventy."

cannon and about Cortés because he had written such a motto. I also know that other great noblemen such as the Admiral of Castile and the Duque de Bejar and the Conde de Aguilar said to these same gentlemen who had begun the discussion that the inscription on the Culverin was very plucky and they were not surprised at Cortés putting that motto on the cannon, for what Captain could we see in our time who had [accomplished] such exploits and had gained so many lands without expense to or assistance from His Majesty, and had converted such great numbers of people to our Holy Faith? In addition to this not only he but his soldiers and companions who aided him to capture such a strong city with so many inhabitants and so extensive a territory were worthy the bestowal of many favours by His Majesty, "for if we reflect, it is from our ancestors who performed heroic deeds and served the Royal Crown and the Kings that reigned in their day, as Cortés and his companions have now done, that we inherit our coats of arms our lands and rents," and with these words the matter of the inscription was forgotten. In order that the culverin should not leave Seville, we heard the news that His Majesty presented it to Don Francisco de los Cobos Comendador Mayor de Leon and that they melted it down and refined the gold and smelted it in Seville, and they say that it was worth over twenty thousand ducats. At the time when Cortés sent this gold and the cannon, having sent on the first occasion the treasure including the Golden Moon and the Silver Sun and many other golden jewels by Francisco de Montejo and Alonzo Hernández Puerto Carrero, and also on the second occasion with Alonzo de Ávila and Quiñones the richest treasure ever found in New Spain, for it was the household furniture of Montezuma and Guatemoc and the Great Chieftains of Mexico, (and this was stolen by

Juan Florin), all this became known in Castile and Cortés won great fame both in Castile and in other parts of Christendom, and was everywhere greatly praised.

Let us leave this and relate how the suit ended between Martin Cortés and Ribera over the many thousands of pesos which Cortés sent to his father, and it was thus,[1]— while the suit was in progress Ribera was passing through the Town of the booths[2] and he lunched there and ate a rasher of bacon and while he was eating it he died suddenly and without confession.—God forgive him, Amen.

Let us leave the events in Castile and return to speak of New Spain, how Cortés was always engaged in endeavours to people the city with native Mexicans as it had been formerly peopled, and gave them freedom and liberty not to pay tribute to His Majesty until they had built their houses and repaired the causeways and bridges and all the buildings and pipes by which the water had formerly come from Chapultepec to enter Mexico, and in the Spanish quarter he had churches, hospitals and dockyards built and other things that were necessary.

At that time there arrived from Castile at the Port of Vera Cruz twelve Franciscan Friars with their Vicar General, a very good ecclesiastic named Fray Martin de Valencia a native of a town of Tierra de Campos called Valencia de Don Juan, and this very reverend ecclesiastic was nominated by the Holy Father as Vicar, and about his arrival and the reception given him I will speak further on.

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[1] Blotted out in the original { "que el que con mal anda en peor acaba." "he who begins badly ends worse."

[2] Villa del Cadahalso in the text.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

How there came to the Port of Vera Cruz twelve Franciscan Friars, men of very holy lives, and there came as their vicar and guardian Fray Martin de Valencia, a priest so pure that he had the reputation of working miracles. He was a native of a town of Tierra de Campos called Valencia de Don Juan, and about what Cortés did on their arrival.

I HAVE already stated in former chapters which treat of the subject how we had written to His Majesty asking him to send us Franciscan Friars of good and holy lives to help us in the conversion and in teaching the natives of this land the holy doctrines so as to make them Christians, and to preach our holy faith, as we had explained it to them ever since we entered New Spain. Cortés together with us conquistadores who had won New Spain had written about it to Don Fray Francisco de los Angeles, who was general of the Franciscan Order and was afterwards Cardinal, [begging him] to do us the favour to send us friars of holy life so that our holy faith might always be exalted and the natives of these lands might understand what we told them at the time when we were fighting against them, namely that His Majesty would send friars of much better mode of living than ours to teach them the arguments and sermons which we had told them were true; and the General Don Fray Francisco de los Angeles did us the favour promptly to send twelve friars as I have related. Among them came Fray Toribio Motolinia, and the Caciques and lords of Mexico gave him this name of Motolinia which, in their language, means "the poor friar" because whatever was given to him in the name of God he gave to the Indians, so that he sometimes went without food, and wore a ragged habit and walked barefoot, and

always preached to the Indians who loved him greatly for he was a holy man.

To go back to our story, when Cortés knew that they were at the Port of Vera Cruz he ordered all the Indian pueblos as well as the Spanish settlements that, whichever way they came, the roads should be swept, and wherever they halted, even in the open country, ranchos should be built for them, and that when they reached the towns or pueblos of the Indians they should go out to meet them and should ring the bells, (which at that time they had in each pueblo) and that all without exception after they had received them should pay them great reverence and that the natives should carry lighted wax candles and the crosses they possessed—and he ordered the Spaniards with all humility, to fall on their knees and kiss their hands and garments, (so that the Indians might observe it and follow their example) and moreover Cortés sent off plentiful supplies along the road and wrote to the Friars very affectionately. As they came on their way, when they arrived near to Mexico Cortés himself accompanied by us courageous and valiant soldiers went out to receive them, and together with us went Guatemoc the lord of Mexico with all the principal Mexicans there were, and many other Caciques from other cities. When Cortés knew that the Friars were approaching he dismounted from his horse, as did all of us, and when we met the reverend friars the first to fall on his knees before Fray Martin de Valencia and to kiss his hands was Cortés himself, and the Friar would not permit it, so he kissed his garments and those of all the other ecclesiastics and so did nearly all the captains and soldiers who were present and Guatemoc and the Mexican chieftains. When Guatemoc and the other caciques saw Cortés go down on his knees to kiss hands they were greatly astonished, and when they saw that the friars were bare-

foot and thin and their garments ragged, and that they had no horses but came on foot and were very jaundiced looking, and [then] turned to Cortés, whom they looked on as an Idol or one of their Gods, on his knees before the friars, all the Indians from that time forward followed his example, and now when friars arrive they give them a reception and pay them reverence in the way I have described; moreover I say that when Cortés conversed with those ecclesiastics he always doffed his cap and held it in his hand and in all ways paid them great respect, and certainly those good Franciscan Friars did much to the advantage of all New Spain. Three years and a halt afterwards, or a little earlier, twelve Dominican Friars arrived, and there came as their Provincial or Prior a friar named Fray Tomas Ortiz who was a Biscayan, and they said he had been Prior or Provincial in a country called Las Puntas, and it pleased God that when they arrived they fell ill of sleeping sickness[1] and most of them died. I will relate later on, when and with whom they came and the rank which they say the Prior held and other things that happened and how many other good priests came here belonging to the same order of St. Dominic, men of holy life, who impressed by this grand example, are very holy and have successfully instructed the natives of this province of Guatemala in our holy faith and have been very helpful to all.

I wish to leave this holy matter of the friars and state that as Cortés was always in fear that in Castile the proctors of Diego Velásquez governor of Cuba, instigated by the Bishop of Burgos, would again come together and speak evil of him before our Lord the Emperor, and as he had trustworthy news by letters which his father Martin Cortés and Diego de Ordas sent to him, that they were

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[1] Mal de Modorra.

arranging a marriage [for him] with the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga the niece of Don Alvaro de Zuñiga, Duque de Bejar, he endeavoured to send all the pesos [he could collect] from the whole country, on the one hand in order that the Duque de Bejar might know of his great riches as well as his heroic deeds and great exploits, but more especially in order that His Majesty might befriend him and grant him favours, so then he sent His Majesty thirty thousand pesos and wrote to him what I shall go on to state.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

How Cortés wrote to His Majesty and sent him thirty thousand pesos de oro and told him how he was devoting himself to the conversion of the Indians and the rebuilding of Mexico, and how he had sent a Captain named Cristóbal de Olid with a strong fleet to pacify the provinces of Honduras and that he (Olid) had risen in rebellion with it, and he reported other things which had happened in Mexico. In the ship which sailed with the letters the Accountant named Rodrigo de Albornoz sent other very secret letters and said in them many evil things of Cortés and all those who went out with him, and what His Majesty decreed about it.

CORTÉS being now established in the government ot New Spain by the command of His Majesty, it seemed to him that it would be well to inform him how he was attending to the conversion of the natives and the rebuilding of the great city of Tenochtitlan[1] Mexico. He also reported how he had sent a Captain named Cristóbal de Olid to make a settlement in some provinces called Honduras and had given him five ships well provisioned and a strong force of soldiers and supplies and many horses, and cannon, and musketeers and crossbowmen and all sorts

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[1] Tenustitlan in the text.

of arms, and that he had spent many thousands of pesos de oro in fitting out the fleet—and Cristóbal de Olid had revolted with all of it, and he who advised him to rise in rebellion was Diego Velásquez, the governor of Cuba, who had gone shares with him [Olid] in the fleet. If his Majesty approved, he was determined shortly to send another Captain to capture this same fleet and take him [Olid] prisoner, or to go himself, for if this act remained unpunished other captains would venture to rebel with other fleets which he was obliged to send to conquer and settle lands which were at war with him. For this reason he begged His Majesty that he would grant permission for it. He also sent to complain of Diego Velásquez not only on account of the affair of Captain Cristóbal de Olid but because of his plots and offences in letters sent from the Island of Cuba to the effect that they should kill Cortés. This was the reason why, when he set out from that city of Mexico to conquer certain strong pueblos which had risen in arms, and the partizans of Diego Velásquez made plots to kill him and seize the government, he had executed sentence on one of the most guilty. And it was the Bishop of Burgos President of the Indies, who did him this favour by being a friend of Diego Velásquez.

He also wrote to say how he was ordering to be paid [to His Majesty] thirty thousand pesos de oro and that but for the late sedition and plots that he would have collected much more gold, and that with God's help and some luck he would send all he was able in all the ships sailing from Mexico to His Royal Majesty. So also he wrote to his father Martin Cortés and to one of his relations called the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez who was a reporter of the Royal Council of His Majesty; he also wrote to Diego de Ordas and made clear to them all what I have already related. He also gave

information how one Rodrigo de Albornoz, an accountant, was going about secretly in Mexico grumbling against Cortés because he did not give him the Indians he wanted, and [refused him] the Cacica he asked for, the daughter of the Lord of Texcoco, whom he [Cortés] would not give him because at that time he gave her in marriage to a person of quality. Moreover he [Cortés] told them that he [Rodrigo de Albornoz] had been Secretary of State of Flanders and was a follower of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, and was a man who was accustomed to retail news even by means of ciphers, and that possibly he might write to the Bishop, as he was President of the Council of the Indies, things that were not true (for at that time we did not know that they had deprived the Bishop of his office) so that he should have notice of everything. He sent these letters in duplicate for he was always in fear that the Bishop of Burgos as President had given orders to Pedro de Ysasaga and Juan Lópes de Recalte, officers of the custom house at Seville that all the letters and despatches from Cortés should be sent to him post haste so that he could know what was in them, (for at that time His Majesty had come from Flanders and was in Castile) in order to report to His Majesty and score first before our proctors could deliver Cortés's letters, for we did not yet know in New Spain that they had deprived the Bishop of his office of President.

Let us leave the letters and I will say that in the same ship in which the parcel of letters was sent, the Accountant Albornoz mentioned by me sent other letters to His Majesty and to the Bishop of Burgos and to the Royal Council of the Indies, and what he said to them by way of accusation was to reiterate all the suits and affairs which Cortés had been accused of before, when His Majesty ordered judges to be appointed from the

gentlemen of his Royal Council, already named by me in the Chapter which treats of the subject, when as a verdict on the case they pronounced us to be very loyal servants of His Majesty. In addition to those charges they now wrote this new one that Cortés demanded of all the Caciques of New Spain many ingots of gold and ordered them to get gold from the mines, and this Cortés said was to be sent to His Majesty, but he kept it and did not send it to His Majesty; and that he had built some strongly fortified houses, and had got together many daughters of Lords to marry them to Spaniards, for honest men to ask them of him as wives, and he refused to give them to them as mistresses. And he said that all the Caciques and notables held him in as great esteem as though he were King, and in this land they know of no other King or Lord than Cortés, and like a King he exacted his fifths, and he has a great number of golden ingots stored in his treasury, and he [Albornoz] has not made sure whether personally he is a rebel or loyal, and there was need that His Majesty should promptly order some nobleman with a great number of soldiers to come to these parts to deprive him [Cortés] of his command and lordship; and he wrote other things on this subject. However I will not go into further particulars about the contents of the letters but will state that they went into the hands of the Bishop of Burgos who resided in Toro. As Pánfilo de Narvaez was then at court as well as Cristóbal de Tápia already mentioned by me, and all the proctors of Diego Velásquez, they advised the Archbishop again to lay complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, including all that he had related previously, and they said that the Judges whom His Majesty appointed showed partiality for Cortés on account of the gifts he had made to them and that His Majesty should deign to see what

the Accountant, his own officer, had now newly written and as evidence of this they presented the letters.

When His Majesty took into consideration the letters, and the statements and complaints which Narvaez pronounced so haughtily, for that was his manner of speaking when he demanded justice, he believed them to be true and the Bishop seconded with other letters to support them. His Majesty then said "I wish to send and punish Cortés, as they speak so much evil of what he does, and although he should send more gold, there is greater riches in doing justice than in all the treasure he can send." And he decreed that the Admiral of Santo Domingo should be despatched at the expense of Cortés with two hundred soldiers and if he should find him [Cortés] to be guilty he should cut off his head and punish all those of us who defeated Narvaez. To induce the Admiral to go, they had promised him the post of Admiral of New Spain and at that time disputes arose at Court about it. After all the instructions had been completed, it appears that the Admiral tarried some days and did not dare to come because he had no money, and also because they advised him to beware of the good fortune of Cortés, for although Narvaez had brought such a large army Cortés had defeated him, and he would be risking his life and position, and he had better not carry out the order, especially as no fault could be found with Cortés nor in any of his companions but great loyalty. In addition to this it seems that they told His Majesty that it was too much to give the post of Admiral of New Spain for the small service which he would be able to do by the journey on which he was sending him. While the Admiral was getting ready to start, the Proctors of Cortés and his father Martin Cortés and a Friar named Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea got to know about it, and as they had the letters which Cortés

had sent them in duplicate and understood from them that the Accountant Albornoz was playing double, they all went together to the Duque de Bejar and gave him an account of all I have related above and showed him the letter from Cortés. When the Duke knew that they were sending off the Admiral with many soldiers so suddenly he was greatly concerned at it, for it had already been arranged to marry Cortés to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga the Duke's niece, and promptly without further delay he went into the presence of His Majesty accompanied by certain Counts his relations, and with them went the old Martin Cortés father of Çortés and Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, and when they arrived before our Lord the Emperor they humbled themselves and paid all the reverence which they ought to pay to our Lord and King. And the Duke himself spoke and begged His Majesty not to give ear to the letter of such a man as Albornoz who was very hostile to Cortés, until he had received other trustworthy and credible evidence, and not to despatch a fleet. Moreover he said that His Majesty being such a good Christian for doing rightful justice with great deliberation, [yet] he was sending to capture Cortés and his soldiers who had done good and loyal service such as no others in the world had done, nor could there be found in any histories accounts of vassals who had done so much for the Kings of past times, and that already he had once pledged his head for Cortés and his soldiers who were very loyal and would be so in the future, and that now he would again pledge himself and all his estate that they would always remain loyal as His Majesty would see later on, and in addition to this he showed him the letters Cortés had sent to his father in which he gave the reason why the Accountant was writing evil things against him, Cortés, which as I have already stated was because he had not

given him good Indians, such as he demanded as well as the daughter of a Cacique. Moreover the Duke told His Majesty that he should note the number of times Cortés had sent him a great quantity of gold, and he made many other excuses for Cortés, and His Majesty seeing that Cortés and all of us clearly had right on our side, decreed that a person who was a gentleman of position and knowledge and one who feared God should go to take his Residencia. At that time there was at the Court in Toledo as the assistant Corregidor of the Conde de Alcaudete a gentleman called the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon a cousin of the Count Don Martin de Córdova himself, for so he was called for at that time he was Corregidor of that City. His Majesty sent to summon this Licentiate Luis Ponce and ordered him to go at once to New Spain and take the Residencia of Cortés, and if he was guilty of any of the things of which they accused him to punish him with rigorous justice. The Licentiate replied that he would carry out the Royal Command, and began to get ready for his journey, but he did not come in great haste for he delayed his arrival in New Spain more than two years.

Let us leave them here, both the partisans of Diego Velásquez who brought charges against Cortés as well as the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon who was preparing for his voyage.

Although it is outside my story reaching far ahead, what I shall now say is that at the end of two years we came to know all that I have here related about the letters of Albornoz. Moreover interested readers should know how this same Albornoz was always in the habit of writing to His Majesty about things that never happened, as must be well known to persons who have been in New Spain and the City of Mexico at the time when Don Antonio de Mendoza was Viceroy of Mexico, who was an illustrious

man worthy of being well remembered (may he rest in glory) and who governed most fairly and with such impartial justice. Yet this Rodrigo de Albornoz wrote to His Majesty evil things about his government, and the very letters he sent to the Court, returned to New Spain to the hands of this same Viceroy, and as soon as he understood them he sent to summon Rodrigo de Albernoz and with very leisurely words, for that was his way of speaking, the Viceroy showed him the letters and said to him "As you are in the habit of writing to His Majesty, write the truth and get you gone" and the Contador was very much ashamed and confounded.[1]

Let us stop talking of this matter and I will state how Cortés, not knowing at that time all that had happened at Court and how they had worked against him, sent a fleet to Honduras against Cristóbal de Olid and what happened I will go on to tell.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

How when Cortés learnt that Cristóbal de Olid had rebelled with his fleet and had entered into partnership with Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, he sent against him a Captain named Francisco de Las Casas, and what happened to him I will go on to relate.

I MUST go a long way back in my story so as to be clearly understood. I have already related in the Chapter that treats of the matter how Cortés sent Cristóbal de Olid

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[1] Blotted out in the original:—

"A certain Gonzalo de Campo whom I have frequently mentioned before, the composer of defamatory libels as I have said on former occasions, who knew the disposition of Albornoz, stated in his libel 'Fray Zarzapelete': Beware of Fray Rodrigo de Albornoz, but not because he is a savage who never kept a secret; a good preacher had well informed me that he was a bad visitor and a very double dealing fox."

with a fleet to Honduras and how he rose in revolt. When Cortés realized that Cristóbal de Olid had rebelled with his fleet with the support of Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, he became very thoughtful, but as he was high spirited and did not permit such matters to get the better of him besides he had already reported to His Majesty, (as I have stated) in the letter he wrote, that he intended to go himself or send other Captains against Cristóbal de Olid. About that time a gentleman named Francisco de Las Casas had come from Castile to Mexico, a trustworthy person and a relative of Cortés, whom he decided to send against Cristóbal de Olid with five ships well armed with cannon and provisioned and one hundred soldiers, and among them some of the Conquistadores of Mexico, those whom Cortés had brought in his company from the Island of Cuba, namely one Pedro Moreno Medrano, and Juan Nuñez de Mercado, Juan Bello and others who died on the voyage whom I do not name here so as to avoid prolixity.

When Francisco de Las Casas had been despatched with ample authority and orders to capture Cristóbal de Olid, he set out from the port of Vera Cruz with his ships well found and swift sailing, and his banners bearing the royal Arms, and with good weather he reached a bay called El Triunfo de la Cruz, where Cristóbal de Olid kept his fleet, and near by had founded a town called Triunfo de la Cruz, as I have already stated in the Chapter that treats of it.

When Cristóbal de Olid saw those ships anchored in the port, although Francisco de Las Casas as soon as he arrived ordered flags of truce to be hoisted, Cristóbal de Olid did not feel certain about it, on the contrary he ordered two caravels well armed with cannon and many soldiers to be got ready and he guarded the port so that they could not land.

As soon as Las Casas saw that, as he was a spirited man, he ordered his boats to be got out and launched in the sea with many men well armed with some falconets, muskets and crossbows, and he went with them thinking one way or the other to get ashore, and Cristóbal de Olid in order to prevent it fought a good fight in the sea, and the boat of Las Casas sank one of the caravels of the enemy and killed four soldiers and wounded others. However Cristóbal de Olid reflected that he had not all of his soldiers there, for a few days before he had sent them in two companies to follow up a river called Pechin and to capture another Captain named Gil Gonzales de Ávila who was conquering that province, for the river Pechin was within the government of the Golfo Dulce, and he was hourly expecting his people to arrive. So Cristobal de Olid decided to ask the favour of peace of Francisco de Las Casas, for Cristóbal de Olid firmly believed that if he should come ashore they would come to blows, and as he had not got his soldiers near by he asked for peace. Las Casas decided to stay that night on board his ships at sea away from the land, either anchored or lying to, with the intention of going to another bay to disembark, for when they were skirmishing and fighting certain soldiers, partisans of Cortés, who were with Cristóbal de Olid secretly gave Las Casas a letter to say they would aid him, and that he must not fail to come by land to capture Cristóbal de Olid.

This agreement having been made, such was the luck of Cristóbal de Olid and the misfortune of Las Casas, that on that night a strong northerly gale arose and as it is a foul wind on that coast the ships of Francisco de Las Casas were driven ashore so that he lost all he had brought with him. Thirty soldiers were drowned and all

the others were taken prisoners, and they were two days without food and wet through with salt water, and at that time it rained heavily and they suffered hardship and cold. Cristóbal de Olid was joyful and triumphant at holding Francisco de Las Casas a prisoner and the other soldiers whom he had captured, and presently he made them swear that they would always be on his side and against Cortés if he should come to that land in person. As soon as they had taken the oath he freed them from prison and held only Francisco de Las Casas prisoner. After a few days his captains arrived whom he had sent to seize Gil Gonzales de Ávila. It appears that Gil Gonzales had come as Governor and Captain of the Golfo Dulce and had founded a town which they called San Gil de Buena Vista which was about a league from the port which they now call Golfo Dulce, for the river Pechin at that time was settled with good pueblos. Gil Gonzales had only a few soldiers with him for most of the rest had sickened and this same town of Buena Vista had been garrisoned with other soldiers. As soon as Cristóbal de Olid had news of it, he sent to have them taken, and as they would not allow themselves to be captured, eight soldiers followers of Gil Gonzales de Ávila, and his nephew named Gil de Ávila, were killed. When Cristóbal de Olid found himself with two prisoners who were Captains he was very cheerful and contented, and as he had a reputation for valor and certainly was personally brave, in order that it should be known throughout the Islands, he wrote to his friend Diego Velásquez, and then went from Triunfo de la Cruz inland to a good pueblo which at that time had a large population, (and there were many other pueblos in that neighbourhood) and this pueblo was called Naco which is now destroyed, as well as all the others, and this I state because I saw it and

was myself in it and in San Gil de Buena Vista and on the river Pechin and the Rio de Baama, and I was there at the time when I went with Cortés as I will relate more fully in its proper time and place.

To go back to my story. Cristóbal de Olid was already stationed at Naco with his prisoners and a large company of soldiers and thence he despatched expeditions to other parts and sent as Captain one Briones, mentioned by me before, and this Briones was one of the first to counsel Cristóbal de Olid to revolt. He himself was a turbulent man, and had had the lower lobes of his ears cut off. Briones himself said that they had been cut off when he was a soldier in a fortress because he would not surrender, neither he nor other captains. This same Briones was afterwards hanged in Guatemala as a mutineer and inciter to rebellion in the army.

To go back to my story, when this Briones set off with a large company of soldiers, a rumour arose in the Camp of Cristóbal de Olid that Briones with all the soldiers that he had in his company had revolted and were going off to New Spain, and it turned out to be true. When they knew this, Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila who were prisoners thought the time was ripe to kill Cristóbal de Olid, and as they went about free without fetters because he considered them of no importance (for Cristóbal de Olid thought himself to be very powerful), they arranged with the soldiers and friends of Cortés that when they cried, "Here for the King and for Cortés in the King's name against this tyrant" they should stab him. As soon as this plan was made Francisco de Las Casas laughing and joking said to Cristóbal de Olid "Señor Capitan, let me free to go to New Spain to speak to Cortés and tell him the reason of my defeat, and I will be a mediator so that

your honour may retain this government and its captaincy, for look you, it is your own doing, my imprisonment does you no good, on the other hand it checks you in your conquests." Cristóbal de Olid replied that it seemed to him all right as it was and that he was delighted to have the company of such a valiant man. When Francisco de Las Casas heard that, he said "Then look out well for yourself, for one day or another I must endeavour to kill you" and this he said to him half in joke and laughing, and Cristóbal de Olid made no reply to what he said, and took it as a joke. The plot I have mentioned had been made with the friends of Cortés, and when they were supping at a table, and the cloth had been removed and the attendants and pages had gone to their supper, and Juan Nuñez de Mercado and other soldiers who were partizans of Cortés and were in the plot stood around, Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila (who had each concealed a scriveners knife as sharp as a razor, for they were not allowed to carry arms,) as they stood talking to Cristóbal de Olid about the Conquest of Mexico and the good fortune of Cortés, (and Cristóbal de Olid was quite unsuspicious of what was coming to him,) Francisco de Las Casas seized his beard and struck him in the throat with the blade which he carried shaped like a clasp knife for that purpose, and together with Gil Gonzales de Ávila, and the soldiers of Cortés they quickly gave him so many wounds that he could not defend himself, but as he was very vigorous and impetuous and of great [personal] strength he slipped through their hands shouting "To me, my friends" but as they were all at supper, or his luck was so bad that they did not come quickly enough, he took to flight and hid himself in a thicket believing that his partisans would come to his assistance, and although many of them did come quickly to help him, Francisco de

Las Casas was shouting and crying "To me those for Cortés and the King against this Tyrant, for we can no longer endure his tyranny." Then when they heard the name of His Majesty and of Cortés none of those who came to support the cause of Cristóbal de Olid dared to defend him, on the contrary Las Casas promptly ordered them to be seized, and as soon as this was done proclamation was made that whoever might know where Cristóbal de Olid was hidden and did not disclose it would suffer death for it. It was soon known where he was hidden and they captured him, and a charge was brought against him and in accordance with the sentence pronounced by the two Captains he was beheaded in the Plaza at Naco. Thus he died because he rebelled, for he followed bad counsellors and although a very valiant man he did not remember that Cortés had made him his Maestre de Campo and had given him very good Indians; he was married to a Portuguese lady named Philipa de Arauz and had a daughter. Because in a former chapter I have already spoken of the height and the features of Cristóbal de Olid, and of the country he belonged to, and the rank he held, I will say no more here. But as soon as Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila found themselves free from their dead enemy, they assembled their soldiers and as both were true captains, Las Casas formed a settlement at Trujillo, and called it by that name because he was a native of Trujillo in Estremadura, and Gil Gonzales sent messengers to San Gil de Buena Vista, which he had founded, to let the people know what had happened and to order his lieutenant named Armenta to preserve the settlement as he had left it and not to embark on any new enterprise because he [Gil Gonzales] was going to New Spain to beg for help and a reinforcement of soldiers from Cortés and he would soon return.

When all that I have stated was settled it was arranged between the two captains that they should go to Mexico to inform Cortés of all that had happened, and I will leave off here until the proper time and place and will relate what Cortés arranged [meanwhile], without knowing anything of what had happened in Naco as detailed above.

BOOK XIV.

THE EXPEDITION TO HONDURAS.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

How Hernando Cortés set out from Mexico on the road to Las Higueras in search of Cristóbal de Olid and Francisco de Las Casas and the other Captains, soldiers, and gentlemen whom he had sent there; and what Captains he took from Mexico to accompany him, and about the material and retinue he took with him as far as the town of Coatzacoalcos, and other things that happened.

WHEN some months had passed since Captain Hernando Cortés sent Francisco de Las Casas against Cristóbal de Olid, as stated in the last chapter, it seemed to him that perchance the armada he had dispatched had not been successful. Moreover he had been told that the land was rich in gold mines and for that reason he was as covetous about the mines as he was anxious about the contentions which might have arisen in the armada, taking into consideration the mischances that ill luck is wont to occasion on such journeys. As he was naturally of high courage he had repented

having sent Francisco de Las Casas instead of going himself. However, he had no doubt that the man he had sent was strong enough to repel any offence.

Being of this way of thinking, he decided to set out himself, and he left behind in Mexico a good supply of artillery in the fortress as well as in the dockyards, and the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the Accountant Albornoz, as lieutenant governors in his place; and had he known about the letters which Albornoz had written, speaking evil of him to His Majesty in Castile, he would not have left him such authority and I do not yet understand how he happened to do so. He left as his principal Alcalde the Licentiate Zuazo, already mentioned by me, and, as lieutenant to the principal Alguacil and as Mayordomo of all his estate, his kinsman one Rodrigo de Paz. He left as large a garrison as he was able to do in Mexico.

He charged all these officers of the King's Treasury, on whom he left the burden of Government, to devote great care to the conversion of the natives, and he also impressed it on Fray Toribio Motolinia of the order of Señor San Francisco and other good ecclesiastics. With a view to preventing Mexico and the other provinces from revolting, and in order that they should remain peaceful and not be influenced by the more important Caciques, he carried with him the great Lord of Mexico named Guatemoc, often mentioned by me before, the same who made war on us when we captured Mexico, also the Lord of Tacuba and one Juan Velásquez, a Captain of the same Guatemoc, and many other chieftains—among them one Tapiezuelo, a chieftain of great importance; and he even brought other Caciques from Michuacan, and [he took with him] Doña Marina, the interpreter, for Gerónimo de Aguilar was already dead. He took in his company many gentlemen and Captains

who were settlers in Mexico, namely Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was chief Alguacil, and Luis Marin and Francisco Marmolejo, Gonzalo Rios de Ocampo and Pedro de Írcio, Avalos and Sayavedra who were brothers, and one Palacios Rubios and Pedro de Sauzedo the flat-nosed, Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, Alonzo de Grado, Santa Cruz Burgalés,[1] Pedro Solis Casquete, Juan Jaramillo, Alonzo Valiente, and one Navarrete, and one Serna, and Diego de Mazariegos, a cousin of the Treasurer, Gil Gonzáles de Benavides and Hernan López de Ávila and Gaspar de Garnica, and many others whose names I do not remember. He also took with him a priest and two Franciscan Friars, Flemings and great theologians, who preached during the journey. As Mayordomo he took one Carranza, and as Maestresala Juan de Xaso and one Rodrigo Mañuelo, and as Butler one Zervan Vejarano and as Chamberlain Fulano[2] de San Miguel, who was living in Oaxaca, and for Steward one Guinea, who was also a settler in Oaxaca. He took great services of gold and silver plate, and he who had charge of it was Tello de Medina. The chamberlain was a certain Salazar, a native of Madrid, and the doctor a Licentiate Pedro López, who was a settler in Mexico, and the Master Surgeon Diego de Pedraza, and many others as pages, one of them being Don Francisco de Montejo, who was in after time Captain in Yucatan (I am not speaking of the Adelantado his father); besides two lance pages, one of them named Puebla, and eight grooms and two falconers named Perales and Garci Caro and Alvaro Montañez. He also brought five players on the oboe, sackbut and dulcimer,

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[1] Of Burgos?

[2] It has been thought best to retain the term "Fulano," as it is not easily translated. The term is Arabic in origin, and means "such a one," "so and so," and is used when the first name is not known, or not worth mentioning.

and an acrobat and another who did sleight of hand tricks and worked puppets, and as equerry Gonzalo Rodríguez de Ocampo; also some mules with three Spanish Muleteers, and a great herd of swine, which fed along the roadside. The Caciques whom I have named were accompanied by over three thousand armed Mexican Indians, and many others who were the servants of those Caciques.

When [the expedition] was on the point of setting out, the Factor Salazar and the Veedor Chirinos, who were to remain in Mexico, seeing that Cortés had assigned no office to them, nor treated them with as much consideration as they expected, decided to become very friendly with the Licentiate Zuazo and Rodrigo de Paz and all the old conquistadores who were friends of Cortés and remained behind in Mexico. All of them together made a petition to Cortés that he should not leave Mexico, but stay and govern the country, and they pointed out to him that the whole of New Spain might revolt, and over this arose long discussions and replies between Cortés and those who made the petition, and when they could not convince him that he should remain, the Factor and Veedor said that they wished to serve him and accompany him as far as Coatzacoalcos as his road passed through that town.

Having set out from Mexico in the way I have related, I wish to record that the great reception and fiestas which they gave Cortés in all the towns he passed through were wonderful, and moreover there joined him on the road fifty more soldiers and other stray persons newly arrived from Castile.

Cortés ordered the expedition to proceed by two separate roads as far as Coatzacoalcos, for had all gone together there would not have been enough food.

As they went their way, the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar

and the Veedor performed a thousand services for Cortés, especially the Factor, who, when Cortés spoke to him, doffed his cap to the ground, with many deep bows and suave speeches, evincing great friendship, and with lofty eloquence continually advised him to return to Mexico and not to engage in such a long and laborious journey, placing before him the many obstacles [in the way] and even sometimes so as to humour him, he sang as he went along the road, saying in his songs:

Ay tio volvamosnos	Let us go back Uncle
Ay tio volvamosnos	Let us go back Uncle
Questa mañana he visto	This morning I have seen
Una señal muy mala	A very bad omen
Ay tio volvamosnos	Let us go back Uncle.

and Cortés answered in song:

Adelante mi sobrino	Forward my nephew
Adelante mi sobrino	Forward my nephew
Y no creays en agueros	And do not believe in auguries
Que sea lo que Dios quisiere	It will be as God wills
Adelante mi sobrino	Forward my nephew.

Let us cease talking about the Factor and his courteous and suave speeches, and I will relate how, on the journey, at the pueblo of one Ojeda the squint-eyed, near another pueblo named Orizaba, Juan Jaramillo was married in presence of all to Doña Marina the interpreter. Let us go on and I will relate how they continued their march towards Coatzacoalcos and arrived at a large pueblo called Guaspaltepec in the encomienda of Sandoval. When we knew in Coatzacoalcos that Cortés was coming with so many gentlemen, we went out with the Chief Alcalde, the Captains, and all the municipality, a distance of thirty-three leagues to receive Cortés and give him welcome, as though we were about to receive favours from him. This I state here, so that interested

readers and others may see that Cortés was so greatly esteemed as well as feared, that now nothing was done except what he wished, were it good or bad.

From Guaspaltepec he marched to our town, and at a great river that he passed on the way he began to meet with misfortune, for in crossing it two canoes were overturned and he lost some plate and clothes, and Juan Jaramillo lost the half of his baggage, and nothing could be recovered because the river was full of great alligators. From there we went to a pueblo named Uluta, and we accompanied him thence to Coatzacoalcos through inhabited country all the way.

I wish to mention the large collection of canoes which we had ordered to be in readiness, tied together two and two, at the great river near to the town, for they numbered over three hundred; and the grand reception that we gave him, with triumphal arches and dances of Christians and Moors and other great rejoicings and cunning diversions, and we lodged him as well as we were able—both Cortés and all those he brought in his company—and he stayed there for six days.

All this time the Factor kept on saying to him that he ought to turn back from his journey, that he ought to bear in mind to whom it was that he had delegated his authority, that he [the Factor] held the Accountant to be very rebellious and double dealing and a friend of innovations, and that the Treasurer boasted that he was a son of the Catholic King and that he [the Factor] did not think well of certain doings and conversations, and had noticed that they were conversing in secret after Cortés had placed them in power and even before. In addition to this Cortés had already received, while on the journey, letters from Mexico speaking evil of the Government of those he had left in authority, and the friends of the Factor had informed him of this, and

speaking on this subject the Factor said to Cortés that he and the Veedor, who was there present, would know how to govern as well as those he (Cortés) had left behind in Mexico; they professed themselves his most obedient servants and they spoke such honied words, with such affectionate expression, that they induced him to confer on [them], the Factor and the Veedor Chirinos, power to act as Governors, under condition that, should they see that Estrada and Albornoz were not doing what they ought to do for the service of our Lord and His Majesty, they were to be the sole governors. These powers were the cause of many troubles and revolts which took place in Mexico, as I will relate further on after I have finished the next four chapters, and our very laborious journey. Until that journey is ended and we are stationed at a town called Trujillo I will not relate in my story anything that happened in Mexico.

I wish to mention that for this reason Gonzalo de Ocampo said in his defamatory libels: "Oh fat brother Salazar maker of quarrels, you deceived the Prior with your false show of reverence. A Friar of holy life told me to beware of a man who spoke such polished rhetoric."

Let us cease speaking about libels and I will state that when the Factor and Veedor took leave of Cortés on returning to Mexico, it was with many compliments and embraces, and the Factor had a way of sobbing which made it appear as though he must weep at saying good-bye; but he carried his commission in his breast in such a manner as to draw attention to it, and the Secretary named Alonzo Valiente, who was his friend, had drawn it up in the way that he wished it to be worded.

They returned to Mexico, and with them returned Hernan López de Ávila, who was ill with pain and crippled with boils.

Let them go on their journey, for I will not touch in this present story on the great tumults and discords which arose in Mexico, until their proper time and place. From the time when all these gentlemen I have mentioned, and many others, had joined Cortés and we set out from Coatzacoalcos, until we accomplished this laborious journey, we [continually] risked losing our lives as I will relate further on; but as two sets of events happened at the same time and I do not wish to break the thread of one in order to speak of the other I have decided to go on with our most laborious journey.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

What Cortés arranged after the Factor and Veedor returned to Mexico, and about the hardships we endured on our long journey, and about the great bridges we made and the hunger we suffered during the two years and three months that we spent on the journey.[1]

After despatching the Factor and Veedor to Mexico, the first thing Cortés decided was to write to Villa Rica, to his Mayordomo named Simon de Cuenca, to lade two vessels of small burden with maize biscuits (for at that time Mexico did not produce wheat) and six pipes of wine, oil and vinegar, and bacon, and horse shoes and other kinds of supplies, and ordered them to go coasting along towards the North, saying that he would write to him and inform him where to make port, and that Simon de Cuenca himself should go as Captain. Then he ordered all of us settlers of Coatzacoalcos to accompany himself and only the infirm to remain behind. I have already stated that this town was settled by the Conquistadores who had been longest in Mexico, and by all the best born among those who had taken part in

[1] For the route traversed see Appendix A.

the late victories in Mexico, and at the time when we should have been resting from our great labours, and endeavouring to acquire some wealth and estates, he ordered us to go a journey of more than five hundred leagues, with all the country through which we passed up in arms [against us], while all we possessed was given up as lost, and we were on that march more than two years and three months.

To go back to my story, we were all of us ready with our arms and horses, for we did not dare to say no (and when anyone did say so, he made him go by force,) and we numbered in all, those from Coatzacoalcos as well as those from Mexico, over two hundred and fifty soldiers —one hundred and thirty horsemen and the others musketeers and crossbowmen—without counting many other soldiers newly arrived from Castile.

He promptly ordered me to go as Captain of thirty Spaniards and three thousand Mexican Indians to some pueblos which were at war with us, named Cimatan,[1] and quartered the three thousand Mexican Indians on them; but, should the natives of that province be peaceable or come to render service to His Majesty, I was to do them no harm and put no pressure on them, beyond ordering them to feed these people. But if they did not wish to come [to peace], that I should summon them three times to make peace in a way they should fully understand, and in presence of a notary who accompanied me and witnesses. That if they would not then come in, I was to make war on them, and for this he gave me authority and instructions which I still possess to-day, signed with his name and that of his Secretary Alonzo Valiente.

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[1] According to Melchior Alfaro Sta. Cruz, the Cimatanes were a Mexican people settled there by Montezuma, who held Cimatan and Xicalango as outposts of his empire (cf. *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. i, p. 352).

So I made that journey as he had ordered it, the pueblos keeping the peace, but a few months later, when they saw how few Spaniards remained in Coatzacoalcos and that we Conquistadores had gone with Cortés, they again rose in revolt.

I promptly set out with my Spanish soldiers and Mexican Indians for the pueblo whither Cortés had ordered me to go, which was named Iquinuapa.

Let us now return to Cortés and his journey. He set out from Coatzacoalcos and went to Tonalá, a distance of eight leagues, and at once crossed a river in canoes and went to another pueblo named Ayagualulco, and crossed another river in canoes, and from Ayagualulco at a distance of seven leagues he crossed an estuary flowing to the sea, and they made him a bridge half a quarter of a league in length. It was a marvellous thing how they made it in the estuary, but Cortés always sent ahead two Captains from among the settlers at Coatzacoalcos, one of these was named Francisco de Medina, a quick-witted man, who thoroughly understood how to manage the natives of this country.

Beyond that great bridge he went through some small pueblos before arriving at another great river called Maçapa, which is the river coming from Chiapas, called by the sailors the Rio de dos Bocas.[1] There he had many canoes, tied together two and two, and after crossing that river he went on to other pueblos whither I had set out with my company of soldiers, which as I have stated was called Iquinuapa.[2] After that he crossed another river on bridges, which we made of timber, and then an estuary, and arrived at another large town named Copilco;

[1] The river with two mouths.

[2] Bernal Díaz was instructed to meet Cortés at Iquinuapa, but Cortés makes no mention of that Pueblo, and Bernal Díaz probably passed on to meet Cortés at Copilco.

from that point begins the province which they call La Chontalpa, which was all thickly peopled and full of orchards of Cacao and quite peaceful.

From Copilco we passed through Nacajuca[1] and arrived at Zaguatan, and on the road crossed another river in canoes. There Cortés lost certain horse-shoes. When we arrived at this town we found it peaceful, and then during the night the inhabitants went fleeing from it and crossed to the other side of a great river, all among swamps. Cortés ordered us to go and search for them in the woods, and that which he ordered was very inconsiderate and profitless.

The soldiers who went on the search crossed the river with the greatest difficulty and brought back seven chieftains and some common people, but it profited us little, for they quickly took to flight again and we were left alone without guides.

At that time the Caciques from Tabasco arrived with fifty canoes laden with maize and provisions, and there also came some Indians from the pueblos in the encomienda that I held at that time, named Teapa and Tecomajiaca,[2] bringing canoes laden with supplies. Then we went on our way to other pueblos named Tepetitan and Istapa, and on the road there was a river of great volume called Chilapa, and we spent four days in making rafts. I told Cortés that I had heard say that up stream was a town called Chilapa, which is the same name as that of the river, and that it would be as well to send [to that town], in a broken canoe which we had found, five of the Indians whom we had brought with us as guides, and to send word [to the people of Chilapa] to bring canoes. Cortés gave orders accordingly, and a

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[1] Nacaxuxuyca, in the original.

[2] Tecomajayaca.

soldier went with the five Indians, and as they went up the river they met two Caciques who were bringing six large canoes and supplies, and with those canoes and the rafts we got across, and we were occupied four days over the passage. Thence we went to Tepetitan which we found deserted and the houses burnt down, and, as we then learnt, other pueblos had made war on it a few days before and had carried off many captives and burned the pueblo.

The whole of the road we traversed during the three days after crossing the river Chilapa was very boggy and the horses sank in the mud up to their girths, and there were some very large toads there. Thence we marched to another town named Istapa, and the Indians fled through fear of us and crossed to the other side of a very rapid river, and we went in search of them and we brought in the Caciques and many Indians with their wives and children, and Cortés spoke caressingly to them and ordered that four Indian women and three men whom we had captured in the forest should be given up to them, and in payment for this and quite willingly they brought and presented to Cortès some pieces of gold of small value.

We stayed in this pueblo for three days, for there was good forage there for the horses and plenty of maize, and Cortés said that it would be a good place to found a town, for we received information that there were good villages in the neighbourhood for the service of such a town.

In this pueblo of Istapa Cortés learned from the Caciques and native merchants all about the road we had to follow, and he even showed them a hennequen cloth which he brought from Coatzacoalcos, on which all the pueblos we should pass on the way were marked as far as Gueacalá, which in their language means the great

Acalá, for there is another pueblo which they call Acalá the Less. There [in Istapa] they told us that all the rest of our journey led across many rivers and great estuaries, and that before reaching another pueblo named Tamastepec[1] we should meet three more rivers and a great estuary, and that we should be three days on the road. When Cortés knew this and learnt about the rivers he asked all the Caciques to go and build bridges and provide canoes, but they did not do it. So with toasted maize and other vegetables we made provision for three days, believing what they told us. However, it was [merely] to get us out of their houses that they said the journey would be no longer, for it took seven days, and we found the rivers unbridged and no canoes, and we had to build a bridge of very thick timbers to enable the horses to pass, and all of us soldiers and Captains went off to cut wood and haul it, and the Mexicans helped all they could. We were three days building it and had nothing to eat but herbs, and some roots of what in this country they call wild quequexque,[2] which burned our tongues and mouths.

When we had crossed that estuary we found no road and we had to open one with our swords in our hands, and we travelled for two days along this road we had opened, thinking that it would lead us straight to a pueblo, until one morning we turned back into this same road which we had opened, and when Cortés saw this he was like to burst with rage; moreover he heard the murmur of evil things which they said of him and of his journey, on account of the great hunger we endured, and that he only looked to [the satisfaction of] his own appetite without

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[1] Cortés calls this pueblo Tatahuitalpan and says Tamastepec is another name for Tepititan.

[2] Quequexque = ichintal, the root of the huisquil. (Sechium Edule ?)

sufficient forethought, and that it was far better for us to turn back than all to die of hunger.

There was, moreover, another consideration, the forest was so excessively high and thick we could seldom see the sky, and, when they attempted to climb some of the trees in order to survey the country, they could see nothing at all, so dense was the forest, and two of the guides we had brought with us fled, and the one who remained was so ill that he could explain nothing about the road or any other matter. As Cortés was always prompt and was not careless from wanting in anxiety, we had with us a compass and a pilot named Pero López, and, with the plan on the cloth he brought from Coatzacoalcos on which the pueblos were marked, he ordered us to follow the compass through the forest, and with our swords we opened a road towards the east, which was where the pueblo was marked on the cloth, and Cortés even said that if we did not reach an inhabited place next day, he did not know what we should do, and many of us soldiers and all the others wanted to return to New Spain. Still we followed our direction through the forest, and it pleased God that we should find some trees which had been felled long ago and then a small pathway, and I and the pilot Pero López, who were going in front opening the road with some other soldiers, returned to tell Cortés to cheer up, as there were some farms, at which all our army expressed great content, but before reaching the habitations there was a river, which we crossed with very great difficulty in all haste, and came on a pueblo which had been deserted that very day, and there we found plenty to eat, both maize and beans and other vegetables, and as we were almost dead with hunger we had a real gorge and even the horses recovered, and for all this we gave many thanks to God.

The Juggler we brought with us, whom I have already

mentioned, and three other Spaniards who had lately come from Spain, had died on the road, as well as some of the Mechuacan and Mexican Indians, and many others fell ill and remained on the road in despair.

As the pueblo was deserted and we had no interpreter nor anyone to act as guide, Cortés ordered two companies to go through the forest and the farms to search for the inhabitants, and other soldiers went in some canoes which they found on the great river which flowed near the pueblo, and came upon many of the inhabitants of the pueblo, and with soft speeches and flatteries induced more than thirty of them and nearly all the Caciques and priests to come in. When Cortés spoke to them amicably through Doña Marina, they brought much maize and poultry and pointed out the road we had to follow to another pueblo named Ciguatepecad, which was distant three days' march, about sixteen leagues. Before reaching it there was another small pueblo subject to this Temastepeque from whence we set out.

Before I go on any further I wish to say that on account of the great hunger we endured, both Spaniards and Mexicans, it appears that certain Mexican Caciques had seized two or three Indians in the pueblos which we had left behind us, and had brought them along concealed [from us], as they carried burdens and were clothed as they were.

Then, on account of the hunger they endured on the march, they killed them and baked them in ovens made for the purpose in the ground with stones, as they had been accustomed to do in their time in Mexico, and they ate them, and in the same way they had seized the two guides we had brought with us who had fled, and they ate them.

When Cortés came to hear of it, on the advice of Guatemoc he ordered the Mexican Caciques to be called

before him and scolded them badly, and said that if it happened again he would punish them, and one of the Franciscan Friars we had brought with us, already mentioned by me, preached many holy and good words to them, and when he had finished his sermon, Cortés ordered one Mexican Indian to be burnt as punishment for the death of the Indians they had eaten, although he knew that all were guilty of it, so that he should appear to be doing justice, as though he did not know of the other culprits beside the one he burned.

I must refrain from telling in full all the many other hardships we endured, and how the players on the oboes, sacbuts and dulcimers, whom Cortés had brought with him, as I have already recorded, and who were accustomed to dainties in Castille, and knew nothing of hardships and had fallen ill through hunger, made no music, excepting one of them, and all the soldiers cursed the sound of it and we said it was like foxes and jackals howling and it would be better to have maize to eat than music.

To go back to my story, I must say that many persons have asked me how was it that enduring as much hunger as I have stated, we did not eat the herd of swine they brought for Cortés, for the necessity of hunger has no laws, even had they been [reserved] for the king, and that when Cortés saw the hunger we were enduring he would on such an occasion order them to be divided among us all. To this I answer that one who had come as Steward and Mayordomo to Cortés, named Guinea, a double dealer, had already spread a report and caused it to be believed that when crossing the rivers they had been eaten by the sharks and alligators, and in order that we should not see them they were always left behind four days' journey in the rear. Moreover, for as many soldiers as we were the whole of them would

not have sufficed for one day, and this is the reason we did not eat them, besides there was the fear of angering Cortés.

Let us leave this talk and I will relate that in all the pueblos and roads we passed we left crosses placed wherever there were good trees to cut them on, especially Ceibas,[1] on which the crosses remain [clearly] defined and are more permanent when cut on those trees than when made of timber, for the bark grows and the crosses remain perfect. Then we left notices in places where they could be read, and in these it was stated "Cortés passed by here at such a time" and this was done so that if others should come in search of us they might know that we had gone on ahead.

To return to our march to Ciguatepecad, we had with us over twenty Indians from that pueblo of Temastepeque, and they helped us to cross the rivers on rafts and in canoes; moreover they went as messengers to tell the Caciques of the pueblo whither we were going not to have any fear, as we would do them no harm whatever, so many of them remained in their houses, and what happened there I will relate further on.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

How we had arrived at the town of Ciguatepecad and how he [Cortés] sent Francisco de Medina to meet Simon de Cuenca and proceed with the two vessels already mentioned by me to Triunfo de la Cruz or to the Golfo Dulce, and what else happened.

WHEN we arrived at the town I have mentioned, Cortés cajoled the Caciques and chieftains and gave them good Chalchihuites from Mexico, and asked where the large

[1] Cottonwood (Bombax Ceiba).

and rapid river flowed to which ran near the town, and they told him that it ended in some lagoons where stood a pueblo named Gueatasta and near to it was another large pueblo called Xicalango. It occurred to Cortés at once to send two Spaniards in canoes to the north coast to find out about Captain Simon de Cuenca and his two ships which he had ordered to be laden with provisions for the journey I have spoken about, and he wrote to him informing him about our hardships and telling him to go on ahead along the coast, and, after having clearly informed him how he could reach the townships I have mentioned by that river, he despatched the two Spaniards of whom the more important was Francisco de Medina, often named by me before. He gave him authority as Captain jointly with Simon de Cuenca, because Medina was very active and spoke the language of the country, and he was the soldier who caused the revolt of the pueblo of Chamula when we went with Luis Marin to the conquest of Chiapas, as I have related in the Chapter which speaks of it. It would have been better had Cortés never given him that authority, on account of what afterwards happened, which was that he went down the river to where Simon de Cuenca was stationed with his two ships at Xicalango, awaiting news of Cortés, and after delivering Cortés's letters, presented his commission as Captain; and over the right to command, disputes arose between the two Captains so that they came to blows, and owing to their siding with one or the other all the Spaniards in the ship lost their lives except six or seven.

When the Indians of Xicalango and Gueyatasta saw this strife they fell on these latter and killed them all and burned the ships. However, we knew nothing of this until two years and a half later, and I will stop talking about it and return to the town where we were stationed, named Ciguatepecad, and tell how the Indian

Chieftains told Cortés it was three days journey thence to Gueyacalá, and that there were two rivers to cross on the way and one of them was very deep and broad, and then there were some bad bogs and great swamps, and that unless he had canoes he could not get the horses across, nor even a single soldier of his army. Cortés promptly sent two soldiers, with three Indian Chieftains from the pueblo to show them the road, to examine the river and swamps and see how we could cross, and bring a full report. The two soldiers whom he sent were Martin García the Valencian, the Alguacil of our army, and Pedro de Ribera. Martin García, to whom Cortés gave the principal charge, saw the rivers and with some small canoes which they had in this same river he examined it and saw that by making bridges it would be possible to cross it; however, he did not take the trouble to examine the bad swamps a league beyond, but returned to Cortés and told him that by making bridges they would be able to cross, believing that the swamps were not as difficult as we afterwards found them to be.

Cortés promptly ordered me and one Gonzalo Mexia, whom we nicknamed Rapapelo[1] [the Barber], to go with some chieftains from Ciguatepecad to the towns of Acalá and coax the Caciques, and by pleasant speeches persuade them not to flee, because that settlement of Acalá was composed of more than twenty small pueblos on the main land and others on islands. We did all the journey in canoes by rivers and lagoons, and we took with us the three Indians from Ciguatepecad as guides, and the first night we slept on the road they ran away from us, for they did not dare to go with us, for, as we afterwards learnt, they [the people of Acalá] were their enemies and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "because he was the grandson of a Captain who went robbing in company of a certain Zenteno in the time of King Don Juan."

they were at war with one another. So we had to go forward without guides, and crossing the swamps with difficulty reached the first pueblo of Acalá, and although the people were excited and inclined to be hostile, with friendly speeches and the gift of some beads we cajoled them and begged them to go to Ciguatepecad to see Malinche and take him food. It appears that at the time we arrived this pueblo had heard no news of the coming of Cortés with a large following of horsemen as well as of Mexicans, and next day, when they heard reports through Indian merchants of the great force which Cortés was bringing, the Caciques [then] showed greater willingness to send supplies than [they did] when we arrived, and said that when he should come the pueblos would serve him and do what they were able towards supplying food, but as for going to where he was stationed they did not wish to go because [the people there] were their enemies. While we were engaged in such conversation with the Caciques, two Spaniards arrived with the letters from Cortés, in which he ordered us to set out from thence with all the provisions we could collect, and march back for three days along the road, because all the people of the pueblo at which we had left him had abandoned it and gone away; and he informed me that he was already on his way to Acalá and had brought no maize and could not procure any, and that I should make every effort to prevent the Caciques from making off.

The Spaniards who brought the letter told me that Cortés had sent four Spaniards—three of them men newly arrived from Castile—up the river from Ciguatepecad to ask for supplies from the other pueblos which were said to be near at hand, and that they had not returned and it was believed that they had been killed, and this turned out to be true.

Let us return to Cortés, who began his march and in

two days reached the great river which I have already mentioned, and at once worked hard at building a bridge—and it was built with such toil, and with such huge and thick timbers, that after it was made the Indians of Acalá marvelled to see the timbers so placed. It took four days in the making. When Cortés started with all his soldiers from the pueblo already mentioned by me many times, they brought neither maize nor [other] provisions and during the four days that we remained in the pueblo while Cortés was building the bridge, there were deaths from hunger, although some of the old soldiers supported themselves by felling some lofty trees which appeared to be palm trees and had fruit which looked like very thick-shelled nuts, these they roasted and broke open and ate. Let us stop talking about the hunger and say that the very night on which they finished the bridge I and my three companions arrived with one hundred and thirty loads of maize and eighty fowls, and honey and beans, salt and eggs and fruits. Although I came at night time, and it was already dark, nearly all the soldiers were watching for the food, for they already knew that I had gone to fetch it, and Cortés had said to his Captains and soldiers that he had hope in God that they would soon all have something to eat as I had gone to Acalá to bring it, if the Indians had not killed me as they had killed the four other Spaniards he had sent out.

So as I arrived with the maize and provisions at the bridge when it was night time, the soldiers fell on it and seized it all and left nothing at all for Cortés and his Captains. There were shouts of "Leave this, for it is for the Captain Cortés," so too his Mayordomo Carranza (for so he was called) and the steward Guinea cried out, grasping the maize in their arms and saying that they must leave at least one load for them, but as it was night time the soldiers told him "You and Cortés have

been eating fat pigs" and they did not mind a bit what was said, but seized all of it. When Cortés heard how they had seized it and left nothing for him he cursed with impatience and stamped his foot, and was so furious that he said he would make enquiry who had taken it, and they told him what was said about the pigs, and when he saw and reflected that his anger was useless and merely "lifting up his voice in the wilderness" he ordered me to be called, and asked me very angrily why I had not guarded the provisions better. I replied that His Excellency should have endeavoured to send guards ahead to take charge of them, but that even had he himself been in charge of them they would have been seized, for God preserve him from hunger which respects no laws. When he saw that matters could not be mended, and he was in great need [of food], he flattered me with honeyed words in the presence of Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval and said:—"Oh Señor and brother Bernal Días del Castillo, for love of me, if you have left anything hidden on the road share it with me. I have great belief in your forethought, and that you have brought something for yourself and for your friend Sandoval." When I heard his words and noted the way in which he spoke them, I was sorry for him, and Sandoval also said to me, "I swear that I too have not a handful of maize with which to make Cazalote." Then I thought it over and said that it would be all right, and to-night towards dawn when the camp was asleep we would go for twelve loads of maize and twenty fowls and three jars of honey and beans and salt, and the two Indian women who had been given to me in those pueblos to make bread, but we must go by night lest the provisions be snatched from us on the road, and I would divide the food between His Excellency and Sandoval and myself and my people. Cortés was freed

from anxiety and he embraced me, and Sandoval said that he wished to go with me that night for the food; so we brought it and their hunger was appeased, and I also gave Sandoval one of the Indian women. All this I call to mind so that it may be understood what hardships Captains go through in new countries, and that even for Cortés, who was so greatly feared, they [his followers] left no maize to eat, and that the Captain Sandoval went with me himself to bring his share of the food, and would trust no one else, although he had many soldiers whom he could have sent.

Let us cease talking about the great labour in building the bridge, and of the hunger we went through, and I will tell how at the distance of a league we came on the very bad swamps already mentioned, and they were of such a nature that they could not attempt to place timber or branches or employ other devices to enable the horses to pass, and they sank in the mire of the great swamps until their whole bodies were submerged, and we thought that not one would escape, but all would be left there dead. Still we persisted in going forward, because about half a crossbow shot ahead there was firm ground and a good road, and we made a passage through this swamp of mud and water, which they got through without too much difficulty although at times they were half swimming in that swamp and water. As soon as we reached dry land we gave thanks to God for it, and Cortés promptly ordered me to return in haste to Acalá and impress strongly on the Caciques that they should keep the peace, and should at once send provisions along the road. This I did, and the very day that I arrived at Acalá I sent by night three Spaniards who accompanied me with over one hundred Indians laden with maize and other things. And when Cortés sent me for this purpose I said to

him that he should take care that His Excellency in person should take charge of the food, so that it should not be seized as on the last occasion; this he did, and went ahead together with Sandoval and Luis Marin and took possession of all of it and divided it up, and the next day about midday they reached Acalá, and the Caciques went to bid him welcome and carried food to him, and I will leave them there and will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

What Cortés attended to after reaching Acalá, and how, in another pueblo further ahead, subject to this same Acalá, he ordered Guatemoc the Great Cacique of Mexico, and another Cacique, the lord of Tacuba, to be hanged, and the reason why he did it, and other things that happened.

WHEN Cortés had arrived at Gueyacala—for so it is called—the Caciques of that pueblo approached him peaceably and he spoke to them through Doña Marina the interpreter in such a way that to all appearance they were satisfied, and Cortés gave them articles from Spain, and they brought maize and provisions, and then he ordered all the Caciques to be summoned and asked them for information about the road we had to take, and questioned them whether they knew of other men with beards like us and with horses, and whether they had seen ships sailing on the sea. They replied that eight days' journey from there were many men with beards, and women from Castile, and horses and three Acales, for in their language they call ships Acales. Cortés was delighted to hear this news, and, on asking about the pueblos and the road along which we must go, they brought it to him all drawn on some cloths, even to

the rivers and swamps and miry places, and he begged them to build bridges over the rivers and to bring canoes, for they had numerous followers and there were populous villages. The Caciques replied that because there were more than twenty pueblos, most of which would not obey them, especially certain pueblos situated between some rivers, it was necessary for Cortés at once to send some of his Teules (for so they called the soldiers) to make them bring maize and other things, and order them to obey them [the Caciques], for they were their subjects.

When Cortés understood this, he at once summoned a certain Diego de Mazariegos (a cousin of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada who was left as governor in Mexico) and in order that he might see and understand that he (Cortés) held him in great esteem, he honoured him by sending him as Captain against those pueblos and others in the neighbourhood, and when he despatched him he told him secretly that as he did not well understand the ways of the country, being newly arrived from Castile, and had not so much experience in dealing with Indians, he should take me in his company and not swerve from what I advised. This he did, and I should not write this in my story so that I might appear to boast of it, and I would not write it down but that it was made known throughout the camp, and later on I have even seen it engrossed in certain letters and reports which Cortés wrote to His Majesty informing him of all that happened during this journey in the Indies, and for this reason I write it down.

To return to my story, we started with Mazariegos, a company of eighty soldiers in canoes which the Caciques gave us, and when we arrived at the villages, all with the utmost willingness gave us of what they possessed, and we brought back over one hundred canoes with maize

and supplies, and fowls, honey and salt, and ten Indian women whom they held as slaves, and the Caciques came to see Cortés. So the whole camp had plenty to eat, and within four days nearly all the Caciques took to flight and only three of the guides remained with whom we set out on the road.

We crossed two rivers, one on bridges which promptly broke down on our crossing them, and the other on rafts, and we went to another pueblo subject to Acalá, which was already abandoned, and there we searched for food which had been hidden away in the forest.

Let us cease talking about our hardships and journey and I will relate how Guatemoc the great Cacique of Mexico, and other Mexican chieftains who accompanied us, had been deliberating or had arranged to kill us all and return to Mexico, and when they had reached their city to unite all their great forces and attack those [Spaniards] who remained in Mexico.

Those who made this known to Cortés were two great Caciques named Tápia and Juan Velásquez: this Juan Velásquez was Guatemoc's Captain-General when they were fighting us in Mexico. When this came to the knowledge of Cortés he had the evidence taken down [in writing] not only of the two who revealed the plot, but of other Caciques who were involved in it. What they confessed was, that as they saw us travelling over the roads carelessly and discontentedly, and many soldiers suffering from illness, and that food was always wanting, and that the four players on the oboe, and the acrobat, and eleven or twelve soldiers, had already died of hunger; and three other soldiers had fled back on the way to Mexico and had taken their chance of a state of war along the road by which we had come, and preferred to die rather than continue the advance; it would be a favourable opportunity to attack us when

we were crossing some river or swamp, for the Mexicans numbered three thousand, bearing arms and lances, and some of them had swords. Guatemoc confessed that it was as the others had said, but the plot was not hatched by him, and he did not know if they were all privy to it or would bring it to pass, that he never thought to carry it out but only [joined in] the talk there was about it. The Cacique of Tacuba stated that he and Guatemoc had said that it were better to die once for all than die every day on the journey, considering how their followers and kinsmen were suffering famine.

Without awaiting further proofs Cortés ordered Guatemoc and his cousin the Lord of Tacuba to be hanged; and before they were hanged the Franciscan Friars aided them and commended them to God through the interpreter Doña Marina.

When they were about to hang him, Guatemoc said "Oh! Malinche I have long known that you meant to kill me and I have understood your false speeches for you kill me unjustly, and God will call you to account for it, for I did not do myself justice when you delivered yourself to me [into my hands] in my city of Mexico." The Lord of Tacuba said that death was welcome, dying as he did with his Lord Guatemoc. Before they were hanged the Franciscan Friars confessed them through the interpreter Doña Marina.

In truth I grieved keenly for Guatemoc and his cousin, having known them as such great lords, and they had even done me honour during the journey when occasion offered, especially in giving me Indians to bring forage for my horse, and this death which they suffered very unjustly was considered wrong by all those who were with us.

Let us turn to continue our march, which we did with the greatest caution from fear lest the Mexicans seeing

their chieftains hanged, should rise in revolt; however, they were bearing such sufferings through hunger and sickness that they could give no thought to it. After the chieftains had been hanged as I have related, we at once continued our march towards another small pueblo, and before entering it we passed a deep river on rafts and found the town uninhabited, for the people had fled that day. We searched for food among the farms and we found eight Indians who were priests of Idols, and they willingly returned to their pueblo with us. Cortés told them through Doña Marina to summon the inhabitants and to have no fear, but to bring us food. They replied to Cortés begging him to give orders that no one should go near some Idols, which were close to a house where Cortés was lodged, and they would bring food and do all they were able. Cortés told them he would do what they requested and nothing should happen to the Idols, but "why did they care for such Idols which were made of clay and old wood for they were evil things which deceived them?" and he preached such [convincing] things through the Friars and Doña Marina, that they replied favourably to what he said, and [declared] they would abandon them, and they brought twenty loads of maize and some fowls.

Cortés then asked them how many days journey from there were there men with beards like us, and they replied seven days journey, and that the pueblo where the men with horses lived was called Nito, and that they would go as guides as far as the next pueblo, but we should have to sleep one night in an uninhabited country before reaching it.

Cortés ordered them to make a cross on a very large tree called a Ceiba which stood near the houses where they had their Idols.

I also wish to say that Cortés was in a bad humour,

and even very regretful and discontented at the hardships of the journey we had undertaken, and because of having ordered Guatemoc and his cousin the Lord of Tacuba to be hanged, and at the daily hunger, and the sickness and death of so many Mexicans, and it appears that he did not rest at night through thinking about it, but got up from his bed where he slept to walk about in a room where the Idols stood, which was the principal apartment of that small pueblo where they kept other Idols, and he was careless and fell. It was a fall of more than twice the height of a man and he injured his head, but he kept quiet and said nothing about it only tended the wound and endured and suffered it all. The next day very early in the morning we began to march with our guides without anything happening worth recording, and slept by a lagoon near some forests, and the next day we continued our march and about the time of high mass arrived at a new pueblo, and its inhabitants had deserted it that same day and taken refuge in some swamps. The houses had been newly built only a few days before, and in the town were many barricades of thick beams and all surrounded by other beams of great strength, and there were deep ditches in front of the entrance, and inside two fences, one like a barbican with towers and loopholes, and in one part in place of a fence were some very lofty rocks full of stones fashioned by hand, with great breastworks, and on the other side was a great swamp which was [as good as] a fortress.

When we entered the houses we found so many turkeys and fowls cooked in the way the Indians eat them, with chili peppers and maize cakes—which among them are called 'tamales'—that on the one hand we wondered at so novel an event, and on the other we were delighted at the plentiful food. We also found a large house full of small lances and arrows, and we searched the neighbour-

hood of that town for maize plantations and people, but found none, not even a grain of maize.

While we were thus situated, fifteen Indians approached from the swamps and they were the chieftains of that town, and they placed their hands on the ground and kissed the earth and said, half weeping, to Cortés, that they begged as a favour that he would not allow anything in the pueblo to be burned, because they were but newly arrived there and had to fortify it on account of their enemies, (who it seems to me that they said were called Lacandones,) who had burnt and destroyed the two pueblos where they had lived, and had robbed them and killed many of their people. These pueblos we would see further along the road we must follow, which was [over] a very level country, and they then gave an account of how and in what manner they [the Lacandones] attacked them and why they were their enemies.

Cortés asked them how it happened that they had so many turkeys and fowls ready cooked, and they replied that they were hourly expecting their enemies to come and attack them, and, that if they were conquered, the enemy would be sure to seize their goods and their poultry and carry them off captive, and so that they should not do that or have the benefit of them, they wished to eat them first; [on the other hand] if they defeated their enemies they would go to their pueblos and seize their goods.

Cortés said that he was sorry for it and for their war, but as he must continue his march he could not mend matters.

This pueblo and other great settlements which we passed the next day are called the Mazatecas, which in their tongue means the pueblos or lands of deer, and they have good reason for giving that name as what I will relate later shows. Two of these Indians accom-

panied us and showed us their burnt townships and gave information to Cortés about the Spaniards who were on ahead of us. I will leave off here and relate how the next day we left that pueblo, and what else happened on the journey.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

How we went on our way, and what happened to us.

WHEN we left the "fenced pueblo" (for so we called it), we entered from there onwards on a good and flat road all through treeless savannahs with a sun so hot and strong that greater noontide heat we had never felt throughout our march. As we went along those flat plains we saw many deer and they hardly ran at all, so that we soon overtook them on horseback, however little we raced after them, and over twenty of them were killed.

On asking the guides we had with us why the deer ran so little, and why they were not frightened at the horses nor at anything else, they replied that in those pueblos, which I have already said they call the Mazatecas, they are considered to be gods, because gods have appeared in their shape, and their Idol has commanded them not to kill or frighten them, and they have not done so, and this is the reason why they do not run away.

During that chase the horse of a relation of Cortés, named Palacios Rubios, died, for the fat of his body melted from having galloped so much.

Let us leave this chase and I will say that we soon reached the settlements already mentioned by me, and it was sad to see them all destroyed and burnt. As we went on our way, as Cortés always sent scouts ahead on horseback and active men on foot, they overtook two

Indians, natives of another pueblo which was ahead of us on the road we had to take, who were returning from the chase laden with a great lion and many iguanas, which are of the form of small serpents, and in these parts they are called iguanas and are very good to eat. They asked these Indians if their pueblo was near by, and they answered 'yes,' and they would guide them to the pueblo which was in a narrow strait surrounded by fresh water, and we could not reach it from the side where we were except in canoes. So we went round a little more than half a league to where there was a ford, and the water came up to one's waist, and we found more than half the inhabitants in the pueblo, and the rest had hurried away to some cane brakes which were near their plantations, where many of our soldiers slept; for by staying in the maize fields they supped well and provisioned themselves for some days. We took guides for another pueblo, and were two days in reaching it, and found there a great lake of fresh water full of fish which were like very tasteless shad and full of bones. With some old cloaks and some rotten nets which we found in the pueblo, which was already deserted, we caught all the fish in the pool, which numbered over a thousand.

Then we searched for guides and captured them in some cultivated land, and after Cortés had told them through Doña Marina that they must show us the way to the pueblo where there were men with beards and horses, they were delighted to find we should do them no harm, and said they would willingly show us the road, for at first they thought we wished to kill them. Five of them went with us along a broad road, but the further we advanced the narrower it became, on account of a great river and lagoon which was near to it, and it appears that they used to embark and disembark from canoes and go on to that pueblo

Tayasal (Flores) Lake of Peten-Itzá.

From Photo by A. P. M.

named Tayasal, whither we were bound, which stood on an island surrounded by water, and it could not be reached by land, but only in canoes. The houses and oratories were whitewashed so that they could be seen for more than two leagues. It was the capital of other small pueblos which were near to it.

To go back to my story, when we saw that the broad road which we had hitherto followed changed to a very narrow pathway, we fully understood that the way was by the lagoon and the guides we brought with us told us that it was so. We decided to sleep near to some thick forest, and that night four companies of soldiers went along the paths which led to the lagoon to capture guides, and it pleased God that they captured two canoes laden with maize and salt, with ten Indians and two women, and they at once took them to Cortés, who coaxed them and spoke very affectionately to them through the interpreter Doña Marina. They stated that they were natives of the pueblo on the small island, and they explained by signs that it was distant about four leagues. Cortés promptly ordered that the larger canoe with four Indians and the two women should remain with us, and he sent the other canoe to the pueblo with six Indians and two Spaniards to ask the Cacique to bring canoes for the passage of the river, and [to say] that no annoyance would be given him, and he sent him some beads from Castile. We at once set out on our way by land towards the great river, and the one canoe went by the lagoon to reach the river, and the Cacique was already there with many other chieftains waiting with five canoes to pass us across, and they brought four chickens and maize.

Cortés showed them great goodwill, and after much persuasion by the Caciques he agreed to go with them to their pueblo in those canoes, and he took with him

thirty Crossbowmen, and when he arrived at the houses they gave him food to eat, and even brought gold, which was of poor quality and little value, and some cloths; and they told him that there were Spaniards the same as ourselves in two pueblos. One I have already said was called Nito, which is at San Gil de Buena Vista near the Golfo Dulce, and they then gave him the news that there were many other Spaniards at Naco, and that it was ten days' journey from one pueblo to the other, that Nito was on the North Coast and Naco inland.

Cortés said to us that perhaps Cristóbal de Olid had divided his people among two towns, for at that time we knew nothing of the people of Gil González de Ávila who settled at San Gil de Buena Vista.

To return to our journey we all crossed that great river in canoes and slept about three leagues beyond, and we marched no further because we were waiting for Cortés who was coming from the pueblo of Tayasal. As soon as he arrived, he ordered us to leave at that pueblo a black horse which was ill from the chase after deer, and the fat of its body had melted and it could not stand upright.[1]

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[1] The fate of this horse is interesting:—

In 1618 the Padres Bartolomé de Fuensalida and Juan de Orbita set out from Merida on a Missionary expedition to Peten by way of Tipu, then the Spanish outpost in Yucatan, situated on the Rio Hondo, near the present frontier of British Honduras, and within a few days' march of the Lake of Peten.

On reaching Tayasal the missionaries were well received by the Chief of the Itzáes, and on the day after their arrival were conducted round the town.

"The Padres estimated the number of houses at about two hundred; these stood along the shore of the lagoon at a little distance from one another, and in each of them dwelt parents and sons with their families. On the higher ground in the middle of the island stood the Cués or oratories, where they kept their Idols. They (the padres) went to see them and found twelve or more temples equal in size and capacity to any of the churches in this province of Yucatan, and according to their account each one could hold more than a thousand persons. In the middle of one of these temples there

At this pueblo a negro and two Indian servants ran away, and three Spaniards remained behind, who were not missed until three days later; they preferred to stay among enemies than to go with us through such hardships. This day I was very ill with fever and from

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was a great Idol in the form of a horse, made of stone and cement. It was seated on the floor of the temple on its haunches, with its hind legs bent under it, raising itself on its fore legs. It was worshipped as the God of Thunder and called Tzimin Chac, which means the horse of thunder or the thunderbolt. The reason why they possessed this Idol was that when Don Fernando Cortés passed through this land on his way to Honduras, he left behind him a horse which could travel no further. As the horse died the Indians, terrified at the thought of not being able to give it up alive should Cortés by chance return that way and ask them for it, had a statue made of the horse and began to hold it in veneration, so that it might be clear that they were not to blame for its death.

"Believing the horse to be an intelligent being, they gave it to eat chickens and other meat, and offered it garlands of flowers as they were wont to do to their own chieftains. All these honours, for such they were in their sight, helped to bring about the death of the poor horse, for he died of hunger. It was given its name (the God of the Thunderbolt) because they had seen some of the Spaniards discharging their arquebuses or guns when on horseback hunting the deer, and they believed that the horses were the cause of the noise, which appeared to them like thunder, and the flash from the muzzle of the gun and the smoke of the powder they mistook for lightning. Upon this the devil took advantage of the blindness of their superstition so to increase the veneration in which the statue was held that, by the time the missionaries arrived, this Idol had become the principal object of their adoration.

"As soon as the Padre Fray Juan de Orbita caught sight of the Idol (says the Padre Fuensalida) it seemed as if the Spirit of Our Lord had descended on him, for, carried away by a fervid and courageous zeal for the glory of God, he took a great stone in his hand, climbed to the top of the statue of the horse and battered it to pieces, scattering the fragments on the ground." (From *Cogolludo's History of Yucatan*, 1688.)

This act naturally roused the anger of the Indians, who, however, refrained from attacking the missionaries, but a few days later the Padres, finding that their preaching was of no effect, left the island and returned to Tipu.

I may add that the tradition still exists in the locality, for when crossing the lake my Indian canoemen told me that had the water been clear I might have seen a white horse at the bottom of the lake. The description of the temples as holding a thousand persons, unless the courtyards of the temples were included, must have been a gross exaggeration.

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the heat of the sun, which had penetrated my head and all my body.

I have already said the sun was very fierce, and the reason became apparent, because presently it began to rain in floods and it never ceased raining for three days and nights, but we did not halt on the road because, although we might have wished to wait for better weather, we had no supply of maize, and for fear of it failing us we kept on our way.

To go back to my story: After two days we came to a range of hills which was not very lofty, and consisted of stones which cut like knives, and although our soldiers went more than a league on one side and the other in search of another road so as to avoid that Sierra de los Pedernales they could not find another road, and we had to follow on the way we were going; but those stones did much damage to the horses, for as it rained they slipped and fell and cut their hind and fore legs and even their bodies, and the further we went the worse were the stones and, when we reached the descent from these hills, two horses were left there dead, and most of those which escaped were hocked.

A soldier named Palacios Rubio, a kinsman of Cortés, broke his leg, and when we found ourselves free from that Sierra de los Pedernales, for so we called it thenceforward, we gave many thanks and much praise to God. When at last we approached a pueblo called Tayca, we even rejoiced, thinking to find food. Before reaching it there was a river which flowed from a range between great rocky cliffs and precipices, and as it had rained for three nights it came down so furiously and with such an uproar, one could hear it two leagues off falling among the rocks: in addition to this it ran very deep and it was impossible to ford it. We determined to make a bridge from one cliff to the other, and we put

such haste into getting it finished with very thick tree trunks that in three days we began the passage to the pueblo. As we had to delay there for three days making the bridge, the native Indians had time to hide their maize and all their provisions, and place themselves in safety, so that we could not find them anywhere round about. On account of the hunger that was already wearing us out we were all dazed with thinking of food. I say assuredly that never had I felt such grief in my heart as we all suffered then, seeing that neither had I myself anything to eat or [food] to give to my men, besides being ill with fever. We searched for food diligently throughout the neighbourhood within two leagues of the pueblo, and this was on the eve of the festival of the holy resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Let my readers think what sort of Easter we should pass with nothing to eat, and we should have been very contented with [only] maize.

When Cortés observed the state of things, he at once, on the first day of Easter, sent off his servants and grooms with the guides to search for maize through the woods and plantations, and they brought in a matter of a fanega.[1] And when Cortés saw the extreme necessity, he ordered certain soldiers to be summoned, nearly all of them settlers from Coatzacoalcos, and among them he named me, and he said to us that he prayed us earnestly to turn the country upside down in our search for food, for we could see in what a condition the whole camp found itself. At that time when Cortés was giving us our orders, there stood before Cortés one Pedro de Ircio who was a great talker, and he begged Cortés to send him as our Captain, and Cortés replied—"Go and good luck to you." When I understood this, knowing that

[1] About eight bushels.

Pedro de Ircio could not march on foot and would hinder rather than aid us, I said secretly to Cortés and to Captain Sandoval that Pedro de Ircio had better not go, because he was not able to march through the mud and swamps with us for he had a game leg, and he was no good for that sort of thing, but only for talking a lot, and not fit to go on expeditions, and that he would stop or sit down on the road from time to time. So Cortés promptly ordered that he should remain behind, and we set out five soldiers and two guides through two rivers, both very deep, and after we had crossed the rivers we came on to some swamps and then into some farms where most of the people of the pueblo had collected, and there we found four houses full of maize and beans in quantity, and over thirty chickens and melons of the country which they call ayotes,[1] and we seized four Indians and three women, and we had a fine Easter. That night more than a thousand Mexicans, whom Cortés ordered to go after us and follow us so that they should get something to eat, arrived at the farms, and all of us, very jubilantly, loaded the Mexicans with all the maize they could carry for Cortés to apportion, and we also sent for him and Sandoval twenty fowls and the Indians and Indian women. We remained to guard two of the houses full of maize, lest the natives of the pueblo should burn them or carry it off during the night.

The next day we went on ahead with other guides and came on other farms where there was maize and poultry and different sorts of vegetables, and I at once wrote[2] to Cortés to send me many Indians for I had found other farms, and how I had sent him the Indian

[1] Pumpkins.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "I made ink [and wrote] on the skin of a drum."

men and women already mentioned, and all the camp heard about it.

The next day more than thirty soldiers and five hundred Indians arrived, and all carried away provisions, and in this way, thanks to God, the camp was supplied.

In that pueblo, which I have already said was called Tayca, we stayed five days.

Let us leave this, for I wish to mention how we made this bridge, and all along the journey we had made great bridges as I have already stated. Later on when those lands and provinces were pacified, the Spaniards who passed along those roads found, and still find at the present time, some of the bridges undestroyed after so many years have passed, and wonder at the great tree trunks which we placed in them, and now they are in the habit of saying "Here are the bridges of Cortés," as though they were saying "Here are the Pillars of Hercules."

Let us leave these reminiscences, for they do not belong to our story, and I will relate how we went on our way to another pueblo called Tania, and we were two days reaching it and found it deserted, and we searched for food and found maize and other vegetables but not very plentiful, and we went about the neighbourhood looking for roads and found nothing but rivers and brooks, and the guides, whom we had brought from the pueblo we had left behind, ran away one night from certain soldiers who guarded them, who were newcomers from Castile and who apparently had fallen asleep. As soon as Cortés knew of it he wished to punish the soldiers for it, but owing to entreaties he let it alone. Then he sent to search for guides and a road. It was useless to look for them by dry land, for the pueblo was altogether surrounded by rivers and streams and we were unable to capture any Indian men or women, and in addition

to this it rained continuously, and we could not make a stand against so much wet. Cortés and all of us were horrified and distressed at not knowing or finding a road by which we could travel, and then Cortés said very angrily to Pedro de Ircio and other Captains who were of the Mexican company "I wish now that there was somebody to say that he would like to go and search for guides and a road, and not leave everything to the settlers from Coatzacoalcos." When Pedro de Ircio heard those words he got ready with six soldiers, his companions and friends, and went off in one direction, and Francisco Marmolejo, who was a person of quality, with other six soldiers went in another, and a certain Santa Cruz Burgalés, who was regidor of Mexico, went in another direction with other soldiers, and they all walked the whole of three days and found neither guides nor a road—nothing but streams and rivers. When they had returned without any supplies, Cortés nearly burst with rage and asked Sandoval to tell me the great straits we were in, and to beg me on his behalf to go and look for guides and a road, and he said this with affectionate expressions like entreaties, because he knew for certain that I was ill.[1] They had already named me before Sandoval spoke to me, to go with Francisco Marmolejo who was my friend, and I said I could not go because I was ill and tired, and that they always put all the work on me and they could send someone else. Then Sandoval came again to my ranch and implored me to go with two companions whom I might choose myself, for Cortés said that after God he had faith in me to bring provisions, and although I was ill I could not permit myself to be shamed, and asked that a certain Hernando

[1] Blotted out in the original: "as I have already said I still had fever and was feeling ill."

de Aguilar and one Ynojosa should go with me, as I knew they were men who could endure hardships. So we all three set out and followed down some streams, and away from the streams in the bush there were some signs of cut branches, and we followed that trail more than a league, and at last we left the stream and came on some small ranchos which had been deserted that day, and following the trail we saw on a hill in the distance some maize plantations and a house, and we observed people in it. As the sun had already set, we stayed in the wood until the night was well advanced, and it seemed to us the inhabitants of those maize plantations should be asleep, so keeping very quiet we came very suddenly on the house and captured three Indians and two women, young and good-looking for Indians, and one old woman. They owned two fowls and a little maize, and we carried off the maize and fowls and the Indian men and women, and very cheerfully returned to camp. When Sandoval knew it, and he was the first found waiting for us on the road at the close of the day, we went before Cortés, who valued it more than if we had given him a much greater thing. Then Sandoval said to Pedro de Ircio, who had come with him, before many of the gentlemen—"It seems to us Señor Pedro de Ircio that Bernal Díaz was right the other day when he went to search for maize, that he only wished to go with men, and not with one who would go all the way very slowly, relating what happened to the Conde Durueña and Don Pedro Giron his son (for these were stories Pedro de Ircio told many times), and you have no reason to complain saying that he stirs up trouble with the Señor Captain and with me." They all laughed at this, and Sandoval said it because Pedro de Ircio was unfriendly to me.

Then Cortés thanked me for it and said it ever happened that I had to bring in provisions, and "I pledge

you this (meaning his beard) that I will remember your honour."

I must leave these flatteries, for they are hollow and bring no profit, but others repeated them in Mexico when they told the story of this toilsome journey. I must go back to say that Cortés sought information from the guides and the two women, and all agreed that we must go down stream to a pueblo which was distant two days' march, and the name of the pueblo was said to be Oculizte, which contained more than two hundred houses and had been deserted a few days before.

As we went on our way down stream we came on some large ranchos which were used by Indian traders when they are travelling. There we slept and the next day we followed the same river and water-course, and after following it for about half a league we came upon a good road, and that day arrived at the pueblo of Oculizte, where there was plenty of maize and vegetables. In a house which was a shrine of their Idols was found an old red cap and a hempen shoe as an offering to the Idols. Some soldiers who went through the farms brought to Cortés two old Indians and four women whom they had captured in the maize fields belonging to the pueblo, and Cortés questioned them through the interpreter Doña Marina about the road, and how far off the Spaniards were, and they replied "two days," and that there was no inhabited land until we arrived there, and that they [the Spaniards] have their houses near the sea coast.

Then Cortés instantly ordered Sandoval to proceed on foot with six other soldiers and find his way to the sea, and by some means or other to enquire and to find out whether there were many Spaniards who were settled there with Cristóbal de Olid, for at that time we did not believe there could be any other Captain in that country.

Cortés wanted to know this so that we might fall on Cristóbal de Olid in the night if he were there, and might capture him and his soldiers.

Gonzalo de Sandoval set out with the six soldiers and three Indians as guides whom he took for that purpose from the pueblo of Oculizte, and as he went along the north coast he saw a canoe rowing and sailing swiftly over the sea, and he hid himself during the day in the forest, for they saw that the canoe which was coming over the sea belonged to Indian traders, and it was coasting along and bringing salt and maize as merchandize and was about to enter into the great river of the Golfo Dulce, and during the night they [the Spaniards] took possession of it in a bay which was a canoe harbour, and Sandoval got into the canoe with two of his companions and the Indian rowers who had brought the canoe and his three guides, and set off along the coast, the rest of the soldiers going by land, for they knew that the great river was near by. When they were close to the great river, as chance would have it, four settlers and a Cuban Indian from the town which had been settled by the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had come that morning in a canoe, and crossed to that side of the river in search of a fruit which they call zapotes, to be eaten when roasted, for in the town whence they came they were enduring great hunger because most of them were ill, and [they] did not dare to go out in search of food among the pueblos because the Indians in the neighbourhood had made war on them and killed six soldiers since Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had left them there.

While these followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila were pulling down zapotes from the tree, and two of the men were up the tree, when they saw a canoe coming along the sea in which were Sandoval and his two companions, they were startled and marvelled at such a novel sight,

and did not know whether to stay or flee. When Sandoval approached them he told them to have no fear as they were men of peace, so they stood quiet but very much terrified. After Sandoval and his companions had been fully informed by the two Spaniards, how and in what way the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had been settled there, and of the ill fate of the Armada of Las Casas, which was lost; and how Cristóbal de Olid had made prisoners of Las Casas and Gil Gonzáles de Ávila; and how they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid at Naco in execution of the sentence then pronounced against him; and how they had already set off for Mexico; they learned who and how many were in the town and the great hunger they were enduring, and how a few days earlier they had hanged in that town the Lieutenant and leader, a man named Armenta, whom Gil Gonzáles de Ávila had left there; and the reason why they hanged him, which was because he would not let them go to Cuba. Sandoval determined to carry those men at once to Cortés, and not to attract attention or go to the town without him, in order that he [Cortés] should receive the information from these men in person. Then a soldier named Alonzo Ortiz, who was afterwards a settler at a town called San Pedro, begged Sandoval to do him the favour of permitting him to go on one hour ahead to take the news to Cortés and all of us who were with him, so that he might get a reward. This he did and Cortés and all the camp were delighted at the news, believing that there would come an end to all the hardships we were suffering, but they were to increase twofold as I shall tell later on. To Alonzo Ortiz who carried the news Cortés gave a very good chestnut horse called Cabeza de Moro,[1] and we all gave him something from what we still possessed. Then Captain

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[1] The Moor's Head.

Sandoval arrived with the soldiers and the Cuban Indian, and they gave a report to Cortés of all I have stated, and many other things which they were asked about. As they owned at that town a ship, which was being caulked in a harbour about half a league distant, which had room enough in it for all of them to embark and go to Cuba, and because the lieutenant Armenta had not let them embark, they had hanged him, also because he had ordered a cleric who revolutionized the town to be flogged; and they chose for lieutenant one Antonio Nieto in place of Armenta whom they had hanged.

Let us stop talking about the news brought by the two Spaniards, and I will speak of the lamentations they raised in that town when they knew that the two settlers and the Cuban Indian who had gone to search for zapote fruit (for so they call it) had not returned, and they believed they had been killed by Indians or by lions or tigers. One of the settlers was married and his wife wept much for him, and the priest named the Bachelor Fulano Valásquez and all the settlers assembled in the Church and prayed God to help them and deliver them from further misfortune, and the woman was all the time praying God for the soul of her husband.

To go back to my story. Cortés promptly ordered the whole army to go along the road by the sea, a distance of six leagues. There was yet on the road a very swollen lagoon which rose and fell with the tide, and we waited half a day for the water to fall and crossed it jumping and swimming and reached the great river of the Golfo Dulce.

The first to go to the town, which was two leagues distant, was Cortés himself with six soldiers and two pages. He set out in two canoes tied together, the one in which the two soldiers of Gil Gonzáles had come to search for zapotes, and the other which Sandoval had taken from the Indians on the coast, and as it was necessary to

conceal it they had stuck it in the ground and hidden it in the bush. They went to launch it in the water and tied the two one to the other so that they were well secured, and in them Cortés and his servants crossed over, and then with the same canoes he ordered two horses to be sent over, and it was done in this manner: the canoes were paddled, and the horses, tied by their halters, swam near the canoes, and care had to be taken not to give too much rope to the horse lest it should upset the canoe. Cortés sent to say that, until we received an order or a letter from him, none of us were to cross in these same canoes on account of the great risk of the passage, for he had repented of going in them himself as the river came down with such great fury. I will leave off here and then go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

How Cortés entered the town where the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila were settled, and about the great joy shown by all the inhabitants, and what Cortés decreed.

AFTER Cortés had crossed the great river of the Golfo Dulce in the way I have related, he went to the town where the Spaniards of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila were settled, about two leagues distant and close to the sea, and not to where they made their first settlement named San Gil de Buena Vista.[1]

When these saw a man on horseback and six others on foot among their houses, they were greatly startled, and when they knew that it was Cortés who was so renowned throughout the Indies and in Castile they were beside themselves with delight. After all the caciques had come to kiss his hand and give him a welcome

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[1] Nito, in the Fifth letter of Cortés.

Cortés addressed them very affectionately and instructed the Lieutenant, who was called Nieto, to go to where they careened the ship and bring the two boats they possessed, and if there were any canoes to bring them also, tied two and two, and he ordered them to collect all the cassava bread in the place and take it to Captain Sandoval (for they had no maize bread), that it might be divided and eaten by all of us belonging to his army. The Lieutenant promptly searched but did not find so much as fifty pounds of it, for they lived only on roasted zapotes, vegetables, and some shell fish which they fished for, and even the cassava which they gave us they were preserving as stores for the voyage to Cuba when the ship should have been calked.

By the two boats and eight sailors who came promptly, Cortés at once wrote to Sandoval that he personally and Captain Luis Marin should be the last to cross that great river, and that they should see to it that only those whom he ordered to do so should embark, and that the boats should not be overladen on account of the great current of the river which was coming down greatly swollen and very rapid, and that two horses [should be carried] by each boat, but that no horse should be brought in the canoes, lest it should be lost and the canoes overturned by the raging stream.

About the question of precedence in crossing over, a man named Sayavedra, and his brother Avalos, relations of Cortés, claimed to cross over first, notwithstanding Sandoval's decision that the Franciscan friars (because they were entitled to consideration in the first place) should cross in the first boatload; but as Sayavedra was a relative of Cortés, and inspired by Lucifer with a desire to command, he did not like Sandoval's raising objections, and wished him to hold his tongue and [therefore] answered him less respectfully than was proper. Sandoval

would not put up with it, and they had words, so much so, that Sayavedra plucked out his dagger, and as Sandoval was standing in the river knee deep in water preventing the boats from being overladen, he seized Sayavedra just as he stood, and caught hold of his hand which held the dagger and flung him into the water, and if we had not promptly thrown ourselves between them and parted them, certainly Sayavedra would have come out of it badly, for nearly all of us soldiers were openly on the side of Sandoval.

Let us leave this dispute and I will state that we were four days in crossing that river, and as for food it was useless to think about it, were it not for some "pacayas" which grow on certain small palms, and other things like nuts which we roasted and broke open, and ate the kernels of them.

One soldier with his horse was drowned in that river; the soldier's name was Tarifa, and he crossed over in a canoe and never appeared again, neither he nor his horse. Two horses were also drowned, one belonging to a soldier called Solis Casquete, who growled about it and cursed Cortés and his journey.

I wish to speak about the great hunger we endured at the passage of the river, and the grumbling against Cortés and his expedition, and even against all of us who were his followers; for when we arrived at the pueblo there was not a mouthful of cassava to eat, and even the people in the neighbourhood had none, and they did not know the roads except to two pueblos which used to be close by, but were already deserted.

Cortés next ordered Captain Luis Marin to set out with the settlers from Coatzacoalcos and search for maize, which I will go on to tell about.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

How the day after arriving at that town, which I know by no other name than that of San Gil de Buena Vista, we set out with Captain Luis Marin and nearly eighty soldiers, all on foot, to search for maize and explore the country, and what happened I will go on to relate.

I HAVE already said that when we reached the town which Gil Gonzáles de Ávila founded, there was nothing to eat, and there were nearly forty men and four Castilian women and two Mulatto women, and all were ill and very yellow in colour. And as neither we nor they had anything to eat, we could barely await the hour to go and look for it.

Cortés ordered Captain Luis Marin to set out and search for maize, and more than eighty of us foot soldiers went with him to find out if there were roads fit for horses, and we took with us a Cuban Indian who guided us to some farms and pueblos eight leagues distant, where we found much maize and very numerous cacao plantations, and frijoles and other vegetables, where we had plenty to eat and we even sent to say that he [Cortés] should send all the Mexican Indians to carry maize, and we relieved him immediately with ten fanegas of it by means of other Indians, and we sent for our horses.

As soon as Cortés knew that we were in a good country, and learned from Indian merchants, whom they had just then captured in the River of the Golfo Dulce, that the place where we were was on the direct way to Naco, where they beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, he sent Sandoval with the greater part of his army to follow us, and ordered us all to stay in that camp until we received his orders. When Sandoval arrived where we were and saw that there was abundance of food, he was delighted, and promptly sent to

Cortés over thirty fanegas of maize by some Mexican Indians, and he divided it among the settlers who remained in the town, and, as they were ravenous and accustomed to eat only roasted zapotes and cassava, they gorged themselves on tortillas made from the maize we sent them, until their bellies swelled, and, as they were [already] enfeebled, seven of them died. When they were in the condition I have described, it pleased God that a ship arrived in port which came from the Island of Cuba laden with seven horses, forty hogs and eight casks of salt meat and cassava bread, and about fifteen passengers came in her, and eight sailors, and the owner of most of the cargo of that ship was called Anton de Carmona the buskin maker. Cortés bought on credit all the supplies that came in it, and he divided part of them among the settlers and, as they had been formerly in such necessity and were run down, they gorged themselves on the salt meat and it gave many of them diarrhœa and fourteen of them died.

As that ship had arrived with men and sailors, it seemed to Cortés that it would be a good thing to go and explore and survey that mighty river, [and see] if there were towns up stream and what kind of land there was, so he promptly ordered a good launch belonging to the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, which had gone ashore, to be calked, and a boat to be repaired to serve as a lighter, and with four canoes tied one to the other, and thirty soldiers and the eight seamen from those lately arrived in the ship, and twenty Mexican Indians and Cortés himself as Captain, he went up the river. When he had proceeded a matter of ten leagues up stream, a broad lake was discovered six leagues in length and in width, and there were no villages at all around it, for it was all swampy, and going on up the river the stream became swifter than before, and there were some rapids which the launch, boats, and canoes could not ascend, so he decided to leave them there where the

stream was sluggish, with six Spaniards to guard them, and to go by land along a narrow track. He reached some small deserted villages and then came on some maize fields, and from there took three Indians as guides, and they led him to some small pueblos where there was much maize and many fowls and they even kept pheasants, which in this country they call "Sacachules," and partridges of the country and pigeons. This way of keeping partridges I saw and noticed [myself] among the pueblos in the neighbourhood of this Golfo Dulce, when I went in search of Cortés, as I shall relate further on.

To go back to my story: there Cortés captured guides and passed on and went to some other small pueblos which are called Çinacantençintle,[1] where they had great cocoa groves and maize fields and cotton, and before reaching them they heard the sound of drums and trumpets, for they were holding feasts and drunken orgies. So as not to be observed, Cortés and his soldiers remained hidden in the wood, and, as soon as he saw it was time to start, they fell upon them altogether and captured about ten Indians and fifteen women, but most of the Indians of the pueblo made off quickly to seize their arms, and returned with bows and arrows and lances, and began to shoot at our people. Cortés and his followers went against them and put to the sword eight Indians who were chieftains, and as soon as they saw how ill the fight was going, and that their women were captives, they sent four elders—and two of them were priests of Idols—and they approached very meekly to pray Cortés to give up the prisoners to them, and they brought some golden jewels of small value. Cortés spoke to them through Doña Marina who came there with her husband Juan Jaramillo, because Cortés could not understand the Indians without her,

[1] This is the pueblo called Chacujal by Cortés.

and he told them to take the maize, poultry, and salt, and all the provisions he indicated, to the place to which he explained they had come in the canoes and launches, and that then he would give up the prisoners to them. They replied that they would do so, and that near by there was a sort of creek which opened into the river, and they promptly made rafts, and, wading, they conveyed them to where they came to deep water, where they were able to float quite well. Then, although Cortés had agreed to give up all the prisoners, it appears that he ordered three of the Indian women with their husbands to stay with them, and make bread and wait on the Mexican Indians, and he would not give them up, and over this matter all the Indians of that pueblo got together and from the high banks of the river sent a great shower of darts, stones, and arrows, at Cortés and his soldiers, so that they wounded Cortés himself in the face, and a dozen of the soldiers. One boat came to grief there, and half its freight was lost and one Mexican was drowned. In that river there are so many mosquitos that they are beyond bearing, and Cortés endured it all and returned to his town (I don't know what it was named), and provisioned it much better than it had been before.

I have already stated that the pueblo which Cortés reached was named Sinacatençintla,[1] which is seventy leagues distant from Guatemala. Cortés was delayed on this journey, and he returned to the town in twenty-six days when he saw that as there were no Indian pueblos it would be no use to form a settlement there. As he was well provisioned both from what had already been collected before, and also from what he was now bringing, he decided to write to Gonzalo de Sandoval

[1] Çinacantençintle on the previous page.

to proceed at once to Naco,[1] and he told him all about his voyage on the Gulfo Dulce, just as I have related it here, and how he was going to settle at the Puerto de Caballos, and that Sandoval must send him ten soldiers who were Coatzacoalcos men, for without them he was not content when on expeditions.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

How Cortés embarked with all the soldiers, both those which he had brought in his company and those who had remained at San Gil de Buena Vista, and went to settle the place now called Puerto de Caballos, which he named La Natividad, and what he did there.

AFTER Cortés had seen that the place he found settled by the followers of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila was of no use, he decided to embark in the two ships and the launch, with all those who were in the town, leaving none behind, and after voyaging for eight days he disembarked at what is now called Puerto de Caballos, and, when he beheld that it was a fine bay for a port and learnt that there were Indian villages near by, he decided to found a town, which he named "Natividad," and placed one Diego de Godoy in command. From this place he made two expeditions inland to some neighbouring pueblos, which are now deserted, and he learned from them that there were other pueblos near by, and

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[1] Naco was situated in an inland valley, probably between the rivers Chamelicon and Santiago, the latter a branch of the Rio Ulua, and was sixty to seventy miles distant from Puerto Caballo.

"De ay (Puerto Caballo) a la villa de San Pedro . . . . ay Catorze ó quinze leguas . . . . estan cerca de alli 4 leguas las Minas de Zula . . . . y quasi otras 4 el Valle de Naco . . . este Valle de Naco es muy llano y fertil corcado todo de Sierras." (*Relacion de la Provincia de Honduras y Higueras por el Obispo D. Cristóbal de Pedraza*, 1544; *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. i, p. 398.)

he supplied the town [Natividad] with maize, and he also learned that the pueblo of Naco, where they beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, was near that town; so he wrote to Gonzalo de Sandoval—believing that he had already arrived and was settled at Naco—telling him to send him ten soldiers who were Coatzacoalcos men, and he said in the letter that without them he was not confident when making expeditions. He also wrote to him that he wished to go from there [Puerto de Caballos] to the Port of Honduras where the town of Trujillo had been settled, and that Sandoval and his soldiers should pacify those lands and found a town. This letter came into Sandoval's possession when we were stationed in the camp already mentioned by me, and we had not reached Naco.

Let us cease speaking of Cortés and his expeditions which he made from the Puerto de Caballos, and about the many mosquitos which bit them on the journeys both by day and night, and, from what I afterwards heard him say, gave him such bad nights that his head was stupid from want of sleep.

When Gonzalo de Sandoval saw the letters, he promptly left the camp I have mentioned for some small pueblos named Cuyuacan, seven leagues distant. He was not able to go at once to Naco as Cortés had ordered him, if he were to avoid leaving behind on the road many soldiers who had gone off to other farms, to find food for themselves and their horses; and on account of the passage of a very deep river[1] which could not be forded on the road from the farms, and in order to leave provision of a canoe by which the Spanish stragglers, and a number of Mexican Indians who were out of health, could pass; (and it was also done for fear of some pueblos near

[1] Rio Motagua.

by the farms on the borders of the river and Golfo Dulce, for many Indians from these pueblos came every day to attack us). So that there should be no ill deeds and deaths of Spaniards and Mexican Indians, Sandoval ordered eight soldiers to remain at that crossing (and left me in command of them), and we were always to have a canoe drawn up on shore ready to make the passage, and to be on the alert so that, when passengers who had been left behind at the farms should raise shouts, we could promptly bring them over.

One night many Indian warriors from the neighbouring pueblos and farms, thinking that we were not keeping watch and hoping to take the canoe from us, fell suddenly on the ranchos in which we lived and set them on fire, but they did not come so secretly that we had not already heard them, and all of us, eight soldiers and four Mexican Indians who were in good health, attacked the warriors and with sword thrusts made them return whence they had come; however they wounded two soldiers and one Indian with their arrows, but the wounds were not serious. When we saw this, three of us companions went to the farms a league distant, where we believed some sick Indians and Spaniards had been left, and brought away one Diego de Mazariegos, often mentioned by me before, and some other Spaniards who were in his company, and some Mexican Indians who were ill, and we crossed the river at once and went to where Sandoval was stationed. As we went on our way one of the Spaniards whom we had picked up at the farms became very ill; he was one of those newly come from Castile and part native of the Canary Islands and the son of a Genoese, and as he grew worse, and we had nothing to give him to eat but tortillas and pínole,[1] when

[1] Pinole = a drink made of parched maize ground and mixed with sugar and water.

we were within half a league of where Sandoval was stationed he died on the road, and I had no men [able] to carry the dead body to the camp. When we arrived where Sandoval was stationed I told him about our journey, and about the man who was left dead, and he was angry with me because between all of us we had not brought him in on our shoulders or on a horse, and I answered him that we were bringing two sick men on each horse and came ourselves on foot, and for this reason we could not bring him. Then a soldier named Villanueva, who was my companion, answered Sandoval very arrogantly that it was as much as we could do to bring ourselves along without carrying dead men on our backs, and that he cursed the hardship and loss that Cortés had caused us. Sandoval at once ordered me and Villanueva to go without delay and bury the body, and we took two Indians with us and a hoe, and dug a grave and buried him and set up a cross. We found in the headpiece of the dead man a small bag with many dice, and a paper with a written record of where he was born and whose son he was, and what property he possessed in Tenerife, and later on that record was sent to Tenerife; may God have mercy on him, Amen.

Let us stop telling stories, for I wish to say that Sandoval then decided that we should go to some other pueblos, which are now near to some mines which were discovered three years later, and thence we went to another pueblo named Quimiztlan, and the next day at the hour of Mass we went to Naco. At that time it was a good pueblo, but we found it had been deserted that very day, and we took up our quarters in some large courts where they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid. The pueblo was well provisioned with maize and beans and Chili peppers, and we also found a little salt which was the thing we needed most, and there we settled ourselves

with our baggage as though we were going to stay there for ever. In this pueblo is the best water we have found in New Spain, and a tree which in the noonday heat, be the sun ever so fierce, appears to refresh the heart with its shade, and there falls from it a sort of very fine dew which comforts the head. At that time this pueblo was thickly peopled and in a good situation, and there was fruit of the zapotes, both of the red and small kind, and it was in the neighbourhood of other pueblos. I will leave off here and relate what happened to us there.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

How the Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval began the pacification of that Province of Naco, and what else he did.

WHEN we arrived at the Pueblo of Naco and had collected maize, beans and peppers, we captured three chieftains in the maizefields and Sandoval coaxed them and gave them beads from Castile, and begged them to go and summon the other caciques and we would do them no harm whatever.

They set off as they were ordered to do, and two caciques came in, but Sandoval could not induce them to repeople the pueblo, only to bring a little food from time to time: they did us neither good nor harm, nor we to them, and thus we continued for the first [few] days. Cortés had written to Sandoval, as I have stated, to send ten soldiers, men of Coatzacoalcos, to the Puerto de Caballos. All ten were mentioned by name and I was one of them. At that time I was rather ill, and I told Sandoval that he must excuse me for I was disinclined, and, as it met his wishes, I remained and he sent eight soldiers, all good men to face any

difficulty, but yet they went with such ill-will that they cursed Cortés and his journey, and they had good reason to do so, for they did not know whether the country they had to go through was at peace. Sandoval decided to ask the caciques of Naco for five Indian chieftains to accompany them to Puerto de Caballos, and threatened them that if any of the soldiers came to any harm he would burn their town, and would go in search of them and make war on them. He also ordered them to supply the soldiers plentifully with food at each pueblo they might pass through.

The soldiers went on their march to Puerto de Caballos, where they found Cortés who was wishing to embark and go to Trujillo. He was pleased to hear that we were well, and he took the soldiers with him in the ships, and then embarked, leaving behind in that town of Puerto de Caballos one Diego de Godoy as Captain and about forty settlers, who were most of them those who had been with Gil Gonzáles de Ávila and those who had recently come from the Islands.

As soon as Cortés had embarked, his Lieutenant Godoy, who remained in the town, made expeditions with the soldiers who were least infirm to the neighbouring pueblos, and he made peace with two of them; but when the Indians saw that almost all the soldiers who were left there were invalids, and were dying every day, they took no count of them, and for this reason they did not support them with food, nor were they [the settlers] in a condition to go and seek for it, and they suffered great hardship from hunger and even within a few days half of them died. Three soldiers abandoned the town and came fleeing to where we were camped with Sandoval, and I will leave them here in this condition and return to Naco.

When Sandoval saw that the neighbouring Indians

and natives of Naco did not want to come and settle in the pueblo, although he had sent to summon them many times, and that the people of the neighbouring pueblos did not come or take any notice of us, he decided to go himself and manage to make them come. We went at once to some pueblos called Girimonga and Açula, and to three other pueblos near to Naco, and all of them came to give fealty to His Majesty. Then we went to Quismistan[1] and to other pueblos of the Sierra, and they too came in, so that all the Indians of that district submitted, and as nothing was demanded of them beyond what they were inclined to give, their submission did not weigh on them, and in this manner all was pacified as far as up to where Cortés founded the town which is now called Puerto de Caballos.

Let us leave this matter, for I am obliged to go back and speak of Cortés, who disembarked at the Port of Trujillo, because at one and the same time two or three things happened, as I have said repeatedly in former chapters. I must contract my writing into a limited space as to where and how we conquered and settled [the country], and although for the present the story of Sandoval and what happened to him at Naco is put aside, I wish to relate what Cortés did in Trujillo.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

How Cortés disembarked at the Port of Trujillo, and how all the settlers at that town came out to receive him, and how content they were with him, and what he did there.

CORTÉS embarked at Puerto de Caballos, and took in his company many soldiers, both those whom he had brought from Mexico and those Gonzalo de Sandoval

[1] Quimiztlan in preceding chapter. Quimistan on map.

sent him, and with fair weather he arrived at the Port of Trujillo in six days. As soon as the inhabitants who lived there, who had been left as settlers by Francisco de las Casas, knew that it was Cortés, they all went down to the beach, which was near by, to receive him and kiss his hands, for many of them were outlaws who had been turned out of Panuco and had advised Cristóbal de Olid to rebel; they had been banished from Panuco, as I have related in the chapter that tells about it. As they knew themselves guilty they implored Cortés to pardon them, and Cortés with many blandishments and promises embraced them all and pardoned them. Then they went to the church and after evening prayers they lodged him as well as they were able, and gave him an account of all that had happened to Francisco de las Casas and Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, and for what reason they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, and how they had started in the direction of Mexico, and how they had brought to peace some pueblos of that Province. After Cortés had thoroughly understood, he honoured them all by addressing each, and confirming them in their offices as they then held them, except that he made his cousin Sayavedra, for so he was called, Captain General of those provinces, which met with their approval. Cortés then sent to summon the people of all the neighbouring pueblos, and when they heard the news that it was the Captain Malinche, for so they called him, and they knew that he had conquered Mexico, they came promptly at his summons and brought presents of food. As soon as the caciques of the four most important pueblos were assembled, Cortés spoke to them through Doña Marina and told them things touching our holy faith, and that we were all vassals of a great Emperor named Don Carlos of Austria, who had many great lords as his vassals and had sent us to these parts to do away with sodomy

and robberies and idolatry, and to prohibit the eating of human flesh and sacrifices, and they should not rob or make war on one another, but be brothers and treat each other as such. We also came in order that they should give their fealty to so great a King and Lord as he had told them we possessed, and pay tribute by service and from what they might possess, as all of us vassals did, and he told them many other things which Doña Marina knew well how to express, and that those who would not come and submit themselves to the rule of His Majesty he would punish. The two Franciscan friars whom Cortés had brought with him preached very good and holy things to them, which were explained to them by two Mexican Indians who knew the Spanish language, and other interpreters of that language. Moreover Cortés told them that in all matters he would take care that justice was done to them, for that was the order of our Lord and King. Because he used many other arguments and the Caciques understood them very clearly, they replied that they gave themselves as vassals to His Majesty and would do what Cortés ordered them. He at once told them to bring provisions to that town, and he also ordered many Indians to come and bring their axes and fell a wood which stood in the town, so that one could see the sea and harbour from that point. He also ordered them to go in canoes and summon three or four pueblos built upon some islands called the Guanages, which at that time were inhabited, and to bring fish which was plentiful there, and this they did, and within five days the people from the pueblos on the islands arrived, and all brought presents of fish and fowls, and Cortés ordered them to be given some sows and a boar which were found at Trujillo, and some of those which were brought from Mexico so as to raise a breed of them, for a Spaniard told him that it was a good

country for them to increase in, if they were let loose on the island without the necessity of guarding them. It turned out as he said, and within two years there were many pigs and they went out hunting them.

Let us leave this, for it does not touch our story, and I must not grow long-winded telling old tales, and I will relate that so many Indians came to fell the wood in the town as Cortés ordered them, that in two days one got a clear view of the sea, and they built fifteen houses and one very good one for Cortés. When this was done, Cortés enquired which pueblos and lands were rebellious and refused to make peace, and certain Caciques of a pueblo called Papayeca, which was the capital of other pueblos and at that time a large town (although it has now very few or hardly any inhabitants), gave Cortés a memorandum of many pueblos which would not make peace; they were situated on great mountain ranges and had their defences ready. Cortés promptly sent to summon Captain Sayavedra and the soldiers that it seemed to him necessary for him to take, and, with the eight men of Coatzacoalcos, Sayavedra set out on his march and arrived at the pueblos which usually were warlike, but most of them now met them peaceably except three pueblos which refused to come in. Cortés was so greatly feared by the natives and so celebrated that as far as the pueblos of Olancho, where the mines are which were afterwards discovered, he was feared and revered, and they called him throughout those provinces 'El Capitan hue hue de Marina,' and what they meant to say was 'the old Captain who brought Doña Marina.'

Let us leave Sayavedra who remained near the pueblos which declined to give in—I think they were called the Acaltecas—and return to Cortés who was at Trujillo. The Franciscan friars had already fallen ill, as well as his cousin named Avalos, and the licentiate Pero López and the

mayordomo Carranza and the steward Guinea, and one Juan Flamenco and many other soldiers, whom Cortés had brought with him as well as some of those he found in Trujillo, and even Anton de Carmona who brought the ship with the supplies; so he decided to send them to the Island of Cuba, to Havana or Santo Domingo, if the weather at sea should appear good enough. For this purpose he gave them a ship well repaired and calked, and the best crew he could find, and he wrote to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and to the Geronimite Friars and to Havana, giving an account of how he had set out from Mexico in search of Cristóbal de Olid, and how he left his authority to His Majesty's officials, and about the laborious march he had undertaken; and how Cristóbal de Olid had imprisoned a certain Captain named Francisco de las Casas, whom Cortés had sent to seize the fleet of the same Cristóbal de Olid, who had also taken prisoner one Gil Gonzáles de Ávila who was governor of the Golfo Dulce; and that when Cristóbal de Olid held them prisoners the two Captains stabbed Cristóbal de Olid, and after they had taken him prisoner they passed judgment on him and beheaded him. That at the present time he [Cortés] was settling the country and the pueblos subject to that town of Trujillo, which was a country rich in mines, and that they should send him the soldiers who had no means of subsistence in the Island of Santa Domingo. In order to give credence [to what he had stated] about there being gold, he sent many jewels and pieces from what he brought from Mexico amongst his equipage and table service, and even from his sideboard. He sent his cousin named Avalos as Captain of that ship, and ordered him on his way to capture twenty-five soldiers who had been left by a Captain who, as he was informed, went about attacking Indians on the small Islands and the neighbourhood of Cozumel.

After leaving the Port of Honduras, for so it is sometimes called, they passed, sometimes with fair wind and sometimes with foul, beyond the Cape of San Anton, which is near the range called the Sierra of Guaniguanico, sixty or seventy leagues distant from Havana, and then in a tempest the ship went ashore and the friars were drowned, but the Captain Avalos and many of the soldiers saved themselves in a boat and on boards, and with great hardship reached the Havana. From there the report spread flying all over the Island of Cuba that Cortés and all of us were alive, and a few days later the news reached Santo Domingo, for the licentiate Pedro López the doctor, who was on his way there and had escaped on a board, wrote to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, in the name of Cortés, all that had happened and how he [Cortés] was settled at Trujillo, and had need of supplies and wine and horses, and that to purchase these he was bringing much gold, but it had been lost in the sea, in the way I have already related.

When that news was known everyone rejoiced, for already there was a widespread report, and they thought it was true, that Cortés and all of us his companions were dead, as they had heard that news from a vessel which had come from New Spain.

When it was known in Santo Domingo that Cortés was stationary, settling the provinces as I have stated, the judges [of the Audiencia] and the merchants began to lade two old ships with horses and foals, shirts, caps and ordinary metal ware, and they brought no provisions except one pipe of wine, and no fruit, only horses, and the rest rubbish.

While they were preparing the ships to sail, and before they arrived at the port, I wish to say that, while Cortés was at Trujillo, certain Indians came to him from the Islands of the Guanages, eight leagues distant, to make

complaint, and they said that a ship was anchored near their pueblo, and that a boat-load of Spaniards from the ship armed with muskets and crossbows wanted to capture their mazeguales (for so they call their vassals) by force. From what they understood they were robbers, and in this manner they had captured many Indians in past years, and had carried them off as prisoners in another ship like the ship which was now at anchor, and they [begged him] to send and give them protection against it.

As soon as Cortés knew it he promptly ordered a launch to be armed with the best cannon they possessed, and [manned] by twenty soldiers under a good Captain, and he commanded them to capture the ship the Indians spoke of without fail, and bring it captive with all the Spaniards who were in it, for they were robbers of the vassals of His Majesty. He ordered the Indians to arm their canoes with darts and arrows and go in company with the launch, and help it to seize those men, and for this he gave authority to the Captain, who sailed along with the armed launch and many canoes belonging to the natives of the Islands. No sooner did the people in the ship, which was at anchor, see them sailing along, than they did not waste time in waiting, but made sail and went fleeing, for they knew quite well that they were coming to attack them, and the launch could not overtake them. It was afterwards found out that it was a Bachelor Moreno, whom the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo had sent on a certain commission to Nombre de Dios, and it seems that he swerved from his course, or came with the definite purpose of stealing Indians from the Guanages.[1]

Let us return to Cortés, who remained in that province bringing it to peace, and turn back to relate what happened to Sandoval in Naco.

[1] Blotted out in the original: "and as I do not know it very well I will omit it."

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

How Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was at Naco, captured forty Spanish soldiers and their Captain, who had come from the province of Nicaragua, and did much damage and robbed the Indians of the pueblos through which they passed.

WHILE Sandoval was at the pueblo of Naco pacifying nearly all the pueblos of that neighbourhood, there came before him four Caciques of the pueblos named Quespan and Talchinalchapa, who said that in their pueblos there were many Spaniards of the same kind as those who were with him, with arms and horses, and that they seized their property and their daughters and wives and put them in iron chains. At this Sandoval was very indignant and asked how far off they were, and they replied that we could arrive there early in one day. Sandoval promptly ordered us who were to go with him to get ready as well as we could with our arms and horses, our crossbows and muskets, and we were seventy men who went with him. When we arrived at the pueblos where they were, we found them very tranquil, without a suspicion that we were about to capture them, and as soon as they saw us coming in that manner they were aroused and grasped their arms, but we quickly seized the Captain and many of the others before blood was shed on one side or the other. Sandoval asked them in rather bitter words whether they thought it right to go about robbing the vassals of His Majesty, and if that was a proper sort of conquest and pacification, bringing Indian men and women in chains and collars? Then he had them [the chains] taken off and gave the women to the Cacique of that pueblo and ordered the others to go back to their own country which was near by.

When that was done he ordered the Captain who had come there, who was named Pedro de Garro, and his soldiers, to be arrested and to accompany us at once to the pueblo of Naco, whither we marched them, and they brought many Indian women from Nicaragua, some of them handsome, and Indian women servants whom they kept to wait on them, and most of them had horses with them. As we were so battered and ragged from the past journeys and had no Indian women to make bread for us, or only very few, they looked like counts in comparison with our poverty.

When we arrived with them at Naco, Sandoval gave them lodgings in a convenient place, for there were among them some hidalgos and persons of quality. When they had rested a day, their Captain Garro, seeing that we belonged to the company of Cortés who was so celebrated, became great friends with Sandoval and all of us, and they took pleasure in our company.

I wish to state how and in what manner and for what reason that Captain and those soldiers had come; it was in the way I will relate :—

It seems that Pedrarias de Ávila, who was Governor of Tierra Firme at that time, sent a Captain named Francisco Hernández, a man of great importance among them, to conquer and pacify the country of Nicaragua, and to explore other lands, and he gave him a company of soldiers, both horsemen and crossbowmen, and he [Francisco Hernández] arrived at the provinces of Nicaragua and Leon, for so they were called, and pacified and settled them; thus he was prosperous, had command of many soldiers, and was out of reach of Pedrarias de Ávila.

Then he consulted certain advisers, among them, as I understand, a certain Bachelor Moreno, of whom I have already spoken as having been sent by the Royal

Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite Friars, who govern the islands, to Tierra Firme because of a certain lawsuit which, if my memory serves me, was about the death of Balboa the son-in-law of Pedro Arias, who beheaded him after he had married him to his daughter Doña Ysabel Arias de Peñalosa, for so she was called. This Bachelor Moreno said to Captain Francisco Hernández that as soon as he conquered any country he should appeal to our King and Lord to make him Governor of it, as that would not be treason, for it was contrary to justice for Pedrarias to behead his son-in-law Balboa, because Balboa had first sent his proctor to His Majesty asking to be made Adelantado.

Under the influence of these speeches of the Bachelor Moreno, Francisco Hernández sent his Captain Pedro de Garro to search for a port on the North coast, so that he could inform His Majesty about the provinces which he had pacified and settled, in order that he should grant him the favour of being the governor of them, as they were widely separated from the Government of Pedro Arias.

Pedro de Garro was captured while employed on that mission, as I have already stated, and when Sandoval understood the object of his coming he conversed very secretly with Garro, and orders were given that we should inform Cortés, who was at Trujillo, about it, for Sandoval felt certain that Cortés would help him so that Francisco Hernández should remain as Governor of Nicaragua.

When this had been arranged, Sandoval and Garro sent ten men, five of ours and the other five soldiers of Garro's company, to go along the coast to Trujillo with the letters, for, as I have stated in the chapter that treats of it, Cortés was at that time stationed there. They also took with them more than twenty Nicaraguan Indians, whom Garro had brought, to help them to cross the rivers.

When they went on their way they were not able to cross the Rio Pichin or another called the Rio de Balahama, for they were in flood, and at the end of fifteen days the soldiers returned to Naco without having accomplished anything they were ordered to do, at which Sandoval was so much incensed that he reviled the commander who went in charge of them. Then without delay he ordered Captain Luis Marin to go overland with ten soldiers, five of them Garro's men and the others our own, and I was one of them.

We all went on foot and passed through many hostile pueblos, and if I were to describe at length the great hardships and the fights with warlike Indians that we went through and the rivers and bays we crossed swimming or on rafts, or the hunger we some days endured, I should not quickly finish. Other notable things I have to speak of, such as how on one day we crossed three rapid rivers on rafts and by swimming, and when we reached the coast there were many creeks where there were alligators, and we were two days in crossing on rafts a river called Xagua which is ten leagues from Triunfo de la Cruz, because it was running so swiftly, and there we found skulls and bones of seven horses which had died of the poison grass they had grazed on, and they had belonged to the followers of Cristóbal de Olid.

Thence we went to Triunfo de la Cruz and found some wrecked ships on their beam ends. Thence we marched in four days to a pueblo named Quemera, and many hostile Indians came out against us with long and heavy lances and shields, and they use them [the lances] with the right hand over the left arm and make play with them in the way we fight with pikes, and they came on to fight hand to hand. Owing to the crossbows we carried and our sword thrusts, they gave way to us,

and we went on ahead, but they wounded two of our soldiers there.

These Indians who, as I have related, came out to attack us, did not believe that we belonged to the party of Cortés, but to other Captains who went about robbing the Indians.

Let us stop talking about past hardships and I will state that after two more days on the road we reached Trujillo. Before entering the town, about the hour of Vespers, we observed five horsemen, who were Cortés and other gentlemen on horseback who had gone for a ride along the shore, and when they saw us from afar off, they did not know what new thing it could be. When Cortés recognised us he dismounted from his horse and with tears in his eyes came to embrace us and we him, and he said to us, "Oh! my brothers and comrades, how I longed to see you and know how you were." He was thin and we were grieved to see it, for, as we knew, he had been at the point of death from fever and the melancholy which held him, for still at that time he knew neither good or bad news from Mexico. Other persons said that he was still so near death that they had already prepared for him a cowl of [the order of] Señor San Francisco for him to be buried in. Then he went with us all on foot to the town and found us lodgings and we supped with him, and he was so badly off that there was not even enough cassava for us to eat our fill. When we had made our report of why we had come, and he had read the letters about the affair of Francisco Hernández, begging for help, he said that he would do all he was able for him. At the time we arrived at Trujillo, three days had passed since the arrival of the two small vessels with the merchandise which I have before mentioned was sent from Santo Domingo, which consisted of horses and foals and mules and old

arms, and some shirts and red caps and things of little value, and they only brought one pipe of wine and nothing more that was useful, yet those vessels had no sooner come than we all of us got into debt buying gewgaws and foals.

While we were with Cortés telling him about the hardships of our journey, they saw a sailing ship coming from the high seas, and it arrived in port having come from the Havana sent by the Licentiate Zuazo, the same licentiate whom Cortés had left in Mexico as Chief Alcalde; he sent a few provisions for Cortés and a letter which now follows, and if I do not repeat the exact terms which it contained at least I give the substance of it.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

How the Licentiate Zuazo sent a letter to Cortés from the Havana, and what was contained in it I will now relate.

WHEN the ship I have mentioned had come into port, and the gentleman who was her Captain had come ashore, he went to Cortés to kiss hands, and gave him a letter from the Licentiate Zuazo whom he had left in Mexico as Chief Alcalde.

As soon as Cortés had read the letter he became so miserable that he shut himself in his chamber and began to sob, and he did not come out again until the next morning, which was Saturday, and he ordered Mass of Our Lady to be said early in the morning. After Mass had been said, he begged us to listen to him and we should hear news from New Spain, how a report had been spread that we were all dead, and how they had seized our property and sold it at auction, and taken away our Indians and divided them among other

Spaniards who did not deserve them. Then he read the letter from the beginning, and the first item in it was the news which came from Castile from his father Martin Cortés and from Ordas, [stating] how the Accountant Albornoz had gone against him [Cortés] in the letters he wrote to His Majesty and to the Bishop of Burgos and to the Royal Audiencia, and what His Majesty had ordered to be done about it, [namely] to send the Admiral[1] with . . . . men, as I have stated in the chapter that treats of it; and how the Duke de Bejar had become surety and pledged his fortune and head for Cortés and for us, that we were very loyal servants of His Majesty, and other things which I have already mentioned in the chapter which tells about it; and how they had allotted the conquest of the Rio de Palmas to the Captain Narvaez, and had given to one Nuño de Guzman the Government of Panuco, and that the Bishop of Burgos was dead.

About affairs in New Spain he said that as Cortés, when at Coatzacoalcos, had given authority and decrees to the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar and to Pedro Almírez Chirinos to be governors of Mexico, if they should see that the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada and the Accountant Albornoz were not governing well, as soon as they, the Factor and Veedor, arrived in Mexico with their powers, they set about making themselves great friends of the said Licentiate Zuazo, who was chief Alcalde, and of Rodrigo de Paz, who was chief Alguacil, and of Andrés de Tápia and Jorge de Alvarado and most of the Conquerors of Mexico. Then, as soon as the Factor saw that he had so many friends in his party, he said that the Factor and Veedor must be governors and not the Treasurer and Accountant, and about this there were many dis-

[1] Admiral of Santo Domingo, see vol. iv, p. 364.

turbances and deaths of men, some because they favoured the Factor and Veedor, and others because they were friends of the Treasurer and Accountant. However it ended in the office of Governors remaining with the Factor and Veedor, who imprisoned their opponents the Treasurer and Accountant and many of their supporters. Every day there were woundings and revolts, and the Indians who were unemployed they gave to their friends although they did not deserve them. And they did not allow the Licentiate Zuazo himself to administer justice, and had imprisoned Rodrigo de Paz because he had taken his part, and this same Licentiate Zuazo conciliated and reconciled both the Factor and the Treasurer and Accountant as well as Rodrigo de Paz, and they remained in harmony for eight days.

At this time there rose in revolt [the people of] certain provinces named the Zapotecs and Mijes, and a pueblo and stronghold where there was a great rock which was called Coatlan, and they sent to it many soldiers who had lately come from Castile, and others who were not Conquistadores, and sent as their Captain the Veedor Chirinos, and expended many golden pesos from His Majesty's property and from what was in his royal Treasury, and they took such great supplies to the camp where they were stationed that all was riot and card playing, and the Indians from the rock sallied forth in the night and fell upon the camp of the Veedor and killed some of his soldiers and wounded many others. For this reason the Factor despatched on the same service a Captain who was one of the followers of Cortés, named Andrés de Monjaraz, to be in company with the Veedor, for this Monjaraz had become great friends with the Factor, but at that time Monjaraz was crippled with boils, and was not fit to do any good whatever, and the Indians were very victorious and Mexico was ready for revolt any day.

The Factor endeavoured by every means to send gold to Castile to His Majesty, and to the chief Knight Commander of Leon, Don Francisco de los Cobos, for at that time he gave out that Cortés and all of us had been killed at the hands of the Indians at a pueblo named Xicalango.

At that time one Diego de Ordas, often named by me, had returned from Castile, he was the man whom Cortés had sent as Solicitor from New Spain, and what he solicited was for himself a commandery [of the order] of Señor Santiago, which he brought by decree from His Majesty, besides Indians and a coat of arms representing the volcano which is near Huexotzingo. When he arrived in Mexico, Diego de Ordas wished to go and search for Cortés, and this was because he saw the revolts and discords, and because he became a great friend of the Factor. He went by sea in a large ship and a launch to find out whether Cortés were alive or dead, and coasted along until he reached a port called Xicalango, where Simon de Cuenca and Captain Francisco de Medina and the Spaniards who were with him had been killed, as I have related at length in the chapter which treats of it. When Ordas heard this news he returned to New Spain without disembarking, and on landing he wrote to the Factor by some passengers, that he was certain that Cortés was dead. As soon as Ordas had published this news, he promptly crossed over to the Island of Cuba to purchase calves and mares, in the same vessel in which he had gone in search of Cortés.

As soon as the Factor saw the letter from Ordas, he went about showing it to people in Mexico, and the next day he put on mourning and had a tomb and monument placed in the principal church of Mexico, and paid honour to Cortés. Then he had himself proclaimed with trumpets and drums as Governor and Captain General of

New Spain, and ordered all the women whose husbands had died [in the company of Cortés] to pray for their souls and to marry again. He even sent this message to Coatzacoalcos and to other towns, and because the wife of one Alonzo Valiente, named Juana de Mansilla, did not wish to marry and said that her husband and Cortés and all of us were alive; and that we old Conquistadores were not of such poor courage as those who were at the Rock of Coatlan with the Veedor Chirinos, where the Indians attacked them, and not they the Indians; and that she had trust in God that she would soon see her husband Alonzo Valiente and Cortés and all the rest of the Conquistadores returning to Mexico; and that she did not want to marry; because she spoke these words the Factor ordered her to be whipped through the public streets of Mexico as a witch.

There are always traitors and flatterers in this world, and it was one of these (one whom we held to be an honourable man, and out of respect for his honour I will not name him here) who said to the Factor, in presence of many other persons, that he had been badly scared, for as he was walking one night lately near Tlatelolco, which is the place where the great Idol called Huichilobos used to stand, and where now stands the church of Señor Santiago, he saw in the courtyard the souls of Cortés and Doña Marina and that of Captain Sandoval burning in live flames, and that he was very ill through the fright from it. There also came another man whom I will not name, who was also held in good repute, and told the Factor that some evil things were moving about in the courtyards at Texcoco, and that the Indians said they were the spirits of Doña Marina and Cortés, and these were either all lies and falsehoods only reported to ingratiate themselves with the Factor, or the Factor ordered them to be told.

At that time Francisco de las Casas and Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, the Captains so often mentioned by me, who beheaded Cristóbal de Olid, arrived in Mexico. When Las Casas observed those revolutions, and that the Factor was having himself proclaimed as Governor, he said, publicly, that it was wrong and such a thing could not be allowed, for Cortés was alive and he certainly believed so, but, that if God should decree otherwise, Pedro de Alvarado was more the man and had better claim to be Governor than the Factor, and that Pedro de Alvarado should be summoned; and his brother Jorge de Alvarado and even the Treasurer and other Mexican settlers wrote to him [Pedro de Alvarado] to come in any case to Mexico with all the soldiers he had, and they would endeavour to give him the Government until they knew whether Cortés was alive, and they could send and inform His Majesty [and hear] if he were pleased to give other commands.

When Pedro de Alvarado was already on his way to Mexico on account of these letters, he grew frightened of the Factor, on account of the threats which he received from the Factor while he was on his journey [to the effect] that he would kill him, for he knew that they had hanged Rodrigo de Pas and imprisoned the Licentiate Zuazo. At that time the Factor had collected all the gold he could procure, to make it a pretext for a message to His Majesty, and to send a friend of his named Peña with it and his secret despatches. Francisco de las Casas and the Licentiate Zuazo and Rodrigo de Paz objected to this and so did the Treasurer and Accountant, until it should be known for certain whether Cortés were alive, and that he should not spread the report that he was dead, as they were not sure of it, and that if he wished to send gold to His Majesty from his Royal Fifths that was all right, but that it should be done jointly with the

countenance and consent of the Treasurer and Accountant, and not solely in his own name. Because he had already placed it on board the ships and they were ready to sail with it, Las Casas went with orders from the Chief Alcalde Zuazo (and with the approval of Rodrigo de Paz and the other officials of His Majesty's Treasury and the Conquistadores) to detain the ship until others should write to our King and Lord about the condition of New Spain, for it appeared that the Factor did not allow of other persons writing, but that only his own letters [should be sent].

When the Factor saw that Las Casas and the Licentiate Zuazo were no friends of his but were restraining him, he promptly ordered them to be arrested, and brought a suit against Francisco de las Casas and against Gil Gonzáles de Ávila for the death of Cristóbal de Olid, and sentenced them to be beheaded, and wished to carry out the sentence at once, although they appealed to His Majesty, but at their earnest entreaty he allowed the appeal and sent them as prisoners to Castile with the suits that he brought against them.

No sooner was this done than he turned against Zuazo himself, unjustly and faithlessly captured him, carried him on a cargo mule to the Port of Vera Cruz, and embarked him for the Island of Cuba, alleging as reason that he must make his report of the time he was Judge in the Island. He cast Rodrigo de Paz into prison and demanded from him the gold and silver which belonged to Cortés, because as his mayor-domo he knew where it was kept, saying that he had hidden it, because he [the Factor] wished to send it to His Majesty, for it was property which Cortés had wrongfully seized from His Majesty. Because he [Rodrigo de Paz] would not give it up, (indeed it was clear that he had not got it) for this reason he tortured him and burned his feet and

even part of his legs with oil and fire, and he was so thin and ill from imprisonment that he was nearly dying. Not content with torturing him, the Factor, knowing that if he left him alive he would go and complain about him to His Majesty, ordered him to be hanged as a rebel and a robber, and he ordered nearly all the soldiers and settlers in Mexico who were partizans of Cortés to be arrested. Jorge de Alvarado and Andrés de Tápia and most of the partizans of Cortés took refuge in the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, but many others of the Conquistadores went over to the Factor because he gave them good Indians, and they elected to shout with the winning side.

The Factor removed everything from the storehouse of ammunition and arms and ordered it to be placed in his palaces, and he ordered the cannon which were in the fortress and arsenal to be placed in front of his houses, and appointed as Captain of Artillery a certain Don Luis de Guzman, a relative of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and appointed as Captain of his Guard one Archiaga or Artiaga (I cannot now remember his name), and Gínes Nórtes and one Pedro Gonzáles Sabiote and other soldiers were to guard his person.

Moreover in the letter which Zuazo wrote he said that he commanded Cortés to return at once and give security to Mexico, for in addition to all these evils and scandals there were other greater ones, [namely] that the Factor had written to His Majesty that they had found in the equipage of Cortés, hidden away, a false die with which he marked the gold that the Indians brought him secretly, and that he did not pay the "fifth" of it. Zuazo also stated, so that one could see how things were going in Mexico, that a settler from Coatzacoalcos, who came to that city to ask for some Indians (who at that time were unclaimed owing to the

death of another settler from among those who peopled that town,) most secretly asked a woman with whom he lodged, why she had married again, for her husband and all those who went with Cortés were certainly alive, and gave reasons and arguments in support of it. When the Factor knew of it, (and they at once went to him with the gossip) he sent four alguacils for the man who had said it, and carried him manacled to the prison, and he wished to order him to be hanged as a rebel, until the poor settler who was named Gonzalo Hernández gave in, and said that when he saw the woman weeping for her husband, so as to console her, he had said that her husband was not dead, but it was [now] certain we were all dead. Then he [the Factor] promptly gave him the Indians he asked for, and ordered him not to remain any longer in Mexico, and not to say anything else or he would order him to be hanged. Moreover Zuazo said at the end of his letter "this which I here write to your Excellency happened as I have stated, and I left them there and they put me on board ship and brought me in fetters here where I now am."

When Cortés had read this, we were so sorrowful and enraged, both with Cortés who had brought on us so many hardships, as well as with the Factor, that we uttered two thousand curses against one as well as the other, and our hearts beat with rage. Cortés could not keep back his tears, and with this same letter he went at once to shut himself up in his quarters, and did not want us to see him until past midday.

We one and all addressed him and begged him to embark at once in the three ships which were there for us to go to New Spain. He replied very affectionately—"Oh my sons and comrades, I see on one side that bad man the Factor who is very powerful, and I fear that as

soon as he knows that we are at the Port he will inflict other outrages and affronts on us more than he has done already, or he will kill me or hang me or imprison both me and you. I will embark at once, with God's help, with only four or five of your honours, and I must go very secretly and disembark at a port, so that they know nothing about it in Mexico until we enter unobserved into the city. Besides this, Sandoval is in Naco with very few soldiers and has to go through a hostile country, especially in Guatemala which is not peaceful, and it is desirable that you, Señor Luis Marin, with all your companions who came here in search of me should return and join Sandoval and take the road for Mexico."

Let us leave this, for I wish to state that Cortés wrote at once to Captain Francisco Hernández, who was in Nicaragua, who had sent Pedro de Garro, already mentioned by me, to look for a harbour, and he offered to do all that he could for him, and he sent him two mules laden with horse-shoes because he knew that he was in need of them. He also sent him iron mining tools, and rich clothes for him to wear, and four cups and jars of silver from his table service, and some jewels of gold, all of which he entrusted to a gentleman named Fulano de Cabrera, who was one of the five soldiers who went with us in search of Cortés, and this Captain was later on Captain of Benalcazar — a very valiant Captain and a cheerful man personally, a native of Old Castile. He was Quarter-master to Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and died in the same battle in which the Viceroy died. I must leave old stories, for I wish to state that when I saw that Cortés had to go to New Spain by sea, I went to beg him as a favour in any case to take me in his company, and to remember that throughout all his hardships and wars he had always found me at his side, and I had helped him, and that now the time had come when I

should know whether he had consideration for the services and friendship I had rendered him and for my present supplication. Then he embraced me and said—" If I take you with me, who will go with Sandoval? I pray you, my son, to go with your friend Sandoval, and I pledge my beard I will grant you many favours which I certainly owe you from time back."

In short I profited nothing, for he would not let me go with him. I also wish to state that while we were staying at that town of Trujillo, a gentleman named Rodrigo Mañueco, the steward of Cortés, a courtier, to please and amuse Cortés, who was very mournful and had good reason to be so, made a bet with some other gentlemen that fully armed he would climb up to some houses which the Indians of the province had lately built for Cortés (as I have stated in the chapter which treats of the subject). These houses stood on a rather high hill, and while he was climbing up fully armed he burst [a blood vessel] while ascending the cliff and died from it.

Also when certain gentlemen, among those whom Cortés found in that town, saw that he did not give them offices as they desired, they began to form factions, and Cortés quieted them by saying that he would take them with him to Mexico, and that there he would give them honourable appointments.

Let us leave this now, and I will relate what more Cortés did, which was that he ordered Diego de Godoy, whom he had appointed Captain at Puerto de Caballos, and certain settlers who were ill and could not endure the fleas and mosquitos, and had nothing with which to support themselves and had all these reasons for misery, to go to Naco where there was good land. He ordered us to go with Captain Luis Marin on the road to Mexico, and that, if there were opportunity, we were to go to see the province of Nicaragua, so as to claim its government

from His Majesty, for even of that Cortés was covetous, to take the government in time to come if he should reach port in Mexico.

After Cortés had embraced us and we him, we left him on board, and he set sail for Mexico and we set out for Naco, very cheerful at the thought that we were marching on the road to Mexico, and, with great hardship from want of food, we arrived at Naco, and Sandoval was as pleased as we were when we arrived.

Pedro de Gallo and all his soldiers had already taken leave of Sandoval and gone off very cheerfully to Nicaragua to make his report to Captain Francisco Hernández of what he had arranged with Sandoval. Then the next day after our arrival at Naco we left it and set out on the road for Mexico, and the soldiers of the company of Garro, who had gone with us to Trujillo, went on their way to Nicaragua with the presents and letters which Cortés was sending to Francisco Hernández.

I will stop talking about our march, and will relate what happened about that present to Francisco Hernández with the governor Pedro Arias de Ávila.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

How certain friends of Pedrarias de Ávila went post haste from Nicaragua to inform him that Francisco Hernández, whom he had sent as Captain to Nicaragua, was in correspondence by letter with Cortés, and had revolted with the provinces, and what Pedrarias did about it.

As a soldier named Fulano Garavito and a comrade, and another called Zamorano, who were intimate friends of Pedrarias de Ávila, the Governor of Tierra Firme, observed that Cortés had sent presents to Francisco

Hernández and understood that Pedro de Garro and other soldiers conversed in secret with Francisco Hernández, they began to suspect that he wished to give those provinces and lands to Cortés. Moreover Garavito was an enemy of Cortés, for, when they were youths in the Island of Santo Domingo, Cortés had stabbed him over a love affair with some woman. When Pedrarias de Ávila got to know this by letters and messengers, he came in a hurry with a great company of soldiers both horse and foot, and seized Francisco Hernández. Pedro de Garro, when he got to know that Pedrarias was coming in a great rage against him, promptly took to flight and came with us. If Francisco Hernández had desired to come he could have done so, but he did not wish [to come], believing that Pedrarias would treat him differently, as they had been great friends. After Pedrarias had brought Francisco Hernández to trial and found that he had rebelled, he sentenced and beheaded him in the same town which he had settled, and so ended the coming of Garro and the presents of Cortés, and we will leave them there and I will relate how Cortés returned to the port of Trujillo in a storm.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

How Cortés, going by sea in the direction of Mexico, met with a hurricane, and twice turned back to the port of Trujillo, and what happened to him there.

As I have stated in the last chapter, Cortés embarked at Trujillo and it seems that he encountered tempests at sea, foul winds on some occasions, and on another the foremast was carried away, and he gave orders to run to Trujillo for shelter. As he was enfeebled, out of health, and worn out by the sea, and very uneasy about

going to New Spain for fear lest the Factor should seize him, it seemed to him that it was not wise to go to Mexico at that season, so he disembarked at Trujillo and ordered masses to be said to the Holy Ghost, and processions and prayers offered to our Lord God and to our Lady the Virgin Mary to guide him as to what might most tend towards their holy service, and it appears that the Holy Spirit enlightened him not to undertake that journey then, but to conquer and settle those lands. Then without any delay and at breakneck speed he sent three messengers after us with his letters as we were on our march, imploring us not to proceed further ahead, but to conquer and settle the country, for his good guardian Angel had inspired it and enlightened his mind, and he thought of acting accordingly.

When we saw the letter and that his orders were definite, we could not stand it, and we hurled a thousand curses at him, wishing him ill luck in anything he put his hand to, and that he might be ruined as he had ruined us. In addition to this we said, one and all, to Captain Sandoval, that if Cortés wanted to settle, he might keep those he wished, for he had brought us defeat and loss enough, and we vowed not to wait for him any longer but to go to the lands in Mexico which we had gained. Sandoval also was of our opinion, and what he settled with us was that we should write to Cortés post haste by the same messengers as brought the letters, informing him of our determination.

A few days later he received our letters signed by all of us, and the answer he made us was, to make grand promises to those who might wish to stay and settle in that country, and the end of the letter contained a short threat that if we refused to obey his orders there were [plenty of] soldiers in Castile and elsewhere. When we all saw that reply we wished to continue our march to

Mexico and cause him to give up his fears. As soon as Sandoval observed this he implored us, very affectionately and with great entreaty, to wait some days while he personally went to make Cortés embark. In answer to his letter we wrote to Cortés that he must have compassion, and more consideration than he had shown in having brought us to this pass, and it was his fault that they had robbed us and sold our estates and taken our Indians, and those who were with us who were married said that they had no news of wife and children, and we prayed him to embark promptly and proceed on his way to Mexico. As for what he said about there being soldiers in Castile and everywhere else, he knew also that there were Governors and Captains stationed in Mexico, and wherever we arrived they would give us Indians.

Then Sandoval set out and took in his company one Pedro Saucedo, the flat-nosed, and a farrier named Francisco Donayre, and he took with him his good horse called Motilla, and he swore that he would make Cortés embark and go to Mexico. I have here called to mind this matter of the horse Motilla; he was a fine galloper and easily turned, a rather dark chestnut and the best looking all round that could be found in New Spain. He was so good that His Majesty had heard of him, and Sandoval even wished to send him as a present. Let us cease talking about the horse Motilla and go on to say that Sandoval wished to send it to His Majesty, and begged my horse of me, which was a very good one both for sport and racing as well as a good roadster, and this horse I had bought for six hundred pesos. It used to belong to one Avalos the brother of Sayavedra. The other horse that I brought, which had cost me at that time over six hundred pesos, was killed on an expedition to a pueblo named Zulaco. Sandoval gave me one of his in exchange for the one I gave him, and this one

that he gave me did not last two months, and it was killed in another war, and there remained to me only a very miserable colt which I had bought from the merchants who came to Trujillo, as I have related before in the chapter that treats of it. Let us go back to my story and stop talking of damage done to horses and of my bad luck. Before Sandoval left us he addressed us all with much affection, and left Luis Marin as Captain, and we went at once to some pueblos called Maniani and thence to another pueblo named Acalteca, where at that time there were many houses, where we were to await the reply from Cortés. Sandoval reached Trujillo in a few days, and Cortés was delighted to see him, and when he saw what we had written to him, he did not know whom he could ask for advice, for he had already ordered his cousin Sayavedra who was a Captain to go with all the soldiers to pacify the pueblos that were at war, and notwithstanding all the speeches and solicitations that Sandoval addressed to Cortés, as well as those of Pedro Saucedo the flat-nosed, to induce him to go to New Spain, he never would embark; and what happened I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

How Cortés sent a Ship to New Spain, with a follower of his named Martin de Orantes as Captain, with letters and decrees appointing Francisco de las Casas and Pedro de Alvarado as Governors if they were there, and if not then Alonzo de Estrada and Albornoz.

NOW as Gonzalo de Sandoval could not induce Cortés to embark, for he was still intent on conquering and settling that country, which at this time was thickly peopled and said to contain gold mines, it was settled that without further delay he should send by ship to

Mexico one of his followers named Martin Dorantes,[1] an active man whom he could trust in any business of importance, and he went as Captain of the ship and took with him decrees appointing Pedro de Alvarado and Francisco de las Casas (if they had returned to Mexico) Governors of New Spain, until Cortés [himself] arrived, and if they were not in Mexico, the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada and the Accountant Albornoz should be Governors, in the same way as he had given them authority before, and he revoked the powers given to the Factor and the Veedor. He wrote very amiably to the Treasurer and also to Albornoz, although he knew of the hostile letters he [the latter] had written to His Majesty against Cortés. He also wrote to all his friends the Conquistadores, and to the monasteries of San Francisco and the Friars. He ordered Martin Dorantes to go and disembark at a bay between Panuco and Vera Cruz, and he also impressed this on the pilot and sailors, and moreover he paid them well not to put anyone ashore except Martin Dorantes, and as soon as they had put him ashore to up anchor, make sail, and go to Panuco. He had given them the best of the three vessels which there were, and had provisioned it, and after having heard Mass they set sail, and it pleased our Lord to give them such good weather that in a few days they reached New Spain and went directly to the bay near Panuco which Martin Dorantes knew very well.

As soon as he had landed and given many thanks to God for it, Martin Dorantes disguised himself so that he should not be known, taking off his clothes and donning others like those of a farmer, for so Cortés had instructed him, and he had even carried these clothes ready with him from Trujillo. With all the letters and

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[1] Written both Dorantes and de Orantes.

decrees well hidden and secured to his body so that they should not appear bulky, he set out swiftly on his journey afoot, for he was an active pedestrian. When he reached Indian pueblos where there were Spaniards, he kept among the Indians so as not to hold converse nor to be asked questions, and when he was obliged to treat with Spaniards, they could not recognise him, for it was two years and three months since we left Mexico and his beard had grown. When someone asked him his name, or where he was going or whence he had come, in case he could not avoid answering them, he said he was called Juan de Flechilla. So four days after leaving the Ship he entered Mexico by night and went to the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, where he found many refugees, and among them Jorge de Alvarado, Andrés de Tápia, Juan Nuñez de Mercado, Pedro Moreno Medrano and many other Conquistadores and friends of Cortés. When they beheld Orantes and learned that Cortés was alive and saw his letters, one and all they could not contain their delight, but danced and jumped. Then the Franciscan Friars, and among them Fray Toribio Motolinia and Fray Diego de Altamirano, all jumped for joy and gave thanks to God for it. Then without further delay they closed all the gates of the Monastery so that no traitor, and there were many of them, should get out to take a message or talk about it [the news], and at midnight they informed the Treasurer and the Accountant and other friends of Cortés, and as soon as they heard the news they came to San Francisco, without making any noise, and examined the powers which Cortés had sent them, and decided before anything else to go and seize the Factor. They spent all the night going about warning friends and preparing arms so as to seize him [the Factor] on the following morning, for at that time the Veedor was on the hill of Coatlan.

As soon as it was dawn the Treasurer and all the partizans of Cortés set out, and Martin de Orantés went with them, so that he might be recognized, and they went to the houses of the Factor crying in the streets "Long live the King our Lord and Hernando Cortés in his royal name, for he is alive and is now coming to the city, I am his servant Orantes." When the settlers heard that noise so early in the morning, and heard cries of "Viva el Rey," all ran to arms as they were bound to do, thinking that there was something afoot in which they could support the cause of His Majesty, and when they heard that Cortés was alive and beheld Orantes they were delighted. Many of the settlers in Mexico joined the Treasurer in order to assist him, for, as it appears, the Accountant was not very enthusiastic, and behaved trickishly until Alonzo de Estrada reproved him, and over this some very angry words passed between them, because they did not please the Accountant. Going on to the Factor's houses they found him very well prepared for them, for he soon knew all about it as the Accountant himself had given him warning how they were coming to arrest him, so he ordered his cannon to be primed in front of his house, and the Captain of the artillery was Don Luis de Guzman, a cousin of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and he had his Captains ready with many soldiers (and these Captains were named Archilaga and Gínes Nórtes and Pedro Gonzálcz Sobiotc). When the Treasurer and Jorge de Alvarado and Andrés de Tápia and all the other Conquistadores arrived with the Accountant (although he came slowly and with an ill will) and all his people shouting for the King and Hernando Cortés in his royal name, they began to find their way in, some over the flat roofs, others by the doors of the chambers and by two other entrances. All those who were on

the side of the Factor lost heart because the Captain of the Artillery, Don Luis de Guzman, leaned towards one side and the Gunners to the other, and [the latter] abandoned the cannon. Then the Captain Archilaga made haste to hide himself, and Gínes Nórtes slipped away and went out by some corridors down below, and only Pedro Gonzáles and four of his servants remained with the Factor.

When he saw himself thus deserted the Factor himself seized a brand with which to fire the cannon, but they fell upon him so quickly that he could do no more, and there they arrested him and placed guards over him until they made a prison cage of stout beams and placed him within it, and there they fed him, and thus ended the affair of his Government. Then they promptly sent messengers to all the towns of New Spain reporting all that had happened.

This being the state of affairs some persons were pleased at it, and those to whom the Factor had given Indians and offices were sorry for it. The news reached the hill of Coatlan and Oaxaca where the Veedor was stationed. When the Veedor and his friends heard it, his sorrow and concern was so great that he fell ill and transferred the office of Captain to Andrés de Monjaraz, often mentioned by me, who was ill from boils, and came post haste to the city of Texcoco and took refuge in the Monastery of Señor San Francisco. When the Treasurer and Accountant, who were now the Governors, knew about it, they sent to arrest him in the Monastery, for already they had sent Alguacils and soldiers with orders to arrest him wherever he might be found, and also to deprive him of his office as Captain. When they knew that he was in Texcoco they removed him from the Monastery and brought him to Mexico and placed him in another cage near the Factor. Then they sent mes-

sengers to Guatemala post haste to inform Pedro de Alvarado of the imprisonment of the Factor and Veedor, and, as Cortés was in Trujillo, not far away from his [Alvarado's] conquests, he was to go quickly in search of him and make him come to Mexico, and they gave him letters and reports of all that I have stated and noted above, exactly in the way that it happened.

In addition to this the first thing the Treasurer did was to order honour to be paid to Juana de Manzilla, the wife of Alonzo Valiente, whom the Factor had ordered to be flogged as a witch. It was done in this way: he ordered all the Caballeros in Mexico to parade on horseback, and he, the Treasurer, himself carried her on the croup of his horse through the streets of Mexico, and they said that like a Roman Matron she did what she had done, and the insult which the Factor had put on her turned to her honour, and with much rejoicing they called her from thenceforward La Señora Doña Juana de Manzilla, and said that she was worthy of much praise. Moreover the Factor had not been able to compel her to marry or to say otherwise than what she had first said, that her husband and Cortés and all of us were alive. And for that honor of "Don" which they gave her, Gonzalo de Ocampo, who made the foul-mouthed lampoons, said that she extracted "Don" from her back like a nose [the length] of an arm.[1]

Let us leave off here, and I will relate what more happened.

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[1] This is a play on the word "Don"=a title, and don=a gift. Narices de brazo (a nose the length of an arm)=something very great, *i.e.*, she gained something very great, her title of Doña, as compensation for her thrashing.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

How the Treasurer and many other gentlemen prayed the Franciscan Friars to send one Fray Diego Altamirano, a relation of Cortés, in a ship to Trujillo to make him [Cortés] return, and what happened about it.

THE Treasurer and other gentlemen who were partizans of Cortés saw that it was advisable for Cortés to return at once to New Spain, for factions and parties were already springing up, and the Accountant was not content that the Factor and Veedor should remain prisoners, and above all the Accountant stood in great fear of Cortés, when he should hear of what he [the Accountant] had written about him to His Majesty, as I have already stated in parts of former Chapters which tell about it. So they decided to go and beg the Franciscan Friars to grant leave for Fray Diego Altamirano to go to Trujillo in a ship, which they had ready for him well provisioned and with a good crew, and make Cortés come back, for that Friar was his kinsman and before he had become a Friar had been a soldier, a man of war who understood negotiation, and the Friars approved of it and Fray Diego Altamirano was quite willing to go.

We need not dwell on the voyage of the Friar, who was making his preparations, and I will relate that while the Factor and Veedor were prisoners, the Accountant, as I have repeatedly mentioned, apparently behaved very trickily and with ill will when he saw that the affairs of Cortés were on the mend. As the Factor used to have as friends many men who were brigands and always on the look-out for disputes and revolutions, and were well disposed towards the Factor and Chirinos because they gave them golden pesos and Indians, a number of them agreed to unite, and certain persons of quality and of all

sorts besides decided to release the Factor and Veedor and to kill the Treasurer and the jailors, and it is said that the Accountant knew about it and was delighted at it. In order to carry out their plans they spoke very secretly to a locksmith named Guzman, who was a maker of crossbows, a low fellow who made scurrilous jokes, and told him secretly to make them keys to open the gates of the prison and of the cages where the Factor was [confined] and they would pay him very well, and they gave him a piece of gold as a retainer for the making of the keys, and they warned him and charged him to be very secret. The locksmith replied with very flattering and cheerful expressions that he was glad to do it, and that they should be more careful of the secret than they were, for this affair upon which so much depended they had revealed to him knowing who he was, but they must not disclose it to others; and he was delighted that the Factor and Veedor should come out of prison, and he asked them who and how many were in the plot, and where they were to meet when they went to do that good deed, and what day and at what hour, and they told him everything clearly about the way they arranged it. The locksmith began to forge some keys in the shape of the pattern they brought him for the keys to be made from, but not with the intention of perfecting them or making them of any use for unlocking, and he did this on purpose, and mischievously made the keys so that they could not unlock, in order to induce them to come and go to his shop on the matter of the keys being made to fit properly, and meanwhile to get at the root of the conspiracy that had been made. The longer he delayed the making of the keys, the more thoroughly he gained this knowledge, and when the day came for him to deliver the keys which he had perfected, and all were ready posted with their arms, the

locksmith went quickly to the house of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada and reported the affair to him. When the Treasurer knew about it, he sent secretly without delay to collect all the partizans of Cortés, and without letting the Accountant know of it they went to the house where those were assembled who were about to release the Factor, and they quickly arrested as many as twenty of them who were all armed, and the others fled and could not be captured. When enquiry had been made for what purpose they had assembled there, it was found to have been in order to release those I have named, and to kill the Treasurer. Then it was also found out that the Accountant had approved of it. As there were among them three or four men very seditious and bandits, who had been concerned in all the revolts and discords that had taken place in Mexico at that time, and even during one of them had violated a Castilian woman, after a suit had been brought against them (this was done by a Bachelor named Ortega, who was acting as Chief Alcalde and came from the same district as Cortés), Ortega sentenced three of them to be hanged and others to be flogged, and the names of those who were hanged were Pastrana, the second Balverde and the third Escobar, and I do not remember the names of those who were flogged. The locksmith hid himself for many days, for he feared the partizans of the Factor would kill him for having revealed what they had told him under such great secrecy.

Let us stop talking of this, for the men are already dead, and although it is taking a great jump which I seem to make outside of my story, yet what I shall relate now falls into its place. It is that, when the Factor had sent a ship with all the gold he could obtain to His Majesty, as I have stated in former Chapters, and had written to His Majesty that Cortés was dead,

and how they had paid him funeral honours, and had informed him about other things which suited him, and was sending to beg His Majesty to grant him the favour of the Governorship, there went, it appears, in the same ship in which he sent his despatches, other letters well concealed, so that the Factor knew nothing about them, and these letters were for His Majesty so that he should know all that was happening in New Spain, and of the atrocities and injustice which the Factor and Veedor had committed.

In addition to this, His Majesty already had a report through the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite Friars, who were Governors of the Indies, that Cortés was alive and was serving his royal crown by conquering and settling the province of Honduras. When the Royal Council of the Indies and the Chief Commander of Leon knew this they informed His Majesty of it. Then it is reported that the Emperor our Lord said "All that has been done in New Spain has been badly done in that they have rebelled against Cortés, and they have done me much disservice. However he is alive, and I have this opinion of him, that they will be punished in retribution for their evil deeds when he arrives in Mexico."

To go back to my story, the Friar Altamirano embarked at the port of Vera Cruz as it was arranged, and meeting with good weather arrived in a few days at the port of Trujillo where Cortés was residing.

As soon as the townspeople and Cortés observed a powerful ship sailing towards the port they at once guessed the truth that it was coming from New Spain to carry him to Mexico. As soon as it made the port and the Friar had landed, accompanied by all those whom he had brought with him, and Cortés knew some of them whom he had seen in Mexico, they all went to kiss his

hands, and the Friar embraced him, and with holy and good words all went to the Church to say their prayers, and thence to their quarters, where the Padre Fray Diego Altamirano told him that he was his cousin, and related all that had happened in Mexico, as I have already fully written it down, and what Francisco de las Casas had done for Cortés and how he had gone to Castile.

All that the Friar told him Cortés already knew through the letter of the Licentiate Zuazo, as I have related in the chapter that treats of it, and he showed great concern at [hearing] it and said that it pleased our Lord that it had so happened, and he gave great thanks to Him for it and for Mexico being already at peace, and that he wished to go there at once by land, as he did not dare to go by sea, for, as was already known by Zuazo's letter, he had already embarked twice, and he could not lay his course because the sea was beset by strong and adverse currents and it was always laborious sailing, moreover he was sickly. When the pilots told him that as it was the month of April there were no currents and the weather was fair at sea, he agreed to embark. He could not set sail at once, not until Captain Gonzalo Sandoval should arrive, whom he had sent to some pueblos called Olancho, which were distant fifty-five leagues, and he had only just started to eject from that district one of Pedrarias' Captains named Rojas, whom Pedrarias had sent from Nicaragua to explore the country and seek for mines, after he had beheaded Francisco Hernández as I have related. It appears that the Indians of that province of Olancho came to complain to Cortés that certain soldiers from Nicaragua were seizing their wives and daughters and stealing their poultry and all else they possessed. Sandoval promptly set out and took sixty men with him, and wished to capture Rojas, but through certain gentlemen, who

mediated between one party and the other, they were made friends, and Rojas even gave Sandoval [a present of] an Indian page to wait upon him. Just at that time Cortés' letter arrived [ordering him] to come back without delay with all his soldiers, and telling him of the coming of the Friar and all that had happened in Mexico. When Sandoval heard this he was very pleased and could hardly await the hour to turn back, but came post haste after having ejected Rojas from there [the district].

Cortés was delighted at Sandoval's return, and gave instructions to Captain Sayavedra, who remained behind as his lieutenant in that province, as to what he was to do. He then wrote to Captain Luis Marin, and to all of us, at once to take the road to Guatemala, and he told us about all that had happened in Mexico, in the way it is mentioned here, and of the coming of the Friar and about the imprisonment of the Factor and Veedor. He also ordered Captain Godoy, who was stationed at Puerto de Caballos [engaged in] forming a settlement, to go to Naco with all his people. These letters he gave to Sayavedra with orders to send them to us with all speed, and Sayavedra, out of spite, did not want to forward them and neglected his duty, and we learnt that in fact he would not deliver them, and we never knew about them.

To go back to my story, Cortés embarked with all his friends, and with favourable weather laid his course for Havana, for the wind was more favourable for that course than for New Spain. There he disembarked, and all the settlers at Havana who were his acquaintances rejoiced at it, and they took refreshment and heard the news (brought by a ship which had come to Havana from New Spain a few days before) that Mexico was pacified, and that the Indians who had fortified the hill of Coatlan and were waging war against the Spaniards, as soon as they knew that Cortés and we Conquistadores were alive, had made peace with the Treasurer on certain conditions. I will now go on with my story.

BOOK XV.

THE RETURN TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER CXC.

How Cortés embarked at Havana to go to New Spain and with favourable weather arrived at Vera Cruz, and the delight shown by all at his coming.

AFTER Cortés had rested five days in Havana he could hardly await the hour when he would be in Mexico, and he promptly ordered all his people to embark and set sail, and with good weather he arrived in two days near to the Port of Medellin, opposite to the Island of Sacrificios. There he ordered the ships to be anchored (for the wind was not favourable for going any further), and so as not to sleep that night at sea, Cortés, with twenty soldiers who were friends of his, went ashore and marched on foot about half a league, and, as luck would have it, came on a drove of horses which had come to the port with certain passengers who were about to embark for Castile, and they went to Vera Cruz, a matter of five leagues, on the horses and mules of this drove. He ordered that no one should go and give notice that he was coming by land, and about two

hours before dawn he reached the town and went straightway to the church, the door of which was open, and entered it with all his company.

It was very early in the morning when the Sacristan, who was a man newly come from Castile, arrived and saw the church full of men, and, as he did not know Cortés nor those who were with him, he ran out to the street shouting and calling to the Alguacils that the church was full of strange men, so that they should order them out. On hearing the cries of the Sacristan, the chief Alcalde, with other subordinate Alcaldes and three Alguacils and many other settlers, came out armed, thinking that something worse had happened, and entered in haste and began to order us with angry words to leave the church. As Cortés was gaunt from his journeys they did not recognise him until they heard him speak, and when they saw that it was Cortés they all went to kiss his hands and bid him welcome.

Then Cortés embraced the Conquistadores who lived in the town and called them by their names, asked them how they were and spoke kindly words to them, and then Mass was said, and they took him to lodge in the best houses which belonged to Pedro Moreno Medrano, and he stayed there eight days and they entertained him with many feasts and rejoicings. They sent messengers post haste to Mexico to say that he had arrived, and Cortés wrote to the Treasurer and to the Accountant, although he was unfriendly, and to all his friends and to the Monastery of San Francisco, and all were delighted at the news.

As soon as the Indians in the neighbourhood knew about it, they all brought him presents of gold and cloths and cacao, poultry and fruits. Then he set out from Medellin and went on his journey over roads which they had cleared for him, and his lodgings were all

garlanded[1] and plentifully supplied with food for Cortés and all who went in his company. Then I could tell what the Mexicans did in the way of rejoicings, how all the pueblos round the lake combined to send him during his journey a great present of gold and cloth and poultry and all sorts of fruits of the country that were ripe in that season, and sent to ask his pardon for not sending more owing to his sudden arrival, but when he should go to his city they would do their duty and render service to him as the Captain who had conquered them and dealt with them justly; and other pueblos came to do the same thing.

Nothing was forgotten in the province of Tlaxcala, for all the chieftains came out to receive him with dances and routs and rejoicings and plenty of food. When he arrived within three leagues of the City of Texcoco, which is a City with its subject pueblos nearly the size of Mexico, the Accountant Albornoz sallied forth [to meet him], for he had come for the purpose of receiving Cortés so as to stand well with him, for he feared him greatly.

He collected many Spaniards from all the pueblos in the neighbourhood, and together with those who were in his company and the Caciques of that City they went to receive Cortés more than two leagues [out from the city] with great preparations of games and dances. Cortés was pleased at this.[2] Then when he reached Texcoco they gave him another great reception, and he slept there that night and the next morning continued his journey.

Then the Municipality of Mexico, and the Treasurer,

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "with flowers and roses and sweet scent."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "showing much affection towards Albornoz because he knew that in him he had a friend."

and all the gentlemen and Conquistadores and friends of Cortés, wrote to him begging him to tarry in some pueblos two leagues distant from Tenochtitlan Mexico, although he could well have entered that day, but that he should delay it until the next morning early, so that all might enjoy the great reception they would give him. Then the Treasurer sallied forth with all the gentlemen and Conquistadores, and the municipality of the City, and all the officials in their robes, wearing the richest garments and hose and doublets they possessed, with all kinds of musical instruments, and the Caciques for their part with many sorts of devices and liveries as was their wont, and the lake full of canoes with Indian warriors in them, just as they were used to fight with us in the time of Guatemoc, and others who came along the causeway. There were so many games and such rejoicings that one could say they went on all day long, and in the streets of Mexico all was routs and dances, and as soon as it was night much illumination in the doorways. The best of all remains to be told, for the day after Cortés arrived the Franciscan Friars formed processions giving many thanks to God for the mercy He had shown in the return of Cortés.

Then (to go back to his entry into Mexico), he went at once to the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, where he had Mass said and gave thanks to God for delivering him from the past hardships in Honduras, and bringing him back to the city.

Then he went to his houses which were well built like rich palaces, and there he was served and treated by all like a prince. And the Indians from all the provinces came to see him and brought him presents of gold, and even the Caciques from the Hill of Coatlan, who had been in rebellion, came to bid him welcome and brought him presents.

Cortés made his entry into Mexico in the month of June 1524 or 1525, and as soon as he had rested he promptly ordered the bandits to be seized, and began to make investigation into the dealings of the Factor and Veedor, and he also seized Gonzalo de Ocampo or Diego de Ocampo (I do not remember clearly his Christian name), for it was on him that they found the papers with the defamatory libels.[1] He also arrested one Ocaña, a notary who was a very old man, whom they called the body and soul of the Factor. When they were prisoners Cortés had the intention, seeing that he had justice on his side, of taking proceedings against the Factor and Veedor and as a penalty to take their lives, and, if he had done so at once, there would have been no one in Castile who would have said it was ill done, and His Majesty would have approved of it. I heard it stated before the members of the Royal Council of the Indies in the presence of the Bishop Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in the year 1540, when I went there about my lawsuits, that Cortés was very careless in the matter, and they charged him with weakness and carelessness.

CHAPTER CXCI.

How the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, who came to take the 'Residencia' of Cortés, arrived at this very moment at the port of Vera Cruz with three ships, and what happened about it.

It is necessary to go back a little, so that what I say now may be clearly understood.

I have already told in former chapters about the many complaints which were made against Cortés before His

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "which was that he was making a Monastery with certain Friars, and attributing to each one of them things without truth."

Majesty when the Court was at Toledo, and how those who laid the complaints were the partizans of Diego Velásquez and all the others I have often mentioned, and the letters of Albornoz gave support to them. As His Majesty thought they [the complaints] were true, he had ordered the Admiral of Santo Domingo to come with a great company of soldiers and arrest Cortés, and all of us who went with him when he defeated Narvaez. I have also related how when the Duque de Béjar, Don Alvaro de Zuñiga, heard of it, he went to beg His Majesty not to believe the letters of a man who was very hostile to Cortés until he could ascertain the truth. As the Admiral did not come, nor the evidence in support of the suit, His Majesty ordered a nobleman who was at that time in Toledo, named the Licentiate Ponce de Leon (a cousin of the Count of Alcandete), to come and take his Residencia [of Cortés], and, if he should find him incriminated by the accusations which were brought against him, to punish him in such a way that the sentence which he should deliver should resound throughout the land. In order to obtain information regarding all the accusations that were brought against Cortés, he [Ponce de Leon] took along with him the records of all the matters they were talking of and alleging, as well as instructions as to where he was to take the Residencia. He promptly started on his journey and voyage with three ships (I do not remember exactly whether there were three or four), and, with the good weather he experienced, reached the port of San Juan de Ulua and at once disembarked and came to the town of Medellin. As soon as it was known who he was, and that he had come as judge to take the Residencia of Cortés, a Mayordomo of Cortés named Gregorio de Villalobos sent post haste to inform Cortés, and within four days he knew it in Mexico. And Cortés marvelled to hear of the sudden arrival, for he would have wished to

know it as early as possible so that he could go and give him the greatest honour and reception that he was able.

At the time when the letters reached him he was in the Monastery of San Francisco, and about to receive the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with much humility he prayed God to aid him in all things. When he heard that the news was quite true, he at once despatched messengers to find out who those were who were coming, and whether they brought letters from His Majesty. Two days after the messengers had arrived with the first news there came three messengers sent by the Licentiate Luis Ponce with letters for Cortés, and one was from His Majesty, from which he learned that His Majesty had ordered his Residencia to be taken.

When he saw the Royal Letters he kissed them with great reverence and humility, and placed them on his head and said that he was receiving a great favour, in that His Majesty was sending someone who would listen to him with fairness, and he immediately sent messengers with a reply to Luis Ponce himself, with pleasant words and assurances much better expressed than I know how to write them. He asked him to give him notice by which of the two roads he wished to come to Mexico, for there was one road in one direction and another by a short cut, so that he might have prepared all that was suitable for a servant of such a mighty King and Lord.

When the Licentiate saw the nature of his reply, he answered that he was very tired from his voyage and that he wished to rest for a few days, and gave him many thanks and acknowledgments for the great goodwill that he showed.

Now some settlers in that town who were enemies of Cortés, and some others whom Cortés had brought with him from the expedition to Honduras, who were not on good terms with him (they were amongst those whom

he had deported from Panuco), wrote letters from Mexico to Luis Ponce, and other opponents of Cortés told him that Cortés wished to have the Factor and Veedor executed before the Licentiate could go to Mexico. Moreover they told him that he should look well to his personal safety, for, if Cortés wrote to him with so many assurances and [tried] to find out by which of the two roads he wished to come, it was in order to kill him, and that he should place no faith in his words and assurances. They told him many other iniquities which they said Cortés had perpetrated as well on Narvaez as on Garay, and about the soldiers whom he had left abandoned in Honduras, and the three thousand Mexicans who had died on the journey, and about a Captain named Diego de Godoy whom he left settled there with thirty soldiers, all of them invalids, and it was believed that they were dead, (it turned out to be true what they said about Godoy). They begged him at once to go post haste to Mexico, and not to worry about doing anything else, and implored him to take warning from the affair of Captain Narvaez and that of the Adelantado Garay, and that of Cristóbal de Tápia who refused to obey him, whom he made to embark and return whence he had come; and they told him many other hurtful things and nonsense against Cortés in order to create prejudice, and they even made him believe that Cortés would not obey him. When the Licentiate Luis Ponce heard all this, he had in his company other gentlemen, namely the Chief Alguacil Proaño, a native of Córdova, and his brother, and one Salazar de la Pedrada who came as Alcaide of the fortress and soon died of pleurisy, and a Licentiate or Bachelor named Marcos de Aguilar, and one Bocanegra of Córdova, and certain Dominican Friars and their Provincial, one Fray Tomas Ortiz, who they say had been for some years Prior in some country

of which I do not remember the name; and about this monk who was their Prior, all who came in his company said that he was more diligent in looking after business than after the office he held. To go back to my story—Luis Ponce took counsel with these gentlemen whether he should go to Mexico at once or no, and all advised him not to tarry by day or night, believing that the rumours were true about the iniquities of Cortés, so that when messengers from Cortés arrived with more letters in reply to those which the Licentiate had written, and brought many fresh supplies for him, the Licentiate was already close to Iztapalapa, where he was given a great reception on account of the great happiness and contentment that Cortés felt at his coming. He ordered a very sumptuous banquet for him, and after being well served at the dinner with many and excellent viands, Andrés de Tápia (for so he was called), who acted as steward at that feast, suggested as an appetizing and novel matter, and at that time a new thing in those countries, that His Excellency might like to be served with cream and curds. All the gentlemen who dined there with the Licentiate were delighted that they should be brought, and ate of them, and the cream and curds were very good, and some of them ate so much of them that their greed turned and overflowed. This I state as true, that when I eat them my stomach turns because they are cold, but others had no sensation of their having done any harm in the stomach. Then that Friar named Fray Tomas Ortiz, who came as Provincial Prior, said that the creams and curds had been mixed with realgar[1] and that he did not wish to eat them for fear of it, and others who ate there said that they saw the Friar eat of them to repletion, and he had said that they were very good,

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[1] Realgar = red sulphide of arsenic.

and because Andrés de Tápia served as steward they suspected him of a thing that never entered his head. To go back to our story—Cortés was not present at this reception at Iztapalapa and remained in Mexico.[1] Then, as Iztapalapa is two leagues from Mexico, he had men posted to advise him at what hour they were coming to Mexico, and Cortés went out to receive him with all the horsemen that Mexico could turn out. With Cortés himself went Gonzalo de Sandoval, and the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the Accountant and all the Municipality and the Conquistadores, and Jorge de Alvarado and Gomez de Alvarado (for Pedro de Alvarado was not in Mexico but in Guatemala whither he had gone in search of Cortés), and many other gentlemen came out who had recently arrived from Castile. When they met on the Causeway great respect was shown between the Licentiate and Cortés, and the Licentiate in every way appeared[2] very reserved,[3] giving himself airs in the matter of Cortés shaking hands with him, not wishing to take his hand, and they paid each other compliments until he took it. When they entered the City the Licentiate expressed admiration at the great fortress which was in it, and at the many cities and towns which he had seen on the lake, and said that he felt sure that there had never been a Captain in the world who, with so few soldiers, had won so many countries and captured such a strong city. As they went along talking of this they proceeded straight to the Monastery of Señor San Francisco where Mass was at once said. When Mass was

[1] Blotted out in the original: "there was a report that on his behalf he sent very secretly to Luis Ponce a good present of blocks and bars of gold, and they say he would not accept it."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "a true gentleman."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "a very courteous and upright judge."

over Cortés asked the Licentiate Luis Ponce to exhibit the Royal Decrees and decide to carry out what His Majesty had ordered him to do, because he [Cortés] was obliged to seek justice against the Factor and the Veedor, and he [Luis Ponce] replied that it should stand over till next day.

Cortés then, accompanied by all the horsemen who had come out for the reception, took him to lodge in his palaces, which were all hung with tapestry, and to a very stately dinner served with so much gold and silver plate and so well arranged that Luis Ponce himself said secretly to the Chief Alguacil Proaño, and to one Bocanegra, that from all his arrangements and speeches and deeds Cortés certainly appeared to have been a great lord for many years past.

I will cease speaking of these praises and say that the next day they went to the principal church, and, after Mass had been said, he [Luis Ponce] ordered the Municipality of the City to be present, and the officers of the Royal Exchequer, and the Captains and Conquistadores of Mexico, and when he saw them all together, in the presence of the two notaries (one on behalf of the Municipality and the other whom Luis Ponce brought with him), he presented his Royal Decrees. Cortés with great respect kissed them and placed them on his head, and said that he obeyed them as commands and edicts of his Lord and King, and would fulfil them with his breast to the ground, and so did all the gentlemen and Conquistadores and the Municipality and His Majesty's officials. After this had been done the Licentiate took the wands of justice from the Chief Alcalde and the subordinate Alcaldes, and from the Hermandad[1] and Alguacils, and after he had them in his possession he

[1] An association forming a minor Court of Justice.

gave them back to all of them, and said to Cortés: "Señor Capitan, this Government of your Excellency His Majesty has commanded me to take over for myself, not because you cease to be worthy of many other and greater offices, but we are obliged to do what our Lord and King commands us." Cortés with great respect gave him thanks for this, and said that he was ready to do what he was ordered to do in the service of His Majesty, which his Excellency would quickly perceive, and, through the evidence and the investigation to which he would subject him, would learn how loyally he had served our Lord the King, and would understand the malignity of certain persons who had already gained a hearing from him with advice and letters full of malice. The Licentiate replied "Wherever there are honest men there are also others who are not, for such is the way of the world, and those who have received benefits from a man will speak well of him and those who have suffered wrongs will do the contrary."

Thus that day passed, and the next day after hearing Mass, which was said in the palaces where the Licentiate was lodging, he [Luis Ponce] sent a gentleman with much respect to summon Cortés, and in the presence of Fray Tomas Ortiz who had come as Prior—no other persons being present, only those three in secret—the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon said to him [Cortés], with much respect: "Señor Capitan, Your Excellency should know that His Majesty commanded and charged me that to all the Conquistadores who left the Island of Cuba and were present at the capture of these lands and cities, and to most of the Conquistadores who arrived later, I should give assignments of good Indians, and should give precedence and should favour the former somewhat more, and this I say because I am informed that many of the Conquistadores who came with Your Excellency hold poor assignments, and you have given

the better ones to persons who have now lately come from Castile, who do not deserve them. If this is so, His Majesty did not give you the Government for this purpose but to carry out his royal commands."

Cortés replied that he had given Indians to all, and that the luck of each one was that good Indians fell to the share of some, and to others not such good ones, but that he [Luis Ponce] could correct this, as he had come for that purpose, and the Conquistadores were worthy of it. He [Luis Ponce] also asked him what had become of all the Conquistadores whom he had taken with him to Honduras, and how it was that he left them there abandoned and dying of hunger. They had especially told him about one Diego de Godoy, whom he left as leader of a company of thirty or forty men at Puerto de Caballos, and that the Indians had probably killed him, for all [his companions] were very ill (and what they told him turned out to be true as I shall relate further on), and that it would have been well if, after capturing that great city and New Spain, they should have remained to enjoy the reward and rest, and that he should have taken those who had lately arrived to labour and form settlements there; and he asked after Captain Luis Marin and many of the soldiers and about me. Cortés replied that in matters of assault and wars he did not dare to go to distant lands unless he took trustworthy soldiers, and that they would soon reach the city, for they ought already to be on the road, and that His Excellency [Luis Ponce] should assist them in every way and give them good assignments of Indians.

The Licentiate Luis Ponce also asked him with pleasant words how was it that he had gone on such a long and distant journey against Cristóbal de Olid without having His Majesty's permission, leaving Mexico

in danger of being lost. To this Cortés replied that, as His Majesty's Governor and Captain General, it seemed to him to be advisable in His Majesty's interest, in order that other Captains should not revolt, and that he reported it first to His Majesty. In addition to this [the Licentiate] asked him about the capture and defeat of Narvaez, and how the fleet and soldiers of Francisco de Garay were lost, and what he died of, and why he forced Cristóbal de Tápia to embark; and he asked him about many other things which I do not record here, all in the presence of Fray Tomas Ortiz.

And Cortés replied to them all, giving very good reasons, so that Luis Ponce appeared to be partially satisfied. All these questions that he asked him he brought in a memorandum from Castile, and many others were about things they had told him on the road and had communicated to him in Mexico. As Fray Tomas Ortiz was present at these questionings, when they had finished talking and Cortés had gone to his quarters, the Friar secretly took aside three Conquistadores, who were friends of Cortés, and told them that Luis Ponce intended to cut off Cortés' head, for such were the orders he had brought from His Majesty, and to that end he had asked him what I have recorded. Early in the morning of the following day this same Friar very secretly addressed Cortés in these words: "Señor Capitan, on account of my great regard for you, and as my duty and religion [impel me] to offer advice in such cases, I give you to know, Señor, that Luis Ponce brings decrees from His Majesty to have you beheaded."

When Cortés heard this, after they had carried on the conversations reported by me, he became very distressed and thoughtful. On the other hand they had told him that the Friar was ill-conditioned and seditious, and that he had better not believe much of what he said, and it

seemed as though he had addressed these remarks to Cortés to ensure his taking him as intercessor and petitioner, so that the decree should not be carried out against him, and in order that Cortés should give him some bars of gold for it. Other persons reported that Luis Ponce told it to Cortés in order to frighten him, so that he should implore not to be beheaded. When Cortés perceived this, he replied to the Friar with much courtesy and with great promises that he would give him the wherewithal to return to Castile, and Cortés told him that he had confidence that His Majesty, as a most Christian King, would send to confer favours [on him] for his many and great services which he had always rendered him, and would not find that he had done him any disservice whatever; this confidence which he held he likewise placed in Señor Luis Ponce de Leon as a person who would not go beyond what His Majesty had commanded him. When the Friar heard this, and found that Cortés did not beg him to become his intercessor with Luis Ponce, he became disconcerted, and I will relate what more happened, for Cortés never gave him any of the money he had promised him.

CHAPTER CXCII.

How the Licentiate Luis Ponce, after he had exhibited the Royal Decrees and met with obedience, ordered the Residencia of Cortés and those who had held judicial office to be proclaimed, and how he fell ill of sleeping sickness and died of it, and what else happened.

AFTER he [the Licentiate] had exhibited the Royal Decrees, and they had been obeyed with much reverence by Cortés, by the Municipality, and by the rest of the Conquistadores, he ordered a Residencia General to be proclaimed against Cortés and against those who had

held judicial office, and had been Captains. Since many persons were ill-disposed towards Cortés, and others were in the right in what they petitioned, what haste they made to lodge complaints of Cortés and to present witnesses, so that the city was seething with lawsuits and claims made against him! Some said that he did not give them the share of gold they were entitled to, others brought action because he did not give them Indians in accordance with His Majesty's commands, but gave them to servants of his father, Martin Cortés, and to other unworthy persons, servants of noblemen of Castile; others claimed for horses killed in the wars, for although there had been much gold with which he could have paid them, he had not satisfied them, in order to keep the gold himself. Others lodged complaints on account of personal insults that they suffered by order of Cortés, and one Juan Juarez, his brother-in-law, brought a wicked claim against him on account of Cortés's wife Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda. At that time a Fulano de Barrios had arrived from Castile, and Cortés married him to a sister of Juan Juarez and sister-in-law of his [own], and that claim which Juan Juarez had brought was settled for the time.

This Barrios is the man with whom one Miguel Díaz had a lawsuit about half the pueblo of Mestitan, as I have stated in the chapter that speaks about it.

To return to our Residencia—As soon as the Residencia was begun it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ on account of our sins and misfortune that the Licentiate Luis Ponce fell ill of sleeping sickness, and it happened in this way: coming from the Monastery of Señor San Francisco, after hearing Mass, he got a very severe fever and took to his bed and remained four days unconscious and out of his right mind, and most of the day and night he was asleep. When this was observed by

the doctors who attended him, namely the Licentiate Pero López and Doctor Ojeda, and another physician whom he [Luis Ponce] had brought from Castile, they unanimously agreed that it would be advisable for him to confess himself and receive the Holy Sacraments, and the Licentiate himself desired it most willingly.[1] After receiving them with humility and with great penitence he made his will, and appointed as his Lieutenant Governor the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, whom he had brought with him from the Island of Hispañola. Others say that this Marcos de Aguilar was a Bachelor and not a Licentiate, and that he had not the qualities for command. He [Ponce] left the power to him with this condition, that all the matters of lawsuits and contentions and Residencias, and the Edicts concerning the Factor and Veedor, should remain in the condition he left them until His Majesty had been informed of what had happened, and that they should at once send a messenger in a ship to His Majesty. When his will was made and his soul composed, on the ninth day after he had fallen ill he gave up his soul to Our Lord Jesus Christ. As soon as he was dead, the mourning and grief which the Conquistadores, one and all, felt was very great, and they wept for him as though he had been the father of them all, for he certainly came to assist those whom he should find to have served His Majesty faithfully, and he made this public before he died, and it was found in the decrees and instructions which he brought from His Majesty, that he was to give the best assignments of Indians to the Conquistadores, so that they should experience improvement in everything.

Cortés and most of the gentlemen of that City put on

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "for he was a very good Christian of very many virtues."

mourning, and they carried him [the body] to bury it with great pomp at [the monastery of] Señor San Francisco, and with all the wax [candles] that could then be obtained. His burial was most solemn considering those times.

I have heard it said, by certain gentlemen who were present when he fell ill, that, as Luis Ponce was a musician and a man of naturally cheerful disposition, in order to cheer him up they went to play a guitar to him and give him a serenade, and he ordered them to play him a dance, and as he lay in bed he beat time with his fingers and feet and moved them about until the dance was finished, and at the very moment the dance ended he lost power of speech.

When he was dead and buried as I have related, one could hear the muttering there was in Mexico among persons who were hostile to Cortés and Sandoval, for they said and declared that they had given him [Luis Ponce] poison from which he died, and that he had done the same to Francisco de Garay, and he who insisted on it most was Fray Tomas Ortiz, already mentioned by me before, who came as Prior of certain Friars whom he [Luis Ponce] brought in his company, who also died of sleeping sickness within two months, as well as some of the other Friars. I also wish to state that it appears that the pestilence was caught in the ships in which Luis Ponce came, for more than one hundred persons who came in them caught sleeping sickness and disease of which they died at sea, and, after disembarking, many others died in the town of Medellin. Even of the Friars, very few survived, and among those who died was the Provincial or Prior who died within a few months; and there was a report that sleeping sickness spread in Mexico.

CHAPTER CXCIII.

How, after the death of the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar began to govern, and the disputes that arose about it; and how Captain Luis Marin and all those of us who were in his company chanced to meet Pedro de Alvarado who was marching in search of Cortés, and how both parties rejoiced, because the country was hostile and could not be traversed without great danger.

WHEN Marcos de Aguilar undertook the Government of New Spain in accordance with the will of Luis Ponce de Leon, many persons who were on bad terms with Cortés and all their friends and the majority of the Conquistadores wished the Residencia to be proceeded with as the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon had begun it, but Cortés objected that he [Aguilar] could not deal with it under the authority of Luis Ponce de Leon's last will, however, if Marcos de Aguilar desired to go on with it, that he was welcome to do so.

Another objection was raised by the Municipality of Mexico urging that Luis Ponce had no power to dispose in his will that the Licentiate Aguilar should govern alone, firstly because he was very old, in his dotage, and crippled with tumours, and had little authority and showed this in his appearance, and he knew nothing about the affairs of the country nor had he informed himself about them, nor about the persons who were worthy. Moreover, they would neither respect him nor dread him. It might [therefore] be best for him to take Cortés as his colleague in the government, until His Majesty should order otherwise, in order that all should fear [him] and the justice of His Majesty be greatly revered.

Marcos de Aguilar replied that he would depart neither much nor little from what Luis Ponce ordered in his will, and that he must govern alone, and that if they intended

to install another Governor by force they would not be doing what His Majesty commanded. Added to what Marcos de Aguilar said, Cortés was afraid of further steps being taken, notwithstanding the speeches which the proctors of the cities and towns of New Spain made to him that he should endeavour to become Governor, and that they would persuade Marcos de Aguilar to [agree to] it by sound arguments, for it was clear that he was very infirm, and it would be to the service of God and of His Majesty. However, for all they said to Cortés, he would never touch on that point again but [preferred] that the aged Aguilar should be sole governor, although he was so infirm and consumptive that he was provided with a Castilian woman to suckle him, and some she-goats that he might drink their milk as well. At that time a son whom he had brought with him died of sleeping sickness in the same way that Luis Ponce died.

I will leave this to its proper time, as I wish to turn far back in my story and relate what was done by Captain Luis Marin, who stayed behind with all the people at Naco, awaiting a reply from Sandoval in order to know whether or not Cortés had embarked, and we received no reply whatever. I have already told how Sandoval left us to go and force Cortés to embark and go to New Spain, and promised to write to us what happened, so that we could go with Luis Marin on the road to Mexico; and, although Sandoval and Cortés wrote on two separate occasions, we never received a reply, and Sayavedra never cared to write to us. So it was decided by Luis Marin, and all of us who had come with him, that ten mounted soldiers should go quickly to Trujillo to find out about Cortés, and Francisco de Marmolejo went as our Captain, and I was one of the ten. We went inland through a hostile country until we reached Olancho, which is now called Guayape, where the rich gold mines were, and there

we heard the news from two invalid Spaniards and from a Negro how Cortés had embarked a few days before with all the gentlemen and conquistadores who were with him, because the City of Mexico had sent to summon him as all the settlers in Mexico were willing to obey him, and that a Franciscan Friar had come for him; and that Sayavedra, Cortés's cousin, remained behind as Captain in some hostile towns near by.

We were delighted at the news and at once wrote to Captain Sayavedra, by some Indians of that pueblo of Olancho which was at peace, and in four days a reply came which told us of certain things which have already been stated, and we gave many thanks to God for it, and with forced marches we returned to where Luis Marin was stationed. I remember that we hurled stones at the country we were leaving behind, crying "Stay where you are evil land, for with God's help we will march to Mexico," and continuing our journey we found Luis Marin in a pueblo called Acalteca, and when we arrived with our news he was greatly cheered. Presently we struck the road to a pueblo named Maniani and found there six soldiers belonging to the company of Pedro de Alvarado who were searching for us, and one of them was Diego Lópes de Villa Nueva who is now a settler in Guatemala, and when we recognised each other we embraced, and on asking after their Captain Pedro de Alvarado they replied that he was close by with many gentlemen who had come in search of Cortés, and they told us all that had happened in Mexico, which I have already related, and how they had sent to summon Pedro de Alvarado to become governor, and the reason why he did not go, which I have stated in the chapter that treats of the subject. Continuing our march, within two days we met Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers near a town called Chuluteca Malalaca.

One can hardly describe his delight when he knew that Cortés had gone to Mexico, for it released him from the laborious journey which he was to take in search of him, and was a relief to them all.

While we were there in this pueblo of Chuluteca, there arrived at the same time certain Captains of Pedrarias de Ávila named Garavito and Canpañon, and others whose names I forget, and, according to what they said, they came to explore the country and to settle boundaries with Pedro de Alvarado. After we arrived at that pueblo with Captain Luis Marin we all stayed together there for three days—the people of Pedro Arias de Ávila and Pedro de Alvarado and ourselves.

From this place Pedro de Alvarado sent Gaspar Arias de Ávila, who was [afterwards] a settler in Guatemala, to discuss certain matters of business with the Governor Pedro Arias de Ávila, and I have heard say that it was about marriages, for Gaspar Arias de Ávila paid great court to Pedro de Alvarado.

To go on with our journey—the people of Pedro Arias stayed in that pueblo and we continued our march towards Guatemala. Before reaching the province of Cuscatlan[1] it rained heavily, and a river called Lempa came down in flood and we had no means whatever of crossing it, so we decided to fell a tree called a Ceiba, and it was large enough to make into a canoe, larger than any that had ever been seen in these parts. With great labour we crossed the river in five days, and there was a great scarcity of maize. After the passage of the river we came on some pueblos which we called "los Chaparristiques," for such is their name, where the Indians, natives of those pueblos, killed a soldier named Nicuesa and wounded three of our men who had gone to search

[1] A province of Salvador.

for food. We went to rescue them, and they [the Indians] were already routed, but in order to avoid delay they were left unpunished, and this happened in the province where now the town of San Miguel is settled.

From there we entered the province of Cuscatlan, which was hostile, and we found plenty to eat, and from there we came to some pueblos near to Petapa. The Guatemaltecos had some hills intrenched on the road and some very deep gullies where they awaited us, and we were three days in capturing and passing them. There they wounded me with an arrow, but the wound was of no importance.

Then we came to Petapa, and the next day came upon this valley, which they called the [valley of the] cross-eyed, where now this city of Guatemala[1] is settled. At that time it was altogether hostile and we found many barricades and pits, and we fought with the natives to force a passage; and I remember that as we were descending a slope the earth began to tremble so that many soldiers fell to the ground, for the earthquake continued a long time.

Then we went to the site of the old city of Guatemala,[2] where the Caciques named Zinacan and Sacachul used to reside. Before entering the city there was a very deep gully where the squadrons of Guatemaltecos were waiting to prevent our entry, and we made them flee, unfortunately for them, and went on to sleep in the city, and the lodgings and houses were good and the buildings very fine, in fact befitting Caciques who ruled all the neighbouring provinces. From there we went out to the plain and built ranchos and huts, and stayed in them for ten days, for Pedro de Alvarado sent twice to summon the people of Guatemala and other pueblos in the neigh-

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[1] Now Antigua. [2] Iximché.

bourhood to make peace, and we waited the time I have mentioned to learn their reply. As none of them would come in, we went on by long days' marches without halting to where Pedro de Alvarado had left his army settled, for it was a hostile country and he had left his brother named Gonzalo de Alvarado there as Captain.

The village where we found them was called Olintepec, and we rested there several days and then we went to Soconusco and thence to Tehuantepec. At this time two Spaniards, settlers in Mexico, who had come with us on that toilsome march, died, as well as a Mexican Cacique named Juan Velásquez, one of Guatemoc's Captains, already mentioned by me. Then we went post haste to Oaxaca, for by that time we had got to know about the death of Luis Ponce and other things already related by me, and they said much good of him, and that he came to carry out what His Majesty had ordered, and we could hardly await the hour of our arrival in Mexico.

Then, as we were [a company] of over eighty soldiers with Pedro de Alvarado among them, when we arrived at a pueblo named Chalco we sent messengers thence to inform Cortés that we would enter Mexico on the following day, so that they might have quarters prepared for us, for we were arriving very much worn out, as it was more than two years and three months since we set out from that city. When it was known in Mexico that we had reached Iztapalapa, Cortés and many gentlemen came out on the causeway to receive us, and when we arrived, before going anywhere else, we went to the principal church to give thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ who had brought us back to that City. From the Church Cortés took us to his Palace, where they had prepared a grand feast for us very well served. Alvarado's quarters were already prepared, as the fortress was then his home,

for at that time he was appointed Alcayde of the fortress and the arsenal. Sandoval took Captain Luis Marin to lodge in his house, and Andrés de Tápia took me and another friend named Captain Miguel Sánchez to lodge in his house, and he paid us great honour. Sandoval sent me clothes in which to array myself, and gold and cacao to spend, and so did Cortés and other settlers in the city to soldiers and friends among those who had come there.

The following day, after commending ourselves to God, I and my companion Captain Luis Sánchez set out through the city, and we took with us as intercessors Captain Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia, and we went to see and speak to the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, who, as I have said, was governor through the authority that Luis Ponce had left to that effect. The mediators who went with us, whom I have already said were Captain Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia, made a statement to Marcos de Aguilar concerning our persons and services, in order to beg him to give us Indians in Mexico, as those in Coatzacoalcos were of no use to us. After many speeches and promises which he made to us on the subject, he said that he had no authority either to give or take away any Indians whatever, for so Luis Ponce de Leon left in his will when he died, that all the affairs and lawsuits and unemployed Indians in New Spain should remain in the condition in which they stood until His Majesty should send to order otherwise; that if he were sent authority for [assigning] Indians he would give us the best he could find in the country. We then took our leave of him.

At this time a certain Diego de Ordás, very often mentioned by me, arrived from the Island of Cuba,[1] and as it

[1] Blotted out in the original: "who had gone to purchase mares and calves, as I have originally stated."

was he who had written the letter to the Factor stating that all of us who had gone out from Mexico with Cortés were dead, Sandoval and other gentlemen asked him with very bitter words why he had written this, when he neither knew nor possessed any evidence of it, and [added] that those letters which he sent to the Factor were so mischievous that New Spain might have been lost through them. Diego de Ordás replied with solemn oaths that he never wrote such a thing, but only that he had received news from a pueblo named Xicalango that the pilots and sailors of two ships had quarrelled and killed each other, and that the Indians had ended by killing certain sailors who were left in the ships, and that if the letters themselves should be produced they would see if it were not true; and that if the Factor altered them or substituted others he [Diego de Ordás] was not to blame, and if Cortés wished to find out the truth,—the Factor and Veedor were [still] prisoners in the cages. However, Cortés did not dare to bring them to justice on account of the orders left by Luis Ponce de Leon, and as he had many other contentions [on hand] he decided to keep quiet in this case of the Factor until orders came from His Majesty, and he was afraid lest further ill consequences should follow; also because at that time he made claim that they should return a great quantity of his property which they had sold, and spent for funeral honours and to say Masses for his soul, although those funeral honours and Masses were celebrated with malice and to instil belief throughout the city, and they conferred benedictions and paid funeral honours to Cortés and ourselves so that it should be believed to be true that we were all dead. Concerned in these lawsuits a settler in Mexico, called Juan Cáceres the rich, purchased the benedictions and Masses which had been celebrated for the soul of Cortés, to be applied to that of Cáceres.

I must stop telling old stories and will relate how Diego de Ordás, who was a man of good counsel, seeing that they no longer respected Cortés and took no account of him after the coming of Luis Ponce de Leon, and that the Government had been taken from him and many persons were insolent to him and held him of no account, advised him to claim treatment as a nobleman, and style himself "My Lord," and to assume a title and not be called simply Cortés but Don Hernando Cortés. Ordás also told him that he should remember that the Factor was a servant of the Commendador Mayor, Don Francisco de los Cobos, the man who ruled all Castile, and that some day he might need the help of Don Francisco de los Cobos, and that Cortés himself was in no great favour with His Majesty nor with the members of his Royal Council of the Indies, and that he had better beware of killing the Factor until he was sentenced by the Courts, for there were strong suspicions in Mexico that he [Cortés] wished to despatch and kill him in the cage itself.

As we now come to the point, I wish to state before going on with my story, why I am so concise in all that I write, and, when it comes to conversations, in mentioning Cortés I have not called him and will not call him Don Hernando Cortés, nor by other titles of Marquis or Captain, but only plainly Cortés. The reason of this is because he himself preferred to be called simply Cortés, and at that time he was not a Marquis, for this name of Cortés was as highly considered and esteemed throughout Castile[1] as that of Julius Cæsar or Pompey was in the time of the Romans, or in our times we hold that of Gonzalo Hernández surnamed "The Great Captain," or among the Carthaginians that of Hannibal, or of that

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and in many parts of the Christian world."

valiant and never vanquished gentleman Diego García de Paredes.

Let us stop talking of these past glories and I will relate how at that time the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada married his two daughters, one to Jorge de Alvarado, brother of Don Pedro de Alvarado, and the other to a gentleman named Don Luis de Guzman, son of Don Juan de Sayavedra Count of Castellar, and then it was arranged that Don Pedro de Alvarado should go to Castile to beg His Majesty to grant him the Government of Guatemala, and while he was away he sent Jorge de Alvarado as his Captain for the pacification of Guatemala. When Jorge de Alvarado went, he took with him on the road more than two hundred Indians from Tlaxcala, Cholula, Mexico and Guacachula and other provinces, and they aided him in the wars. At that time also Marcos de Aguilar sent to settle the province of Chiapa, and a gentleman named Don Juan de Enríquez de Guzman, a near relation of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, went [with this expedition]. He also sent to settle the province of Tabasco, which is on the river called Grijalva, and a gentleman named Baltazar Osorio, a native of Sevile, went as Captain. He also sent to pacify the pueblos of the Zapotecs, which stand among very high sierras, and there went as Captain one Alonzo de Herrera, a native of Jérez, and this Captain was one of Cortés' soldiers. Not to enumerate at present what each of these Captains did in his conquests, I will leave the account of them until the proper time and season shall arrive, and I wish to relate how at this time Marcos de Aguilar died, and what happened about the will he made that the Treasurer should become Governor.

CHAPTER CXCIV.

How Marcos de Aguilar died, and by his will appointed the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada as Governor (but he was not to give judgment in the suits of the Factor or Veedor, nor to grant or take away Indians, until His Majesty should ordain what was most to his advantage), in the same way as Luis Ponce had delegated his authority to him.

WHILE Marcos de Aguilar held the government, as I have stated, he was very consumptive and suffering from boils, and the doctors ordered him to be suckled by a woman of Castile, [by which means] and the milk of goats he supported himself for about eight months, then from those diseases and fevers which he caught he died.

In the will which he executed he enacted that the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada should be sole Governor, with neither more nor less powers than he himself had received from Luis Ponce de Leon.

The Cabildo of Mexico and the procurators of certain cities, who at the time happened to be in Mexico, realised that Alonzo de Estrada would not be able to govern as well as the circumstances required, for the [following] reason: Nuño de Guzman, who two years previously had come from Castile to govern the province of Panuco, occupied the border-lands of Mexico, claiming that they belonged to his province. He came full of fury and regardless of the orders His Majesty had given in the decrees relating to the matter, which he had brought [with him]. Then because a settler from Mexico named Pedro Gonzáles de Trujillo, a man of high birth, had said that he did not wish to stay under his rule but under that of Mexico (because the Indians of his "encomienda" were not natives of Panuco), and on account of other words that passed; without giving him [Pedro Gonzáles] a chance to defend himself, he ordered him to be

hanged. In addition to this, he committed other follies, and hanged another Spaniard in order to make himself feared, and he had no respect for, and took no notice of, the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada, although he was Governor, nor did he hold him in such reverence as he was in duty bound to do. When they observed these follies of Nuño de Guzman, the Cabildo of Mexico and other gentlemen residents, in order to inspire Nuño de Guzman with fear, and make him obey His Majesty's commands, entreated the Treasurer to associate Cortés with himself in the government, as it would be to the advantage and to the service of God our Lord and of His Majesty. However, the Treasurer would not do so. Other persons said that Cortés did not wish to accept, in order that no malicious [persons] should [be able to] say that he wanted to assume the government by force, also because there were murmurs that suspicion attached to the death of Márcos de Aguilar, and that Cortés had caused it, and given him the dose from which he died. It was arranged that Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was Chief Alguacil, and a person held in very high esteem, should govern conjointly with the Treasurer, and the Treasurer thought well of it, but other persons alleged that if he agreed, it was in order to marry his daughter to Sandoval, for if the marriage took place he would be far more highly esteemed, and perchance would obtain the Government, for at that time this New Spain was not thought so much of as it is to-day.

During the Government of the Treasurer and Gonzalo de Sandoval, it seems that there were such crazy people in the world that one Fulano Proaño, who, it was said at that time, had gone to Jalisco fleeing from Mexico, and who afterwards became a very rich man, got into a dispute with the Governor Alonzo de Estrada, and made use of discourtesy of such a nature that I will not repeat

it here. Sandoval, who as governor should have arrested Proaño and tried the case, did not do so. Rumour said that he rather encouraged him to commit the atrocious crime and take to flight, whither he could not be got at, in spite of all the great efforts the Treasurer made to arrest him. [Moreover] a few days after this insult had taken place, another most evil crime was committed, in that they placed on the doors of the Treasurer's house some foul and very evil libels, and although it was well known who placed them there, seeing that justice could not be obtained, he [Sandoval] let it pass, and from that time onward the Treasurer was very ill disposed towards Cortés and Sandoval, and he detested them as very evil things.

Let us leave this and I will relate that at that time, when the plan was afoot which I have already mentioned for associating Cortés in the Government with the Treasurer—and they gave him Sandoval as a colleague, as I have related—Alonzo de Estrada was advised to go post haste in a ship to Castile and to give an account of it to His Majesty, and they even persuaded him to say that it was by force that they gave him Sandoval as an associate, as I have already related, because he did not wish and would not consent to Cortés governing with him. In addition to this, certain persons who were not on good terms with Cortés wrote other letters on their own account, and in them stated that Cortés had ordered poison to be administered to Luis Ponce de Leon and to Marcos de Aguilar and also to the Adelantado Garay[1]; for it was believed that in some curds which they gave him at a pueblo named Iztapalapa, there was realgar, and on that account a friar of the order of Santo Domingo would

[1] Blotted out in the original: and they even made the ecclesiastic named Fray Tomas Ortiz write this, he who was Provincial of Santo Domingo and had come from Castile with Luis Ponce de Leon.

not eat them[1]; and all this that they wrote was abomination and treachery which they stirred up against him.

They also wrote that Cortés wished to kill the Factor and Veedor.

At that time there also went to Castile the accountant Albornoz, who was never on good terms with Cortés. When His Majesty and the members of the Royal Council of the Indies saw the letters I have mentioned speaking evil of Cortés, and made enquiries of the accountant Albornoz regarding the affair of Luis Ponce and that of Marcos de Aguilar, it told very heavily against Cortés. Besides, they had heard about the defeat of Narvaez and about Garay and Tápia and the story of Catalina Juarez la Marcayda, his first wife, and they were misinformed about other matters and believed what they [the enemies of Cortés] had now written to be true. His Majesty promptly ordered by decree that Alonzo de Estrada should be the sole governor, and approved whatever he had done and the assignment of Indians he had made. He also ordered the Factor and Veedor to be released from their prisons and cages and their property to be returned to them. A ship came post haste with the decrees, and, in order to punish Cortés for the crimes of which he was accused, he [the Emperor] ordered a gentleman named Don Pedro de la Cueva, Grand Commander of the order of Alcántara, to proceed at once and to take with him three hundred soldiers at the expense of Cortés, and if he found him guilty to cut off his head, and [the heads] of those

[1] Blotted out in the original: and in addition to this they sent with the letters some copies of defamatory libels against Cortés which they found on one Gonzalo de Campo, in which it was said: "Oh! Fray Hernando Provincial, more complaints go about your person before His Majesty than those of the Duque de Arxona before his general," and I omit quoting five other documents which they wrote against him, for they are not fit to be advanced against a brave man such as Cortés.

who, together with him, had done any wrong to His Majesty, and to give the pueblos taken from Cortés to us, the true Conquistadores. He also ordered a Royal Audiencia to be ready to come, thinking that by this means true justice would be done. While the Comendador Don Pedro de la Cueva was preparing to set out for New Spain, either owing to certain discussions which took place later on at court, or because they did not give him as many thousand ducats as he demanded for the voyage, or because they believed that justice could be done through the Royal Audiencia [alone], or [may be] because the Duque de Bejar went surety for us as he had done on other occasions, his voyage was put off.

I must return to the Treasurer, who, when he saw himself thus favoured by His Majesty, and, having been so many times governor, that now again His Majesty had ordered him to be sole governor—and they had even made the Treasurer believe that our Lord the Emperor had been told that he was a son of the Rey Católico—became puffed up with pride and had reason for it. The first thing he did was to send a cousin of his, named Diego de Mazariegos, as Captain to Chiapa, with instructions to take the Residencia of Don Juan Enríquez de Guzman, who had been sent as Captain by Marcos de Aguilar, and it was found that he had committed more robberies and quarrels than he had bestowed benefits on that province. He also sent to conquer and bring to peace the pueblos of the Zapotecs and Mijes, and they were to go in two divisions so that they [the pueblos] might more easily be brought to peace. [In command of] the division [marching] from the north he sent a Fulano de Barrios, reported to have been a Captain in Italy and very valiant, who had recently come to Mexico from Castile (I do not mean the Barrios of Sevile who was Cortés's brother-in-law), and he gave him over one hundred soldiers and among them

many musketeers and crossbowmen. When this Captain reached the pueblos of the Zapotecs, which are called the Tiltepeques, the native Indians of those pueblos sallied out one night and fell on the Captain and his soldiers, and so sudden was the attack that they killed Captain Barrios and seven other soldiers and wounded most of the others, and, if they had not all quickly taken to their heels[1] and found refuge in some friendly pueblos, all would have fallen. Here one can see the superiority of old Conquistadores over those recently come from Castile, who know nothing about warfare with Indians nor of their cunning. This put an end to that conquest.

I must tell now about the other Captain who went by way of Oaxaca. He was named Figueroa, a native of Cáceres, and was also reported to have been a very valiant Captain in Castile, and a great friend of the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada. He also took with him one hundred soldiers newly arrived in Mexico from Castile, many of them musketeers and crossbowmen, and ten of them even cavalrymen. When they reached the province of the Zapotecs he sent to summon one Alonzo de Herrera, who was stationed in those pueblos as Captain of thirty soldiers by order of Marcos de Aguilar while he was governor, as I have related in the chapter which treats of the subject. Alonzo de Herrera, having obeyed the summons (for it seems that Figueroa brought authority to place him [Herrera] under his orders), on certain disputes taking place and because he would not remain in his [Figueroa's] company, they came to drawing swords, and Herrera wounded Figueroa and three of his soldiers who came to his assistance.

When Figueroa saw that he was wounded and one of his arms maimed, he did not dare to penetrate into

[1] "Tomaran Calzas de Villadiego" (adage).

the mountains of the Mijes, which were very lofty and difficult to take; moreover, the soldiers he had brought with him knew nothing about conquering such countries. He determined to undertake the excavation of the graves in the burial places of the Caciques of those provinces, for he found in them a quantity of golden jewels which it was the custom in olden days to bury with the chieftains of those pueblos, and he attained such dexterity that he took out from them over five thousand pesos de oro, in addition to other jewels obtained from the pueblos. So he determined to abandon the conquest, and he left some of the pueblos in which he stayed more hostile than he found them, and he went to Mexico and thence to Castile, and the soldiers went each his own way.

When Figueroa had embarked at Vera Cruz, and was already on his way to Castile with his gold, such was his luck that the ship in which he sailed met with a furious head gale near Vera Cruz, and he and his gold were lost, and fifteen passengers were drowned, and everything was lost. Thus ended the expeditions which the Treasurer sent to make conquests, and those pueblos were never pacified until we settlers from Coatzacoalcos conquered them.

As the mountains are so lofty that horses cannot be used, I racked my body on the three occasions that I was present at those conquests, for although we might bring them to peace in the summer, as soon as the rains began they again rebelled, and killed such Spaniards as they were able to catch straying. However, as we always follcwed them up, they were brought into subjection and a town was founded [there] named San Alifonso.

Let us get on, and stop calling to mind disasters of Captains who did not know how to conquer, and I will relate that when the Treasurer knew that they had wounded his friend Captain Figueroa, he sent promptly

to arrest Alonzo de Herrera, but was not able to capture him because he fled to the mountains, and the Alguacils whom he sent after him brought back as prisoner a soldier, one of those whom Herrera used to have with him, and when he arrived in Mexico, without granting him a hearing, the Treasurer ordered his right hand to be cut off. The soldier was named Cortejo and he was a gentleman by birth.

In addition to this, at that time a page of Gonzalo de Sandoval had some dispute with one of the Treasurer's servants, and stabbed him, at which the Treasurer was very wroth and ordered his hand to be cut off; and this happened at a time when neither Cortés or Sandoval were in Mexico, for they had gone to a great pueblo named Cuernavaca, and they went there so as to remove themselves from Mexico from tumults and gossip, and also to settle certain questions which had arisen between the Caciques of that pueblo.

Then, as soon as Cortés and Sandoval learned by letter that Cortejo and the page were prisoners, and that they intended to cut off their hands, they at once came to Mexico, and when they had spoken and found that there was no help for it, they felt this affront which the Treasurer had put both on Cortés and Sandoval deeply. It is said that Cortés addressed such words to the Treasurer in his presence that he would not listen to them, and was even afraid that they intended to kill him, and on account of this fear the Treasurer summoned soldiers and friends to protect him, and he released the Factor and Veedor from the cages, so that as officials of His Majesty they might help one another against Cortés.

After they had been released about eight days, the Treasurer was advised by the Factor and other persons who were not on good terms with Cortés that in any

case he should at once banish Cortés from Mexico, for as long as he [Cortés] remained in the city he could never govern properly or secure peace, for there would always be bands of robbers and factions. As soon as this banishment was signed by the Treasurer they went to notify Cortés, who said that he would comply with it very readily, and that he thanked God that, in being banished from the land and city which he and his companions had discovered and gained, through the shedding of much blood and the deaths of so many soldiers, he was thus repaid by persons who were in no way worthy of the offices which they held from His Majesty, and that he would go to Castile to report it to His Majesty and demand justice against them, and that it was gross ingratitude on the part of the Treasurer who was forgetful of the favour [he] Cortés had shown him. He left Mexico at once and went to one of his towns named Coyoacan, and thence to Texcoco, and a few days later to Tlaxcala.

At that time the wife of the Treasurer named Doña Marina Gutiérrez de la Cavalleria, certainly worthy of good remembrance for her many virtues, when she learned what her husband had done in releasing the Factor and Veedor from the cages and in banishing Cortés, on account of the great anxiety she felt, said to her husband, the Treasurer: "Pray God that the things you have done will not turn out badly," and she reminded him of the benefits and favours which Cortés had conferred on them, and the Indian pueblos which he had given them, and [said] that he should endeavour to make friends with him again so that he could return to the City of Mexico, and that he should take great care that they did not kill him; and she said so many things to him that, according to what many persons report, the Treasurer repented of the banishment and even of having released those named by me from the cages, for

in every matter they restrained him and were very hostile to Cortés.

At that time there came from Castile Don Fray Julian Garçes, who was the first Bishop of Tlaxcala and a native of Aragon, and, in honour of the most Christian Emperor our Lord, called himself Carolense; he was a great preacher, and as soon as he came to his Bishopric of Tlaxcala and knew what the Treasurer had done in banishing Cortés, it appeared to him very wrong, and so as to make peace between them he came to a city often mentioned by me, named Texcoco, and, as it is close to the lake, he set out with two large canoes in company with two priests and a friar and his baggage, and came to the City of Mexico. Even before his arrival they had heard in Mexico of his coming, and they went out to receive him with great pomp, and with all the Crosses, and Clergy and religious orders, and the Cabildo and Conquistadores and gentlemen and soldiers, who could be found in Mexico.

After the Bishop had rested for two days, the Treasurer put him forward as mediator to go to the place where Cortés was residing at that time and make them friends again, as he was repealing the decree of banishment so that he [Cortés] could return to Mexico.

The Bishop went off and discussed this [proposed] friendship, but he could effect nothing with Cortés; on the contrary, as I have said, he went on to Texcoco and Tlaxcala accompanied by many gentlemen and other persons.

What Cortés was engaged on was the collection of all the gold and silver he could gather together in order to go to Castile, and in addition to what they gave him as tribute from his pueblos, he pledged other rents and those of his friends and Indians who were willing to assist him. Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia made

the same preparations and gathered together and collected all the gold and silver they were able from their pueblos, for these two Captains went in company with Cortés to Castile.

While Cortés was at Tlaxcala, many of the settlers from Mexico and other cities went to see him, also soldiers who had no assignment of Indians, and the Caciques from Mexico went to offer their services, and, as there are always turbulent men ready for strife and novelty, these went to advise him that, if he wished to raise himself to be King of New Spain, now was his opportunity, and that they would help him to do so. Cortés made prisoners two of the men who came with this suggestion, and treated them severely, calling them traitors, and was about to hang them. There was also brought to him a letter from other bandits which was sent to him from Mexico, in which they told him the same thing, and, according to rumour, this was done to tempt Cortés so as to catch him in some expressions which might fall from his lips concerning this evil opportunity. As, however, Cortés was always faithful to His Majesty, he uttered threats against those who came to him with these proposals, that they should not come before him again with these suggestions of treason or he would order them to be hanged, and he promptly wrote to the Bishop that he should tell the Treasurer, who, as Governor, should order the traitors who came with these proposals to be punished, [to see to it], otherwise he would himself order them to be hanged.

Let us leave Cortés in Tlaxcala getting ready to go to Castile, and return to the Treasurer and the Factor and Veedor, for just as men who were bandits and longed for disturbances and to mix in tumults came to Cortés, so they went to the Treasurer and Factor and said that Cortés was collecting men to come and kill them, although

he spread the report that he was going to Castile, and it was for that reason that all the Caciques of Mexico and Texcoco and nearly all the pueblos around the lake were in his company, waiting to see when he should order them to begin the attack.

Then the Factor and Veedor were in great fear, believing that he [Cortés] was going to kill them, and in order to enquire and find out if it were true they again importuned the same Bishop to go and see what was the matter, and they wrote with great concern to Cortés asking pardon. The Bishop thought that going to visit Tlaxcala with the intention of creating friendship was a worthy act, and as soon as he arrived where Cortés was staying (after the whole province had come out to receive him), and observed the great loyalty of Cortés and what he had done in arresting the bandits, and the words he had written on that subject, he promptly sent a messenger to the Treasurer and said that Cortés was a very loyal gentleman and faithful servant of His Majesty, and that one might place him in the list of the most famous servants of the Royal Crown of our times, and as for his present occupation it was to provide for his journey and go before his Majesty, and they might drop all suspicion of what had been in their minds. He also wrote that he thought it ill-advised to have banished him [Cortés] and that he [the Treasurer] did not hit the mark on that occasion. It is reported that he said in the letter he wrote: "Oh, Señor Tesorero Alonzo de Estrada, how you have spoiled and muddled this affair."

Let us leave this affair of the letter, for I do not remember whether Cortés returned to Mexico to leave instructions with the persons to whom he gave authority to look after his estate and house, and demand tribute from the pueblos of his encomienda, except that he left a general power of attorney to the Licentiate Juan

Altamirano, a person of great repute, and to Diego de Campo, Alonzo Valiente, and Santa Cruz Burgales, but above all the others to Altamirano. He had already collected many birds differing from those found in Castile, which was a thing well worth seeing, and two tigers and many kegs of coagulated liquid amber and balsam, and another of oil; and four Indians skilful in juggling with a stick with their feet, which in Castile and in all other places would be a thing worth seeing, and other Indians, distinguished dancers, who were accustomed to use some sort of contrivance, so that to all appearance they seem to fly in the air while dancing; and he took three Indian humpbacks who were monstrosities, for their bodies appeared broken and they were very dwarfish. He also took Indian men and women who were very white, and owing to their great whiteness they did not see well. Then the Caciques of Tlaxcala begged him to take in his company three sons of the principal chieftains of that province, and among them was a son of the old blind Xicotenga, who was afterwards called Don Lorenzo de Vargas, and he took other Mexican Caciques.

When his departure was arranged, he received news from Vera Cruz of the arrival of two good and swift ships which brought him letters from Castile, and I will go on to relate their contents.

CHAPTER CXCV.

How letters came to Cortés from Spain from Don Garcia de Loaysa, Cardinal of Siguenza, who was President of the [Council of] the Indies and soon afterwards Archbishop of Seville, and from other gentlemen, [advising him] in any case to come at once to Castile, and they brought the news that his father Martin Cortés was dead, and what he did about it.

I HAVE already related in the last chapter what took place between Cortés, the Treasurer, the Factor, and the Veedor, and the reason of his banishment from Mexico, and how the Bishop of Tlaxcala came on two occasions to attempt a reconciliation, and how Cortés, who would not [allow himself to] be influenced in the least by letters or in any other way, got ready to go to Castile. At that very moment letters came to him from the President of the Indies, Don Garcia de Loaysa, and from the Duque de Bejar and other gentlemen, in which they told him that, during his absence, complaints against him had been laid before His Majesty, and the complaints contained reports of many ill deeds and deaths which he had caused to be inflicted on those who had been sent out by His Majesty, and that in all events he should return to defend his honour. They also brought him news that his father Martin Cortés had died, and when he saw those letters he was greatly grieved both on account of the death of his father and also for what they falsely said that he had done; and he put on mourning, although he already wore it for the death of his wife Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda. He showed great grief about his father and paid him as great funeral honours as he was able, and if hitherto he had been eager to go to Castile, from this time forward he made the greater haste about it, for he at once ordered his Mayordomo, named Pedro Ruiz de Esquivel, a native of Seville, to go to Vera Cruz and buy the

two ships which had arrived there and had the reputation of being new and swift, and he was preparing biscuit and salt beef and bacon and all that was necessary for ships' stores very completely, as was befitting a great and rich lord such as Cortés, [including] all such things as could be found in New Spain that were of use on a voyage, and preserves which had come from Spain, and they were so abundant and of such variety that what was left over [when they arrived] in Castile would have sufficed for two ships for another couple of years, even if they had carried many more men.

As the Mayordomo was crossing the Lake of Mexico in a large canoe on his way to a pueblo named Ayotzingo, which is where they disembark from the canoes, and, in order to do more quickly what Cortés had ordered, passed by that place and took with him six Mexican Indian rowers and a negro and certain bars of gold, [somebody] whoever it may have been, laid in wait for him on this same lake and killed him. It was never known who [did the deed] nor were the canoe or the Indians who rowed it or even the negro ever seen again, only about four days later Esquivel was found on an island in the lake, his body half eaten by birds of prey.

Over the death of this Mayordomo there was much conjecture, for some said that he was the sort of man who boasted of things that he himself said happened with mistresses and other ladies, and they spoke of other evil things which they said he did, and on this account he was hated, and there were suspicions about many other things which I will not mention here. His death was never made clear, nor was it much enquired into, nor [did the question] who killed him rouse any deep interest.

Cortés promptly sent other Mayordomos to get the ships ready for him and put in all the provisions and pipes of wine, and ordered proclamation to be made that

whoever wished to go to Castile, he would give them food and a passage free of charge, provided they went with the permission of the Governor. Then Cortés, accompanied by Gonzalo de Sandoval and Andrés de Tápia and other gentlemen, went to Vera Cruz, and after they had confessed and received Communion they embarked. It pleased our Lord God to give him such a passage that in forty-two days he arrived in Castile, without stopping at Havana or at any other island, and he disembarked near the town of Palos near to Our Lady of Rabida, and as soon as they were safely on shore, they fell on their knees on the ground and raised their hands to heaven, giving many thanks to God for the mercies he had always shown them.

They arrived in Castile in the month of December, in the year fifteen hundred and twenty seven. It appears that Gonzalo de Sandoval was very unwell, and sorrow followed on their great joy, for it pleased God within a few days to take him from this life at the town of Palos. The house where he lay belonged to a ropemaker who made ship's tackle, cables and hempen rope, and before he [Sandoval] died he [the rope-maker] stole from him thirteen bars of gold. Sandoval saw him with his own eyes take them from a box, for the rope-maker waited until no one remained in Sandoval's company or he was cunning enough to send Sandoval's servants post haste to La Rabida to summon Cortés. Although Sandoval saw this [done] he did not dare to cry out for, as he was very feeble, languid and ill, he feared the rope-maker (who looked to him to be a ruffian,) would clap a pillow or bolster over his mouth and suffocate him. This host at once fled to Portugal with the bars of gold and nothing was recovered.

Let us return to Cortés, who, as soon as he knew that Sandoval was very ill, came in all haste to where he was,

and Sandoval told him of the crime that his host had committed, and how he had robbed him of the bars of gold and had fled, and, although they made the greatest efforts to recover them, as he had taken refuge in Portugal, he kept possession of them.

Sandoval grew worse of his malady day by day, and the doctors who were attending him advised him to confess at once and receive the holy sacraments and make his will. This he did with great piety and ordered many legacies for the poor as well as to monasteries, and he named Cortés as his executor and a sister of his, Maria (or sisters), as heiress, who later on married a bastard son of the Conde de Medellin, and after he had prepared his soul and made his will he gave up his spirit to our Lord God who created him.

Great grief was felt at his death, and they buried him in the Monastery of Our Lady of La Rabida with all the pomp that was possible, and Cortés and all the gentlemen in his company put on mourning. May God pardon him, Amen.

Cortés then sent a messenger to His Majesty, and to the Cardinal de Siguenza, to the Duque de Bejar, the Conde de Aguilar and other gentlemen, to announce his arrival at that port, and that Gonzalo de Sandoval had died, and he made a report on the quality of his person and the great services which he had rendered to His Majesty, and that he was a Captain of high reputation, esteemed both as a commander of armies, and for his personal valour. When these letters reached His Majesty, he was delighted at the arrival of Cortés, but he was grieved at the death of Sandoval, for he had already great reports of his magnanimous personality, so too was the Cardinal Don Garcia de Loaysa and the Royal Council of the Indies. Moreover, the Duque de Bejar, the Conde de Aguilar, and other gentlemen

rejoiced greatly, although all regretted the death of Sandoval.

The Duque de Bejar together with the Conde de Aguilar proceeded forthwith to give His Majesty further particulars, for he [Bejar] had already received Cortés' letter, and stated that he was well assured of the loyalty of the men whose sponsor he had become, and that a gentleman who had rendered him [the Emperor] such eminent services would in all other matters prove his loyalty, and that he was grateful to his King and Lord, as was now clearly shown by his acts. This was said by the Duke because at the time they were making accusations and alleging many evil things against Cortés to His Majesty, and he had pledged his head and his fortune three times as surety for Cortés and all of us soldiers who were in his company, that we were very loyal and faithful servants of His Majesty and worthy of great favours, for at that time Peru had not been discovered, nor had it the glamour that it afterwards possessed. His Majesty then sent orders to all the cities and towns, through which Cortés should pass, to show him every honour, and the Duque de Medina Sidonia gave him a great reception in Seville, and presented him with some very fine horses. After he had rested there two days, he went by long stages to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe to hold novenas,[1] and such was his good fortune that at the same time the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, wife of the Comendador Mayor[2] de Leon, Don Francisco de los Cobos, arrived, who had brought in her company many ladies of high rank, and among them a young lady her sister. When Cortés learned this it gave him much pleasure and as soon as he arrived

[1] Nine day devotions.

[2] Head of the Military order.

and had worshipped at the shrine of Our Lady and given alms to the poor and ordered masses to be said (for he was in mourning for his father and his wife and for Gonzalo de Sandoval), he went well attended by the gentlemen he had brought from New Spain, and others who had joined his service, to pay his respects to the Lady Doña Maria de Mendoza and the maiden lady her sister, who was very beautiful, and to all the other ladies who had come with them.

Cortés was very courteous and cheerful in every way, and the fame of his great deeds rang throughout Castile, and [the gift of] conversation and graceful expression did not fail him, and above all he showed himself very open-handed, and, as he had riches to give away, he began making valuable presents of many golden jewels of many different shapes to all those ladies, and besides the jewels he gave them plumes of green feathers full of gold and silver work and of pearls, and in all that he gave he showed preference for the Lady Doña Maria de Mendoza and her sister. After he had made those rich presents he gave to the young lady, for herself alone, certain slabs of very fine gold, so that she might make jewels of them. After this he ordered much liquid amber and balsam to be given them so that they might perfume themselves, and he ordered the dexterous Indian jugglers to perform with the stick with their feet so as to give entertainment to those ladies, and they [the jugglers] passed the stick from one foot to the other, a thing which pleased them and caused them wonder to behold. In addition to all this, Cortés found out that one of the mules of the litter in which the young lady had come had gone lame, and secretly he ordered two good ones to be bought and given to the Mayordomos who had charge of her service. He remained in that town of Guadalupe until they set out for the Court, which at that time was at Toledo, and accom-

panied them, paying them attentions and giving banquets and fêtes, and proved himself to be the perfect courtier who well knew how to represent and act the part, so that the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza proposed to him marriage with her lady sister. If Cortés had not been betrothed to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga, a niece of the Duque de Bejar, he certainly would have received great favour from the Comendador Mayor de Leon and from the Señora Maria de Mendoza his wife, and His Majesty would have given him the government of New Spain.

Let us stop talking about this marriage, for all things are guided and directed by the hand of God, and I will relate how the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza wrote in haste to her husband the Comendador Mayor de Leon, greatly extolling the affairs of Cortés, [saying] that the fame that he had acquired by his heroic deeds was nothing in comparison to what she had seen and known of his personality and conversation and openhandedness, and she related to him other excellencies she had noticed in Cortés, and the services he had rendered her, and [added] that she might consider him her devoted courtier, and that he should inform His Majesty of it all and beg him to grant him favours. As soon as the Comendador Mayor saw the letter of his wife he was very pleased with it, and as he was the most intimate friend of our Lord the Emperor that there was, or had been in our times, he took the letter itself to His Majesty of Glorious Memory, and on his own behalf entreated him to favour him [Cortés] in all things, and this His Majesty did, as I shall relate further on.

Some time after Cortés had arrived at the Court, the Duque de Bejar and the Admiral told Cortés himself in sport, that they had heard His Majesty say, when he knew that he [Cortés] had come to Castile, that he was

desirous to see and know personally one who had rendered him so many great services, and of whom they had related so many iniquities that he had perpetrated with craft and cunning.

After Cortés's arrival at Court, His Majesty had quarters allotted to him, while the Duque de Bejar on his own part, and that of the Conde de Aguilar and other great Lords his relations, sallied forth to receive him, showing him much honour. Next day by His Majesty's permission he went to kiss his royal feet, taking in his company as mediators, so as to dignify him the more, the Admiral of Castile, the Duque de Bejar and the Comendador Mayor de Leon.

After Cortés had asked leave to speak, he knelt on the ground and His Majesty bade him rise, then he set forth his many services and all that had happened in the conquests, and the journey to Honduras, and the plots hatched in Mexico by the Factor and Veedor, and related all that he could call to mind, and as it was a very long story, so as not to weary him with other matters, he said: "Your Majesty must be tired with listening to me, and for so great an Emperor and monarch of all the world as is your Majesty, it is not fitting that a vassal such as I should be so daring, and as my tongue is not accustomed to converse with your Majesty, it may be that my meaning is not expressed with that proper respect that I ought to show. I have here a memorandum in which your Majesty can note, if so inclined, all the events in detail as they happened." Then he fell on his knees to kiss his feet for the favour he had deigned to show him in having listened. Then our Lord the Emperor bade him rise, and the Admiral and the Duque de Bejar said to His Majesty that he was worthy of great favour, and he [the Emperor] created him Marques del Valle and caused certain pueblos to be

bestowed upon him, and further ordered him to be invested with the insignia of Santiago, and as they did not assign revenues with them he kept silent at the time; I do not well know in what manner [it was arranged]. He also appointed him Captain General of New Spain and the South Sea. Then Cortés again bowed down to kiss his royal feet, and His Majesty once more bade him rise.

A few days after he had received these great favours Cortés fell ill and was so exhausted that they thought he would die, and the Duque de Bejar and the Comendador Mayor, Don Francisco de los Cobos, entreated His Majesty that, as Cortés had rendered him such distinguished services, he would go to visit him at his lodging before he died, and His Majesty went attended by Dukes, Marquesses and Counts, and by Don Francisco de los Cobos, and visited him, and it was a very great favour and as such it was looked on by the Court.

Later on when Cortés was recovered, one Sunday when His Majesty was already in the Cathedral attended by Dukes, Marquesses and Counts, and they were seated in their places according to the style and rank by which among them they were accustomed to take their seats, Cortés arrived rather late at Mass, on purpose, and, as he was considered such an intimate of His Majesty, and the Conde de Nasao and the Duque de Bajar and the Admiral held him in favour, he passed in front of some of those illustrious noblemen with his mourning train held up, and went to seat himself near the Conde de Nasao who had his seat nearest to the Emperor. And when he was seen to pass in front of those great and illustrious noblemen without apology, they murmured at his great presumption and daring and considered it disrespectful, and they could not credit him with the good manners he was reputed to possess. Among these Dukes

and Marquesses was the Duque de Bejar and the Admiral of Castile and the Conde de Aguilar, and they answered that this was not to be attributed to want of consideration on the part of Cortés, because His Majesty, in order to honour him, had commanded him to sit near the Conde de Nasao, and moreover, His Majesty ordered them to mark and take note that Cortés and his companions had conquered so many countries that all Christendom was beholden to him, while they had inherited the position they held for services which had been performed by their ancestors, and because Cortés was betrothed to his [the Duque de Bejar's] niece, His Majesty directed him to be honoured.

To return to Cortés, I must state that finding himself so exalted by his intimacy with our Lord the Emperor and with the Duque de Bejar, the Conde Nasao and even the Admiral, and that he already had the title of Marquis, he began to hold himself in such high esteem that he was not as attentive as he should have been to those who had favoured him and helped him towards His Majesty's conferring the Marquisate on him, neither to the Cardinal Fray Garcia de Loaysa, nor to Cobos nor to the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, nor to the Members of the Royal Council of the Indies, for all were neglected. All his attentions were for the Duque de Bejar, the Conde de Nasao and the Admiral, thinking that the game was well started by his being intimate with such great noblemen, and he began to beg His Majesty, with much persistence, to bestow the Government of New Spain on him, and on this account he again recited his services and [said] that if he were governor he would undertake the discovery of very rich islands and countries in the South Sea, and he placed himself at his service with many ceremonious expressions. He even employed again as mediators the Conde de Nasao and the Duque de Bejar,

and the Admiral, and His Majesty answered that he should be content with having been given the Marquisate with the highest revenue, that he must also reward those who had helped him to acquire the country, for, as they had conquered it, they were worthy of enjoying it. From this time on the intimacy he enjoyed [with His Majesty] began to wane, for, according to what many say, the Cardinal, who was President of the Royal Council of the Indies, and most of the other noblemen who were consulted by His Majesty about the affairs and rewards of Cortés, were of opinion that he should not be made Governor; others say that the Comendador Mayor and the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza were somewhat opposed to him, because he paid little attention to them. Anyhow, for one reason or the other, our Lord the Emperor would not listen to him any more however much he was importuned about the Government.

Presently His Majesty went to Barcelona to embark for Flanders, and many Dukes, Marquises, Counts, and great noblemen accompanied him, and Cortés himself went as far as Barcelona, already bearing his title of Marquis, and he was constantly urging those Dukes and Marquises to intercede with His Majesty to bestow the Government on him, and His Majesty in reply bade the Conde de Nasao not to speak to him again on that subject, for he had given him [Cortés] a Marquisate with greater revenue than he the Conde de Nasao possessed with all his rank.

Let us leave His Majesty embarked on a prosperous voyage, and return to Cortés and some of the grand festivals arranged for his nuptial ceremony, and the rich jewels which he gave to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga his wife, which were of such quality, according to what some say who had seen them and their preciousness, that more valuable ones had never existed in Castile. Our

Lady the most serene Empress Doña Ysabel wished to possess some of them on account of what the lapidaries told her, and it is said regarding certain pieces which Cortés had presented to her, that he had made a mistake, or he did not intend giving her some of the most precious, such as those he gave to his wife Doña Juana de Zuñiga.

I must stop calling to mind other things that happened to Cortés in Castile during the time he remained at Court, where he made ostentation with much festivity, and according to what persons say who came from there and had been in his company, there were rumours that Our Lady the most Serene Empress Doña Ysabel was not so well disposed regarding the affairs of Cortés as when first he arrived at Court, as she had found out that he had been ungrateful to the Cardinal and the Royal Council of the Indies, and even to the Comendador Mayor de Leon and to the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, and she got to know he possessed other very rich [precious] stones, better than those he had given to her; notwithstanding all this that was reported to her she ordered the members of the Royal Council of the Indies to assist him in every way. Then Cortés agreed to send, for a given number of years, at his own expense, two ships of war to the South Sea, well found and with sixty soldiers and captains with all kinds of arms, to discover Islands and other countries, and that for whatever he might discover he should be granted certain favour; these contracts I will pass over, for I do not now remember them.

At that time Don Pedro de la Cueva, Comendador of Alcántara, brother of the Duque de Albuquerque, was at Court, and this gentleman was he whom His Majesty had sent to New Spain with a great escort of soldiers to cut off Cortés's head if he should find him guilty, and the heads of any other persons who had done any disservice to His Majesty, and when he saw Cortés

and knew that His Majesty had created him a Marquis and that he was about to be married to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga, he was greatly rejoiced at it, and daily meetings took place between Don Pedro de la Cueva and the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés, and he told Cortés that, if by chance he should have gone to New Spain and taken the soldiers His Majesty commanded him, however loyal and justified he had found him to be, he [Cortés] would have had to pay the cost of the soldiers and even of his own journey, a matter of more than three hundred thousand pesos, so that he [Cortés] did better by presenting himself before His Majesty. They held many other conversations which I will not relate here, about which persons who were present at them wrote to us from Castile, as well as all the other matters mentioned by me in the chapter that treats of it. Besides, our proctors wrote whole chapters on the subject, and even the Marquis himself mentioned the great rewards he obtained from His Majesty, but he did not give the reason why he was not given the Government.

Let us leave this and I will relate how a few days after he was made a Marquis he sent to Rome to kiss the sanctified feet of our Holy Father Pope Clement, for Adrian, who protected us, had been dead three or four years. He despatched a gentleman named Juan de Herrada as his ambassador, and with him he sent a rich present of precious stones and jewels of gold and two Indians dextrous at juggling the stick with the feet, and he reported to him his arrival in Castile, and [mentioned] the countries he had conquered and the services he had rendered to God in the first place and to our great Emperor, and he gave him a full account in a Memorial of those countries, how very extensive they were, and what was their nature, and how all the Indians were idolators and had become Christians, and many

other things which it was proper to mention to our Holy Father. As I did not get to know in detail how this matter ended, I will stop writing about it here, and even this, which I here relate, we came to know later on from Juan de Herrada himself, when he returned from Rome to New Spain, and we learned that he was sent to beg our most Holy Father to remit part of the tithes. In order that curious readers may fully understand—this Juan de Herrada was a good soldier who had gone in our company on the expedition to Honduras when Cortés went, and after his return from Rome he went to Peru, and Don Diego de Almagro appointed him as tutor to his son, the youth Don Diego, and he was most intimate with Don Diego Almagro, who was chief of those who killed Don Francisco Pizarro the elder, and was afterwards Maestre de Campo[1] to Almagro the younger, and was present when he gave battle to Vaca de Castro, when Don Diego Almagro the younger was defeated. To return to what happened to Juan de Herrada in Rome—after he had been to kiss the sainted feet of His Holiness, he presented the gifts which Cortés sent to him,[2] and the Indians who juggled the stick with their feet, and His Holiness greatly appreciated them, and said that he thanked God that such great countries had been discovered in his days, and such numbers of people had embraced our holy faith, and he ordered processions to be made and all to give thanks and praise to God for it, and he said that Cortés and all of us his soldiers had rendered great service, first of all to God, and then to our Lord the Emperor Don Carlos and to all Christendom, and that we were worthy of great reward.

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[1] Quarter-master.

[2] This may have been the occasion on which the Masks mentioned in the Appendix to Vol. I. were presented to Pope Clement VII.

Then he sent us a Bull to absolve us from the blame and punishment of all our sins, and other indulgencies for the Hospitals and Churches, and general pardons, and he approved of all Cortés had accomplished in New Spain in accordance and conformity with what his predecessor Pope Adriano had done, and he wrote to Cortés in answer to his letter, but what was contained in it [his reply] I do not know, for as I have already said it was from this Juan de Herrada and from a soldier named Campo, when they returned from Rome, that I learned what I here write down. According to what they say, after he had been in Rome ten days and had taken the Indians, who were master jugglers with the stick on their feet, before His Holiness and the consecrated Cardinals, who were delighted at the show, His Holiness did Juan de Herrada the honour to make him Conde Palatino, and ordered him a certain number of ducats for his return journey, together with a letter of recommendation to our Lord the Emperor that he should appoint him his Captain, and give him good Indians in assignment. As Cortés no longer held command in New Spain and did not give him any of the things which the Holy Father commanded, he [Herrada] went to Peru, where he became a Captain.

BOOK XVI.

THE RULE OF THE AUDIENCIA.

CHAPTER CXCVI.

How during the time Cortés was in Castile with the title of Marquis, the Royal Audiencia came to Mexico, and with what it was busied.

WHILE Cortés was in Castile bearing the title of Marquis, at that time the Royal Audiencia arrived in Mexico according to His Majesty's orders, as I have already stated in the former chapter which deals with the subject. There came as President Nuño de Guzman, who used to be Governor in Panuco, and four Licentiates as Oidores,[1] whose names were Matienzo, said to be a native of Biscay or the neighbourhood of Navarre, and Delgadillo of Granada and one Maldonado of Salamanca (this was not the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado the Good who was governor of Guatemala), and there came the Licentiate Parada who used to be formerly in the Island of Cuba.

When these four Oidores arrived at Mexico, after they

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[1] Oidor = Judge or Assessor of the Audiencia.

had been given a great reception on their entry into the City, within fifteen or twenty days of their coming they showed themselves to be thoroughly capable of executing justice, and they brought greater powers than were ever afterwards given to Presidents or Viceroys of New Spain, and this was in order to carry out the perpetual assignment [of Indians], giving preference to the Conquistadores and conferring great rewards on them, for so His Majesty had commanded.

They at once gave notice of their arrival to all the cities and towns which at that time were settled in New Spain, so that they could send Proctors with records and tithe accounts of the pueblos of Indians in each province, so as to make the assignment perpetual. Within a few days there gathered together in Mexico the Proctors from all the cities and towns and even from Guatemala, besides many other Conquistadores.

At that time I was [present] in the City of Mexico as Proctor and Syndic of the town of Coatzacoalcos, where I was then a settler, and when I saw what the President and Oidores required I went post haste to our town for the election of those who should come as Proctors to see to the perpetual assignment. When I arrived, there was a good deal of difficulty about choosing who should go, for some settlers wished their friends to go, and others would not permit it, and as the result of the voting Captain Luis Marin and I were chosen.

When we reached Mexico, nearly all the Proctors of most of the towns and cities who were gathered together demanded the perpetual assignment according to His Majesty's commands.

However, by that time Nuño de Guzman, Matienzo and Delgadillo had already changed their minds, and the other two Oidores Maldonado and Parada had died of pleurisy soon after arriving in the City (and if Cortés

had been there, as there are always evil-minded persons about, they would have denounced him and would have said that he had killed them). To go back to my story, many persons who were very well informed say that it was the Factor Salazar who was the cause of their changing their minds and not making the assignment as His Majesty had ordered, for he became such an intimate friend of Nuño de Guzman and of Delgadillo that they did nothing but what he ordered, and whatever he advised they conceded, so that all came to a standstill. What they [the Oidores] advised was that he [Nuño de Guzman] should on no account grant a perpetual assignment, for if he did so they [the Audiencia] would lose their authority, and the Conquistadores and settlers would not hold them in such high esteem if it were said that he [Nuño de Guzman] could neither deprive them of Indians or grant more than those he should then allot them; but [acting] otherwise he would always have them under his thumb, and could give or take away [Indians] from whomsoever he pleased, and they [the Audiencia] would become very rich and powerful.

It was also arranged between the Factor and Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo that the Factor himself should go to Castile to obtain the Government of New Spain for Nuño de Guzman, for they already knew that Cortés was not so much in favour with His Majesty as when he first went to Castile, and it [the Government] had not been granted to him, notwithstanding all the intercessors whom he induced to plead with His Majesty to give it to him.

When the Factor embarked in a ship named "La Sornosa," it went ashore in a great storm on the coast of Coatzacoalcos, and he was saved in a boat and returned to Mexico, and his journey to Castile never took place.

Let us leave this and I will relate that what Nuño de Guzman and Matienzo and Delgadillo were engaged

on, as soon as they arrived in Mexico, was in taking the Residencia of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, which he rendered very well. If he [Estrada] had proved himself as much a man as we believed him to be, he might have assumed the Governorship, for His Majesty had not dismissed him from the Government, on the contrary (as I have stated in the last chapter), an order had come from His Majesty a few months earlier that the Treasurer should be sole Governor, and not jointly with Gonzalo de Sandoval (who has often been mentioned by me before), and he [His Majesty] had approved of the Assignments which he [the Treasurer] had previously given; and he [His Majesty] did not name Nuño de Guzman in the Decrees otherwise than as President and Assessor in conjunction with the Oidores, and in addition to this, if he [the Treasurer] had taken charge of the Government himself, all the settlers in Mexico, and we Conquistadores who at that time were in the City, would have been in his favour, for we knew that His Majesty had not deprived him of the office he held, and besides we saw that during the time he governed he did justice and had a great good will and much zeal to comply with what His Majesty ordered. Within a few days he died of vexation at it [missing his opportunity].

I must cease speaking of this and relate that what the Royal Audiencia next set about doing was to act in antagonism to the affairs of the Marquis, and they sent to Guatemala to take the Residencia of Jorge de Alvarado, and there went [to do it] one Orduña the elder, a native of Tordesillas, but what happened at the Residencia I do not know.

Then they presented many claims against Cortés through the public prosecutor, and the Factor Salazar on his own account made other claims against him, and the depositions which they brought into Court were

drawn up with very great disrespect and very mischievously worded, and in these depositions they stated that Cortés was a tyrant and traitor who had done many injuries to His Majesty, and many other evil things so malicious that the Licentiate Juan Altamirano (already mentioned by me, who was the person with whom Cortés had left his power of Attorney when he went to Castile) rose to his feet in the Court itself and, doffing his cap, said, with much respect to the President and Oidores, that he prayed his Excellency to order the Factor Salazar to say in the depositions what was respectful, and not permit him to say of the Marquis, who was an upright gentleman and a faithful servant of His Excellency, such malicious and evil words, and that he demanded proper justice. What the Licentiate Altamirano entreated them there in the Court was of no avail, for the Factor had prepared for the following day other most disgraceful depositions, and matters came to such a pass that over these depositions the Licentiate Altamirano and the Factor, there in the presence of the President and Oidores, quarrelled, using evil and offensive terms to one another, and Altamirano drew a dagger and was going to stab the Factor had not Nuño de Guzman and Matienzo and Delgadillo prevented him.

The whole city was at once in a state of disturbance because they had taken the Licentiate Altamirano as a prisoner to the Arsenal, and the Factor to his lodgings, and we Conquistadores went to the President to intercede for Altamirano, and within three days they released him from the prison and we made him and the Factor friends.

Let us leave this disturbance, which was already quieted and friendship restored, and go on ahead, for another greater storm soon broke. This was that there had now arrived here in Mexico a relation of Captain

Pánfilo de Narvaez called Zaballos, whom the wife of Narvaez, named Maria de Valenzuela, had despatched from Cuba in search of her husband Narvaez, who had gone as Governor to the Rio de Palmas, for she had already heard a report that he was lost or dead. He [Zaballos] brought power of Attorney to take possession of his [Narvaez's] properties wherever they might be found, believing that they had been brought to New Spain.

When this Zaballos arrived in Mexico (according to what Zaballos said, and what was rumoured), Nuño de Guzman and Matienzo and Delgadillo persuaded him secretly to lodge a claim and complaint against all the Conquistadores who had joined with Cortés to defeat Narvaez when he lost his eye and when his property was burned. He also demanded [compensation for] the deaths of those who there died.

When Zaballos had made his complaint as they had instructed him, with long declarations about it, they arrested nearly all the Conquistadores who happened to be in the city and were proved to have participated, who numbered more than three hundred and fifty. They also arrested me, and they sentenced us [to a fine of] so many pesos de oro of Tepusque, and they banished us five leagues from Mexico, but they soon repealed the banishment, and even from many of us they never collected the money of the judgment, for it was a small sum. Following this disturbance the persons who hated Cortés made another claim on him, which was that he had carried off much gold and silver and jewels of great value which were acquired in the capture of Mexico, and even the personal treasure of Guatemoc, and gave no share of it to the Conquistadores except eighty pesos, and had sent it in his own name to Castile saying that he thereby served His Majesty, and that he kept the

greater part of it and did not send it all, and what he sent was stolen at sea by Juan Florin a Frenchman or pirate who was hanged at the port of El Pico, as I have related in former chapters, and that Cortés was bound to repay all that Juan Florin stole as well as what he had hidden. They also advanced other claims and all were [decided against him], and they sentenced him to make payment with his possessions, and they sold them. Moreover they found a way and contrived that a certain Juan Juarez, a brother-in-law of Cortés, already often mentioned by me, should publicly enter an action in the Courts about the death of his sister Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda, which he brought forward in the Court as he had been ordered to do, and he called witnesses who said how and in what way her death took place. On top of this another complication ensued, which was that when they brought the claim against Cortés, which I have mentioned, for the personal treasure of Guatemoc and the gold and silver which was captured in Mexico, many of us who were friends of Cortés came together, with the permission of an Alcalde, in the house of one Garcia Holguin, and signed [a statement] that we declined to share in those claims for the gold or the personal treasure, nor as far as we were concerned should Cortés be compelled to pay anything on account of it, and we said that we knew certainly and clearly that he sent it to His Majesty, and we approved of his doing that service to our Lord and King. When the President and the Oidores saw that we were presenting petitions about this they ordered us all to be arrested, saying that without their permission we should not have met together or signed anything, but when they saw the permission [given] by the Alcalde, although they banished us five leagues from Mexico, they soon repealed the banishment, for all that we looked on it as a great hardship and grievance.

Soon after this, a proclamation was issued ordering all descendants within the fourth generation from parents or ancestors who were Jews, Moors, or such persons as had been burned or executed by the Holy Inquisition, to leave New Spain within six months, on pain of the loss of half their property.

It was interesting to watch the accusations made at that time, for each one informed against the other and impeached the other's statements. However, two only left New Spain, one a shop-keeper of Vera Cruz, and the other a Notary of Mexico, and within a year the Notary brought a license to remain in New Spain and married off a daughter whom he had brought from Castile, for he alleged that he had rendered service to His Majesty.

In spite of all these things which the President and Oidores did so perversely, they were not such strict rulers that they carried out [their decisions] with rigour, nor gave sentence except for a few pesos of low grade gold, called Tepuzque, which they even neglected to collect from those who did not [voluntarily] pay it. To the Conquistadores they were very kind, and fulfilled His Majesty's commands in so far as to give Indians to the true Conquistadores, and to none of them did they fail to give Indians, even when [such grants] were suspended, and they conferred many favours on them. What was their undoing was the excessive license they granted for branding slaves,[1] for they granted licenses to deceased persons, and the servants of Nuño de Guzman and of Delgadillo and Matienzo sold these. Then in the case of Panuco they branded so many that they went near to depopulating the province. Furthermore they did not reside in their offices nor take their seats in Court every

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "for had they long remained in office New Spain would have been ruined."

day as they were bound to do, [but] went about to banquets, and indulged in love-making and gambling, and some of them were embarrassed by it.[1] Nuño de Guzman, who was generous and of noble rank, sent as a Christmas present a warrant for a pueblo called Guazpaltepeque to the accountant Albornoz, who had arrived a few days before from Castile and came married to a lady named Doña Catalina de Loayza. Rodrigo de Albornoz also brought a license from His Majesty to set up a factory for making sugar at a pueblo called Cempoala, which town was a few years later destroyed.

To go back to our story, Nuño de Guzman bestowed these franchises and branded many Indians as slaves, and gave many annoyances to Cortés, and it was said of the Licentiate Delgadillo that he caused Indians to be given to persons who contributed certain amounts and became his partners, also that he appointed his brother, named Berrio, Chief Alcalde of the town of Oaxaca, and his brother was detected in taking bribes and caused many injuries to the settlers. It was also found out that he had appointed to the townships of the Zapotecs another deputy named Delgadillo like himself, who was also found to accept bribes and perpetrate injustice.

As for the Licentiate Matienzo, he was an old man, and they asserted of him that his vice was drinking too much wine, and that he went too often to the orchards to hold banquets, taking with him three or four convivial men who were hard drinkers, and, when they were all seated and comfortable, that one of them took a wine bag of wine and from afar off with this same wine bag made a cry such as they [use to] call the hawks to the lure, and the old man went as though his wings were clipped to the

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "many days at it."

wine bag and pricked it and drank from it. They also made a charge against him that they spent a whole week and several feast days in dicing, and that Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo and Matienzo were the umpires at it, and greatly preferred dicing to sitting in Court, and they even suspected that many of the [winning] numbers fell to those whom they wished to favour.

There were so many complaints lodged against them, with proofs and even letters from Bishops and ecclesiastics, that when His Majesty and the Lords of the royal Council of the Indies saw the reports and letters which were brought against them, he [His Majesty] promptly ordered that the whole Royal Audiencia should be completely removed without delay, and that they should be punished, and another President and Oidores be appointed who were to be learned and honourable, and fair in doing justice. He also ordered that they should at once go to the province of Panuco to enquire how many thousand slaves had been branded. Matienzo himself went by His Majesty's orders, for this elderly Oidor had fewer charges against him and was a better judge than the others. Furthermore, the licenses which had been issued for branding slaves were declared invalid, and all the irons used for branding were ordered to be destroyed, and from this time onwards no more slaves were to be made, and it was even ordered that a list should be compiled of all those [slaves] which there were in New Spain, so that they should not be sold nor moved from one province to another.

In addition to this he [His Majesty] decreed that all the allotments and assignments of Indians which Nuño de Guzman and the other Oidores had given to relations or hangers on, or to their friends or other persons, were worthless, and immediately, without further argument,

should be taken from them and given to the persons whom His Majesty had ordered to have them.

I should like to call to mind here what lawsuits and arguments arose over this annulment of the Encomiendas of Indians which Nuño de Guzman together with the Oidores had granted. Some protested that they were Conquistadores who were not, others that they were settlers of so many years standing, and that, if they visited or were accustomed to enter the house of the President and Oidores, it was in order to do them service and honour, and to be with them and do what they were ordered by them in matters which were necessary for His Majesty's service, and that they did not enter their houses as servants or hangers on. Each one defended and alleged what was most to his profit, and affairs so turned out that very few of those to whom they had given Indians were deprived of them, except those that I will now mention :—the pueblos of Guazpaltepeque [were taken] from the accountant Rodrigo de Albornoz, to whom Nuño de Guzman had given them as a Christmas present; they also deprived Villaroel, the husband of Ysabel de Ojeda, of another pueblo of Cuernavaca, and they also took away those of a Mayordomo of Nuño de Guzman named Villegas, and of other relations and servants of these same Oidores; some [however] kept them.

When this news which came from Castile was known in Mexico, that the whole of the Royal Audiencia was entirely dismissed, what Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo and Matienzo set about doing was at once to send Proctors to Castile to defend their affairs with evidence of witnesses, whom they intended to select as they pleased, in order that they might say that they were very good Judges and carried out His Majesty's commands, and [give] other assurances to which it would be useful to give utterance, so that in Castile they might be considered good Judges.

Then, in order to choose the persons who should go with authority to represent them, and to discuss matters which were of importance to that city and to New Spain and its Government, they ordered all of us Proctors who held authority from the cities and towns, who happened to be in Mexico at the time, together with certain Conquistadores, persons of quality, to assemble together in the cathedral church, and they expected that we should by our votes choose the Factor Salazar to go as Proctor to Spain. As I have already said before, although Nuño de Guzman, Matienzo and Delgadillo committed some irregularities mentioned by me previously, on the other hand they had been very good to all the Conquistadores and settlers in the matter of giving us Indians who were unemployed, and, relying on this, they thought that we should vote for the Factor, who was the person they wished to send in their name.

When we were assembled in the principal Church of the City, as we were ordered, so great were the cries, confusion and disorder made by a number of persons who had not been summoned on that business, but who entered by force into the church, that although we ordered them to get out of it they would not do so nor even be silent, and finally they shouted as it were in concert. When we saw this we cleared out of the Church and went to tell the President and Oidores that we would postpone it [the election] until next day, and that in the house of the President himself, where the Royal Audiencia meets, we would choose whom we thought advisable. Later on, as it seemed to us they wished us to name only persons who were friends of Nuño de Guzman and Delgadillo and Matienzo, we agreed that one person should be chosen on behalf of the Oidores themselves and the other on behalf of Cortés, and Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia was named on behalf of Cortés, and on behalf

of the Oidores, one Antonio Caravajal, who was a Captain of the launches. However it occurred to me at the time that both Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia and Caravajal were much more favourable to the affairs of Nuño de Guzman than to those of Cortés, and they had cause for it, because they [the Audiencia] treated us better and carried out part of His Majesty's orders about giving us Indians, which Cortés never did, although he had been able to give them more easily than anyone during the time he held the Government. Yet as we Spaniards are very loyal, and Cortés had been our Captain, we had more affection for him than he had inclination to do us a good turn, notwithstanding His Majesty's orders to do so, when as Governor he was well able.

When those named by me had already been chosen, other disputes arose about the instructions they were to take with them, for [some] said to the President that it was due to the service of God and of His Majesty and met with the approval of all the Proctors that Cortés should not return to New Spain, for if he were in the country there would always be factions and revolts and no good governors, and perchance he might rise in rebellion. Most of us Proctors contradicted this and [maintained] that he was a very loyal and faithful servant of His Majesty.

At that time Don Pedro de Alvarado, who had come from Castile, arrived in Mexico, and brought with him [the appointment as] Governor of Guatemala and Adelantado, and Comendador of [the order of] Santiago, and he was married to a Lady named Doña Francisca de la Cueva, but that lady died as soon as she arrived at Vera Cruz. Then, as I have said, he reached Mexico, he and all his servants in deep mourning. As soon as he understood the accusations which they were sending on behalf of the President and Oidores, he took steps

that he, the Adelantado, and the other Proctors and some of the Conquistadores should write to His Majesty about all that the Royal Audiencia were attempting to do. When the Proctors already named by me went to Castile with the instructions and charges as to what they were to ask, the Royal Council of the Indies understood that all was aimed against Cortés through passion, and they did not care to do anything agreeable to Nuño de Guzman or the other Oidores, for it had been decreed by His Majesty that they should at once be deprived of their offices.

Moreover, at this time when all was going against him, Cortés was in Castile and stood up for his honour and his position, and he got ready to come to New Spain with the Señora Marquesa his wife and household, and, while he is on the way, I will relate how Nuño de Guzman proceeded to settle the province of Jalisco and succeeded in doing it much better than Cortés, as regards the discoveries he sent to make, as will be seen later on.

CHAPTER CXCVII.

How Nuño de Guzman, [when he] learned from letters which came to him from Castile that His Majesty had ordered him to be deprived of the Presidency, and the Oidores [to be dismissed], and that others would come in their places, decided to go and bring to peace and conquer the province of Jalisco which is now called New Galicia.

WHEN Nuño de Guzman knew through certain letters that he was to be deprived of the office of President, and the Oidores [of theirs], and that other Oidores were coming, and as Nuño de Guzman was still President at that time, he collected all the soldiers he was able, both horsemen and musketeers and crossbowmen, to accom-

pany him to a province called Jalisco, and those who did not go willingly he bribed to go or [sent them] by force, or they had to pay money to other soldiers to go as substitutes, and if they possessed horses he seized them, and at most he paid them half what they were worth. The rich settlers in Mexico assisted as far as they were able,[1] and he took many Mexican Indians with him to help him, some as carriers, others as warriors, and he caused great annoyance in the pueblos through which they passed with his equipage, and they reached the province of Mechuacan as that was on their road.

The natives of that province in times past possessed much gold, and, although it was of low grade (because it was mixed with silver), they gave him a quantity of it. Then because Cazonzin, for so he was called, who was the principal Cacique of the province, did not give him as much gold as he demanded, he tortured him and burnt his feet. Moreover he demanded Indian men and women for his service, and, on account of other petty contentions which they brought against the poor Cacique, he hanged him, which was the wickedest and most brutal thing a President or any other person could do; all those who were in his company considered it ill done and cruel of him.

He took from that province many Indians with loads to where he founded the city now called Santiago de Compostela, at great expense to the Treasury of His Majesty and the settlers from Mexico whom he had brought by force.

I will leave it here, because I was not present on that march.[2] However I know for certain that Cortés and Nuño de Guzman were never on good terms, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "by force or willingly."
[2] Blotted out in the original: "nor knew what else happened."

I also know that Nuño de Guzman stayed without interruption in that province until His Majesty ordered them to send to Jalisco for him and to bring him as prisoner, at his own expense, to Mexico, to give an account of the claims and judgments given against him on the petition of Matienzo and Delgadillo before the Royal Audiencia, which had newly come at that time. I will leave him here in this situation and will relate how the Royal Audiencia arrived in Mexico and what it did.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.

How the Royal Audiencia arrived at Mexico, and what it very justly accomplished.

I HAVE already related in the last chapter how His Majesty ordered the dismissal of all the entire Royal Audiencia of Mexico, and annulled the assignments of Indians which the President and Oidores, who composed it, had granted, because they bestowed them on their relations and hangers-on, and other persons who did not deserve them ; and His Majesty ordered them to be taken away and given to the Conquistadores who held poor assignments.

Moreover, when it became known that they were not executing justice, nor carrying out his Royal Commands, he appointed other Oidores to come, who were men of learning and integrity, and charged them to do justice in all things.

There came as President Don Sebastian Ramíres of Villa Escusa, who at that time was Bishop of Santo Domingo, with four Licentiates as Oidores, namely, the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado of Salamanca, the Licentiate Zaynos of Toro or of Zamora, the Licentiate

Vasco de Quirova of Madrigal (who was afterwards Bishop of Mechuacan) and the Licentiate Salmeron of Madrid.

The Oidores arrived in Mexico before the Bishop of Santo Domingo, and two great receptions were given to the Oidores who came first, and also to the President who came a few days later. They at once ordered proclamation to be made of a General Residencia, and many settlers and proctors came from all the cities and towns, and even Caciques and chieftains, and they made so many complaints of the late President and Oidores, and of oppressions, briberies, and acts of injustice they had committed, that the President and Oidores who took their declarations were amazed. Moreover the agents of Cortés put in so many claims on account of the effects and property which had been forcibly sold at auction, as I have previously stated, that, if all that they claimed had been approved, it would have amounted to over two hundred thousand pesos de oro.

As Nuño de Guzman was in Jalisco and had no intention of coming to New Spain to render his accounts, Delgadillo and Matienzo, when their Residencia was taken, pleaded that all those claims which were advanced against them were chargeable against Nuño de Guzman, who as President had in fact given the orders, and they were not responsible for them, and that they should send for him to come to Mexico to answer the charges brought against him.

Although the Royal Audiencia had already sent a writ to Jalisco ordering him to appear personally in Mexico, he would not come, and the President and Oidores, so as not to throw New Spain into confusion, ignored it, but reported it to His Majesty and the Royal Council of the Indies, who on this account promptly sent a Licentiate named Fulano de la Torre, a native of Badajos, to take his Residencia in the province of Jalisco, and bring

him to Mexico and imprison him in the common goal. He was also commissioned to compel Nuño de Guzman to repay to us all the fines he had imposed on us Conquistadores over the affair of Narvaez and the matter of the signatures, when they made us prisoners, as I have related in the last chapter which speaks of it.

I will leave the Licentiate de la Torre getting ready to come to New Spain, and relate in what the Residencia resulted, and it was that they sold the property of Delgadillo and Matienzo to pay the fines which were imposed on them, and, for what they owed in excess and were not able to pay with their possessions, they were imprisoned in the public gaol.

A brother of Delgadillo, named Berrio, who was principal Alcalde in Oaxaca, they found guilty of having committed such injustice and bribery that they sold his property to repay those whom he had robbed, and imprisoned him on account of the claims he could not meet, and he died in prison. Much the same sentence was given against the other relation of Delgadillo, who was Alcalde Mayor of the Zapotecs, who was also named Delgadillo like his relation, and he died in the prison. Truly the newcomers were good and upright Judges in doing justice, who gave no decisions except only as God and His Majesty commanded, and in letting the Indians understand that they would be protected and well taught in our holy doctrine.

In addition to this they at once stopped the branding of slaves and did other good deeds. As the Licentiate Salmeron and the Licentiate Zaynos were old men, they agreed to send and beg permission of His Majesty to return to Castile, and because they had already stayed four years in Mexico, and were rich and had served in the offices to which they had been appointed, His Majesty sent them permission [to leave] after they had rendered their accounts, which they did very well.

The President Don Sebastian Ramírez, who at that time was Bishop of Santo Domingo, also went to Castile, for His Majesty sent to summon him to inform him about affairs in New Spain, and to appoint him President of the Royal Chancery of Granada; and after a certain time he was sent to Valladolid, and, when he arrived there, was given the Bishopric of Tuy. Within a few days that of Leon became vacant and that also was conferred on him, and he was President, as I have said, of the Chancery of Valladolid. Then at that moment the Bishopric of Cuenca became vacant and that was given him; thus one commission followed close upon the other, and because he was a just Judge he rose to the rank I have mentioned. At that time death called him, and it seems to me, according to our Holy Faith, that he is now in Glory with the blessed, for, from what I knew of him and the communication I had with him when he was President in Mexico, he was very just and upright in all things, and he had been the same before he was Bishop of Santo Domingo and Inquisitor in Seville.

I must return to my story, and relate of the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado that His Majesty ordered him to go to the Provinces of Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua as President and Governor, and in all respects he was a good and upright Judge and a faithful servant of His Majesty, and he even obtained the title of Adelantado of Yucatan by an agreement made with his father-in-law Don Francisco de Montejo. As for the Licentiate Quirova, he was so good and virtuous that they gave him the Bishopric of Mechuacan.

Let us stop talking about these who were prosperous on account of their virtues, and I will go on to say of Delgadillo and Matienzo that they went to their homes in Castile very poor men, and not with the best of reputations, and within two or three years they are said to have died.

By this time His Majesty had already commanded that most illustrious and excellent gentleman of praiseworthy memory, Don Antonio de Mendoza, brother of the Marques de Mondejar, to proceed to New Spain as Viceroy; and Doctor Quesada, a native of Ledesma, and the Licentiate Tejada of Logroño accompanied him as Oidores. The Licentiate Maldonado was then still Oidor, for he had not yet left to be President of Guatemala. There also came as Oidor an elderly Licentiate named the Licentiate Loaysa, a native of Ciudad Real, and as he was an old man he stayed three or four years in Mexico and saved up pesos de oro to get back to Castile, and he returned to his home.

A short time after followed a licentiate from Seville, called the Licentiate Santillana, who was afterwards a doctor, and all were very good judges. After they had been given a great reception on their entry to that great city, a Residencia general was proclaimed against the late President and Oidores, and they were all adjudged to be very upright and honourable, and to have acted in conformity with justice.

To go back to my story about Nuño de Guzman, who remained in Jalisco—as the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendosa came to know that His Majesty had ordered the Licentiate de la Torre to go and take his [Guzman's] Residencia in Jalisco and to imprison him in the common gaol, and make him pay the Marques de Valle what he was found to owe him, and also repay us Conquistadores the amount of the fines he had imposed on us over the Narvaez affair; intending to do him a kindness, and so as to avoid his being molested or insulted, he invited him to come to Mexico at once on parole, and assigned his [own] palace as a lodging for him. Nuño de Guzman did as he was told and came at once, and the Viceroy treated him with great distinction, and showed him favour and ate

with him. Just then the Licentiate de la Torre, whose name I have already mentioned, arrived in Mexico, bringing orders from His Majesty to arrest Nuño de Guzman at once and to do justice in all things. Although he announced it first of all to the Viceroy, who apparently showed less good will in the matter than he desired, he decided to remove him [Guzman] from his lodging with the Viceroy where he was staying, and declared loudly: "His Majesty has given his orders, thus this has to be done, and not otherwise," and he carried him off to the public gaol of the City. He was kept a prisoner for some days, until the Viceroy himself interceded for him and they let him out of prison.

While it was acknowledged that de la Torre had sufficiently strong courage not to fail in the execution of justice, and in very honestly taking the Residencia of Nuño de Guzman, as human perversity misses no opportunity to defame when it can do so, and it appears that the Licentiate de la Torre was rather addicted to play, especially to cards, (although he only played at "Triunfo" and "Primavera" for pastime), someone or other went on behalf of Nuño de Guzman and (as at that period it was customary to wear coats with big sleeves and lawyers in particular wore them) placed a pack of small cards in one of the sleeves of the Licentiate de la Torre's coat, and tied the sleeve so that it could not drop out. At the very moment when the Licentiate was walking through the Plaza of Mexico, accompanied by persons of quality, whoever it was who placed the cards in the sleeve found a way to loosen it, and the cards dribbled out a few at a time, and a trail of them was left on the ground of the Plaza where he was walking, and the persons accompanying him, when they saw the cards falling out in that way,[1] told him to look and see what

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "went along laughing at it."

he was carrying in the sleeve of his coat. When the Licentiate discovered the great trick he said in great anger, "It is easy to see that they do not wish that I should do justice honestly, but if I do not die I will do it so that His Majesty may hear of this disrespect that has been paid me," and within a few days he fell ill of fever, brooding over this and other things that had happened. He died, and the Royal Audiencia, together with the Viceroy, then promptly transferred the powers held by de la Torre to a gentleman named Francisco Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, who was a very intimate friend of the Viceroy, and everything was done as Nuño de Guzman wished in the Residencia which they held on him. This Francisco Vásquez Coronado some time later was made Captain for the conquest of Cibola, which at that time they called "The Seven Cities," and he left in his place as Governor of Jalisco one Cristóbal de Onate, a person of quality. Francisco Vásquez had been lately married to a lady who was a daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and, in addition to being talented, was very beautiful; and as he went to those cities of Cibola he had a great desire to return to New Spain to his wife. Some of the soldiers who were in his company said that he wished to copy the Greek Captain Ulysses, who when he was before Troy was crazy to go and enjoy his wife Penelope, so did Francisco Vásquez Coronado, who left the Conquest he had undertaken. He was attacked by incipient madness and returned to Mexico to his wife, and as they reproached him for having returned in that way, he died within a few days.

CHAPTER CXCIX.

How Don Hernando Cortés, Marques del Valle, came from Spain, married to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga, and with the title of Marques del Valle and Captain General of New Spain and of the South Sea, and about the reception given to him.

As Cortés had been a long time in Castile, and was already married, as I have said, and had the title of Marquis and Captain General of New Spain and the South Sea, he had a great desire to return to New Spain to his home and estate and Marquisate, and to take possession of his Marquisate; and, as he knew that Mexican affairs were in the condition that I have related, he hastened and embarked with all his household in certain ships, and meeting with good weather at sea he arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, where a great reception was given to him, and he at once went by way of some towns of his Marquisate, and on reaching Mexico he was given another reception, but not so great as he was accustomed to.

What he intended to do was to present his writ as Marquis and have himself proclaimed Captain General of New Spain and of the South Sea, and to demand of the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia the enumeration of his vassals. This seems to me to have been ordered by His Majesty, that he should count them, for, from what I understand when he was given the Marquisate, he petitioned His Majesty to grant him certain towns and pueblos with so many thousand tributary inhabitants; but because I do not know for certain about this I leave it to the gentlemen and other persons who are better informed about the lawsuits which have been brought over this matter; for, when the Marquis asked that grant of vassals from His Majesty, he was under the

impression that they would count each house of an inhabitant or Cacique or chieftain of those towns as one tributary, as though we should now say that grown up sons who were already married should not count, nor sons-in-law, nor the many other Indians who resided in every house for the service of the owner, but that only each householder [should count] as a tributary, whether or no he had many sons and sons-in-law, dependants or servants.

The Royal Audiencia of Mexico [appointed] an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia itself, named the Doctor Quesada, to go and make the count, and he began to count in this way :—the owner of each house as one tributary, and if he had grown up sons, each son as one tributary, and if he had sons-in-law, each son-in-law as one tributary; the Indians that he held in his service, even although they were slaves, counted each one as a tributary so that in many of the houses, ten, twelve or fifteen or more tributaries were counted. Cortés held, and so represented to, and demanded of, the Royal Audiencia, that each house was equivalent to one householder and should be counted as one tributary only. If, when the Marquis begged from His Majesty the grant of the Marquisate, he had explained that he should give him a town, such town with the householders and inhabitants it contained, His Majesty would have granted them, and the Marquis believed and felt sure that in demanding the vassals he had secured that object; however it turned out otherwise, so that there was never any lack of lawsuits, and on this account he was very dissatisfied with the doings of Doctor Quesada who went to make the enumeration, and friction was not wanting even with the Viceroy and the Royal Audiencia, and a report was made to His Majesty by the Royal Audiencia in order to ascertain the way in which the count was to be made.

The counting of the vassals was held in suspense for some years, and the Marquis always exacted his tributes from them without it.

To go back to my story. A few days after this had happened, he went from Mexico to a town of his Marquisate named Cuernavaca; he took the Marchioness with him and made his home there, and never again took her to the City of Mexico. In addition to this, as he had made a contract with the Serene Empress Doña Ysabel, our lady of glorious memory, and with the Royal Council of the Indies, that he would send fleets to the South Sea to discover new lands further on, all at his own cost, he began to build ships at the port of a town, which at that time belonged to his Marquisate, named Tehuantepec, and in the other ports of Zacatula and Acapulco; and the fleets which he sent I will tell about later on, for he had no luck in anything he put his hand to, for all turned to thorns, and Nuño de Guzman succeeded much better, as I will relate later on.

CHAPTER CC.

Of the expenditure which the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés incurred for the fleets which he sent on voyages of discovery, and how he had no good luck at all.

It is necessary to go far back in my story so that what I shall now say may be quite clear. At the time when Marcos de Aguilar was governing New Spain by virtue of the authority which the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon had left him when he died, as I have already stated many times, before Cortés went to Castile, [he], the Marquis del Valle, himself despatched four ships which he had built in a province named Zacatula, well supplied with provisions and artillery, with good sailors and fifty

soldiers and much merchandise and trifles from Castile for barter, and everything that was necessary for victuals, and biscuits for more than a year. And he sent with them as commander-in-chief a gentleman of birth named Álvaro de Sayavedra Zeron, with orders to lay his course for the Moluccas or Spice Islands or China, and this was by the command of His Majesty, which he had written to Cortés from the City of Granada on the twenty-second of June fifteen hundred and twenty-six, and because Cortés showed the letter itself to me and other Conquistadores, who were in his company, I say it and assert it here, and His Majesty even commanded Cortés to order the Captains whom he should send to go and search for a fleet which had sailed from Castile to China, with a certain Don Fray Garcia de Loayza, Knight Commander of the order of St. John of Rhodes, as Captain.

At the time when Sayavedra was getting ready for the voyage, a tender came into port on the coast of Tehuantepec which was one of those which had sailed from Castile with the fleet of this same Comendador whom I have mentioned; and one Ortuño de Lango, a native of Portugelate, came as Captain of this same tender. From this Captain and the pilots who came in the tender Álvaro de Sayavedra Zeron learned all that he wished to know, and he even carried off in his company a pilot and two sailors and paid them very well so that they might return again with him, and he took notes of the whole voyage they had made and of the courses which must be followed.

After he had issued the instructions and notices, which Captains and Pilots going on voyages of discovery are accustomed to give to their fleets, and had heard Mass and commended himself to God, they set sail from the port of Çiguatanejo, which is in the province of Colima or Zacatula—I do not clearly know which—and it was in

the month of December in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-seven or twenty-eight,[1] and it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to guide them so that they went to the Moluccas and other Islands. The hardships and dangers they passed through, and even the many of them who died on that voyage, I know nothing about, but I saw in Mexico, three years later, one of the sailors who had gone with Sayavedra, and he related things about those Islands and Cities where they went that astonished me. These were the Islands whither they now go from Mexico with a fleet to make discoveries and to trade. I have even heard it said that the Portuguese reside as Captains in them [the Islands] and arrested Sayavedra or his people and took them to Castile, or that His Majesty heard news of it; but it is many years ago, and I was not concerned in it beyond, as I have said, having seen the letter which His Majesty wrote to Cortés, so I will say no more about it.

I must now relate that in the month of May in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-two, after Cortés came from Castile, he despatched from the port of Acapulco another Armada of two ships, well found with all sorts of provisions, and with a full complement of sailors and artillery and goods for barter, and with eighty soldiers both musketeers and crossbowmen, and he sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendosa in command. These two ships he sent to explore the South coast and search for Islands and new lands, and the reason of it was that, as I have already said in the Chapter which treats of it, he had made a contract [to that effect] with the Royal Council of the Indies when His Majesty went to Flanders.

To return to the account of the voyage of the two ships,

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "I do not remember clearly which year it was."

it turned out that Captain Hurtado intended neither to search for Islands nor to go far out to sea, nor to do anything worth telling. More than half the soldiers he took with him mutinied, and went off with one ship, and it is even said that an arrangement was come to between the Captain and the mutineers to give them the ship, in which they could return to New Spain. This however can never be believed, that the Captain would give them permission, but [it is more likely] that they took it.

When they turned back they met with foul weather which drove them ashore, and they sprang a leak and with much difficulty got to Jalisco; they spread the news of it in Jalisco and thence the news flew to Mexico at which Cortés was much grieved.

Diego Hurtado always hugged the coast and nothing more was heard of him or his ship and he never appeared again. I must stop speaking about this Armada, for it was lost, and I will relate how Cortés promptly despatched two other ships which were already built in the port of Tehuantepec, provisioning them very fully both with bread and meat and all the necessaries which at this time could be obtained, and with much artillery and good sailors and seventy soldiers and certain things for barter; and [he appointed] as commander of them a gentleman of birth named Diego Beserra de Mendoza of the Beserras of Badajoz or Merida, and in the other ship one Hernando de Grijalva went as Captain, and this Grijalva was under the orders of Beserra. As chief pilot there went a Biscayan named Ortuño Ximénez, a great cosmographer.

Cortés ordered Beserra to go to sea in search of Diego Hurtado, and, if he could not find him, to go out as far as he could on the high seas and look for islands and new countries, for there was a report of rich islands and pearls, and the Pilot Ortuño Ximénez, when he was talking

to other pilots about things of the sea before they started on that voyage, said and promised to lead them to lands favoured by fortune with riches—[the Fortunate Islands], for so they called them—and said so much about how they would all become rich, that some persons believed it.

On the first night after they sailed from the port of Tehuantepec, a head wind arose which drove the two ships apart, and they never saw one another again. They could easily have come together again, for good weather at once set in, but that Hernando de Grijalva, so as not to be under the orders of Beserra, went at once out to sea and departed with his ship, for Beserra was very haughty and illconditioned, and that was the end of it, as I shall relate further on. Hernando de Grijalva also withdrew because he wished to gain honour for himself if he should discover some fine Island, and he went out to sea more than two hundred leagues and discovered an Island which he named San Tome, but it was uninhabited.

Let us leave Grijalva and his course, and I will relate what happened to Diego Beserra with the Pilot Ortuño Ximénez, which is that they quarrelled on the voyage, and, as Beserra was disliked by most of the soldiers who went in the ship, Ortuño conspired with other Biscayan sailors, and with the soldiers with whom Beserra had had words, to fall on him in the night and kill him ; this they did when he was asleep, and they despatched Beserra and some other soldiers, and had it not been for two Franciscan Friars, who went with that Armada, who separated them, worse evils would have happened. The Pilot Ximénez and his companions rose in rebellion with the ship and at the prayers of the Friars they were put ashore at Jalisco—both the Friars as well as some others who were wounded—and Ortuño Ximénez set sail and went to an Island which he named Santa Cruz,

where it was said that there were pearls, and it was inhabited by Indians who were like savages. When he went ashore the natives of that bay or Island were hostile and killed them, so that none escaped except the sailors who remained on the ship. When they saw that all had been killed, they returned to the port of Jalisco with the ship and told the news of what had happened, and certified that the land was good and well peopled and rich in pearls.[1]

This news soon reached Mexico, and when Cortés knew about it he was much grieved at what had happened,[2] and as he was a courageous man, and did not sit still under such results, he determined not to send more Captains but to go himself, and at that time he had already launched from the dockyard and into the harbour of Tehuantepec three ships of a good size. As they had brought the news to him that there were pearls where Ortuño Ximénez was killed, and because he always had it in his mind to discover great townships by the south sea, he wished to go and form a settlement, for so he had contracted with the most Serene Empress Doña Ysabel of glorious memory, as I have already related, and with the Royal Council of the Indies, when His Majesty went to Flanders.

When it was known in New Spain that the Marquis was

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "at which Nuño de Guzman was envious, and to find out if it were true that there were pearls, he thoroughly equipped this same ship that had brought the news, both with soldiers and Captain and supplies, and sent it to the same land to find out what it was like, and the Captain and soldiers whom he sent [soon] wished to return, for they found no pearls and nothing which the sailors had described, and they got back to Jalisco to stay in pueblos of his Encomienda and brought no news to Nuño de Guzman, and because at that time good gold mines were found in that land, for one reason and another they did nothing which was profitable."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "How that Nuño de Guzman should take the ship."

going in person, they thought that it was an affair of certainty and riches, and so many soldiers came to serve him, both horsemen, musketeers, and crossbowmen (and among them thirty or forty married men), that there joined him in all over three hundred and twenty persons including the married women. After thoroughly supplying the three ships with much biscuit, meat, and oil and even wine, and vinegar and other things necessary for food, he took a quantity of goods for barter, and three blacksmiths with their forges and two ships' carpenters with their tools, and many other things which I will not enumerate here so as to avoid delay, and engaged good and expert pilots and sailors. He ordered those who wished to go and embark at the port of Tehuantepec, where the three ships were lying, to start, and this [he did] so as not to carry so many impedimenta by land. He himself went from Mexico with Captain Andrés de Tápia and other Captains and soldiers, and took with him priests and monks who said Mass, and he took doctors and surgeons and pharmacy stores. When he reached the port whence they were to sail, the three ships which had come from Tehuantepec were already there, and, as soon as all the soldiers were united with their officers and ready to start, Cortés embarked with those who, it seemed to him, should go in the first passage to the Island or Bay which they had named Santa Cruz, where they said the pearls were, and after a prosperous voyage Cortés arrived at the Island; this was in the month of May in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-six or thirty-seven. He promptly sent off the ships so that they should return with the other soldiers and married women and horses which were left waiting with Captain Andrés de Tápia. These were at once embarked and sail set, and as they were going on their course a storm struck them, which drove them near to a great river which they named San Pedro and San Pablo. Then as the

weather moderated they continued their voyage, when another Tempest struck them and separated all three of the vessels. One of them reached the port of Santa Cruz where Cortés was stationed; another ran aground and was wrecked on the coast of Jalisco, and of the soldiers on board, who were very discontented with the voyage and the many hardships, some returned to New Spain and others stayed in Jalisco.

The other ship made port in the bay which they called Guayabal, and they gave it this name because there was much fruit there called Guayava, and, as she had grounded beam on, they were so long delayed that they could not get to where Cortés was stationed, and they were hourly expected, for they [the first arrivals] had run out of provisions, and the meat and biscuit and nearly all the food was in the ship which went ashore on the coast of Jalisco, and on this account Cortés as well as all the soldiers was very greatly distressed, for they had nothing to eat and the natives of that country do not grow maize, but are wild savages and uncivilised, and all they eat are fruits which grow there and fish and shell fish. Twenty-three of the soldiers who were with Cortés died of hunger and disease, and many more of them were ill, and they cursed Cortés and his Island, his Bay, and his discovery. When he saw this he decided to proceed in person with the ship which was there in harbour, with fifty soldiers and two blacksmiths and carpenters and three calkers, in search of the other two ships; for, from the [state of the] weather and the winds that had blown, he inferred that they must have been driven ashore, and in the course of his search of them he found one stranded, as I have stated, on the coast of Jalisco with no soldiers in her, and the other was near some reefs, and with great labour in repairing and calking them he returned to the Island of Santa Cruz with his three ships and the supplies.

The soldiers who were awaiting him, already weakened from not having eaten anything sustaining for many days past, ate so much meat that it gave them diarrhœa and so much sickness that the half of those who had remained behind died.

So as not to keep such horrors before his eyes Cortés went on to explore other lands and then came upon California, which is a bay. As Cortés was so weary he was wishing to get back to New Spain, however through obstinacy, so that they should not charge him with having expended great numbers of pesos de oro without finding any new lands of value, and having no luck in matters to which he put his hand, and on account of the soldiers,[1] he did not go.

At that very same time, as the Marquesa Doña Juana de Zuñiga, his wife, had received no news of him, and more than that one ship had gone ashore on the coast of Jalisco, she felt very anxious, thinking that he might be dead or lost, and she promptly sent two ships in search of him; one of these was the ship in which Grijalva, who had sailed with Beserra, had returned to New Spain, the other a new ship which they had just finished building in Tehuantepec, and these ships were laden with all the provisions which could be obtained at that time.

She sent as Captain of one of them a certain Fulano [Francisco] De Ulloa, and wrote most affectionately to the Marquis, her husband, praying him to return at once to Mexico to his estate and Marquisate, and to remember the sons and daughters he possessed, and cease to contend any more with fortune, but be content with the heroic deeds and the fame of his person which had spread everywhere. Thus too the most illustrious Viceroy Don

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and Conquistadores of New Spain."

Antonio Mendoza wrote to him most charmingly and affectionately, begging him to return to New Spain.

After a favourable passage these two ships arrived where Cortés was stationed, and, as soon as he saw the letters of the Viceroy and the entreaties of his wife the Marchioness and his children, he left Francisco de Ulloa as Captain with the people he had there, and all the provisions they had brought for him, and at once embarked and came to the port of Acapulco, and going ashore after a favourable journey he reached Cuernavaca where the Marchioness was living, which caused great rejoicing.

All the settlers in Mexico and the Conquistadores were delighted at his arrival, and even the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia, for there was report of a rumour current in Mexico that all the Caciques of New Spain, knowing that Cortés was not in the country, intended to revolt. Furthermore, all the soldiers came back whom he had left in those Islands or Bay called California, and I do not know how this return was effected or in fact why they returned, or whether the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia gave them permission to do so.

Within a few months, when Cortés was already somewhat rested, he despatched two other ships well supplied both with bread and meat, as well as other sailors and sixty soldiers and good pilots; and Francisco de Ulloa, mentioned by me before, went with them as Captain.

The reason why he sent these ships was because the Royal Audiencia expressly ordered him to send them in fulfilment of the contract with Her Majesty, as I have mentioned in former Chapters which treat of it.

To return to my story, which is, that they sailed from the Port of Natividad in the month of June in the year fifteen hundred and thirty odd, (this matter of the years I do not remember), and Cortés ordered the Captain to follow along the coast and finish the

circumnavigation of California, and endeavour to search for Captain Diego Hurtado, who never appeared again.

Ulloa occupied seven months on the voyage in going and coming, and I know he did nothing worth recording. He then returned to the port of Jalisco and, within a few days of his coming on shore to rest himself, one of the soldiers whom he had taken in his company lay in wait for him and dealt him sword thrusts and killed him.

The voyages and explorations made by the Marquis came to an end with what I have now related, and I have heard him say, even many times, that he had expended over three hundred thousand pesos de oro on fleets. In order that His Majesty should repay him something on account of it, and of the enumeration of his vassals, he decided to go to Castile, also to demand from Nuño de Guzman a certain sum of pesos de oro which the Royal Audiencia had decreed that he should pay[1] because he had ordered his [Cortés's] effects to be sold, for by this time Nuño de Guzman had gone to Castile as a prisoner.

If we think of it, in nothing at all did he [Cortés] have any luck after we had conquered New Spain.

CHAPTER CCI.

How great festivities and banquets were celebrated in Mexico and what rejoicing [took place] at the peace [made] between the Most Christian Emperor our Lord of Glorious Memory, and Don Francisco the King of France, when they met at Aguas Muertas.

IN the year thirty-eight [1538] news reached Mexico that the most Christian Emperor, our Lord of Glorious Memory,

[1] Blotted out in the original: "To Cortés."

went to France, and Don Francisco, the King of France, gave him a great reception at a port called Aguas Muertas, where peace was made, and the Kings embraced one another with great affection in the presence of Madam Leonor, the Queen of France, wife of this same king Don Francisco and sister of the Emperor, our Lord of Glorious Memory, and great solemnization and festivals took place on account of that peace.

In its honour, and by way of rejoicing over it, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the Marques del Valle and the Royal Audiencia and certain gentlemen of the Conquistadores held great festivals, and at that time the Marques del Valle and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had become friends, for they had been somewhat embittered over the counting of the vassals of the Marquisate, and because the Viceroy greatly favoured Nuño de Guzman in his refusal to pay the number of pesos de oro which he owed to Cortés from the time when Nuño de Guzman was President in Mexico. They decided to hold great festivals and rejoicings, and they were such that it seems to me I have not seen others of the same quality [even] in Castile, both as regards jousts and reed games, and bull fights, and the encounters of one party of horsemen with others, and other great representations which were [provided]. All this that I have mentioned is as nothing compared to the many other devices of other displays which were customary in Rome when the Consuls and Captains who had won battles entered in triumph, and the competitions and challenges connected with every event. The inventor who prepared these things was a Roman gentleman named Luis de Leon, a man said to be of the lineage of the Patricians who were natives of Rome. To return to our festival, it began with a wood made in the great Plaza of Mexico with a great variety of trees as natural as though they had grown there, and in

the middle some trees as though they had fallen down from old age and decay, and others covered with mould and little plants which seemed to grow out of them while from others hung a sort of down[1], again others in various ways so perfectly arranged that they were worth observing. Inside the wood were many deer, rabbits and hares, foxes and jackals, and many sorts of small animals native to the country, and two young lions and four small tigers, and they were confined within fences made within the wood itself, so that they could not escape until it was time to drive them out for the chase, for the native Mexican Indians are so ingenious in arranging these things that in the whole universe, according to what many say who have travelled all over the world, there have not been seen their like. On the trees there was a great diversity of small birds of all sorts, native to New Spain, which are so numerous and of so many breeds that it would make a long story had I to count them. There were other very dense groves somewhat apart from the wood, and in each of them a party of savages with their knotted and twisted cudgels, and other savages with bows and arrows, and they set off for the chase, for at that moment [the animals] were let out of the enclosures, and they ran after them through the wood and came out on to the great Plaza, and the killing of them led to a violent row between one lot of savages and the other, and it was worth seeing how they fought on foot with one another, and after they had fought for a short time they returned to their grove. Let us leave this, which was as nothing in comparison with the display made by cavaliers and negroes and negresses with their king and queen all on horseback, more than fifty[2] in number, and with the great riches which they carried on their persons

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[1] Either Barbas di Viejo = a lichen, or a Bromelia.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "one hundred and fifty."

of gold and precious stones, small pearls and silverwork, and they promptly attacked the savages and there was another dispute about the hunting.

It was wonderful to see the diversity of faces in the masks which they wore, and how the negresses suckled their negro children, and how they paid court to the queen.

After this, on the following morning, half this same Plaza had been turned into the City of Rhodes with its towers and battlements, loopholes and turrets, all fenced round, as natural as Rhodes itself, and one hundred knights commanders with their rich embroidered insignia of gold and pearls, many of them on horseback with short stirrups and lances and shields, and others with long stirrups, in order to break lances and pierce shields, and others on foot with their arquebuses, and the Marquis Cortés was their commander and the Grand Master of Rhodes. They brought in four ships with their main and foremasts and mizzens and sails so natural that many persons were astonished at seeing them go under sail across the Plaza and make three circuits of it, and let off so many cannon which they fired from the ships; and there were some Indians on board dressed to look like Dominican Friars when they came from Castile, some engaged in plucking chickens and others fishing.

Let us leave the Friars with their guns and trumpets, and I will go on to relate how two companies of Turks were placed in an ambuscade, most Turklike with rich silk robes all purple and scarlet and gold, and splendid hoods such as they wear in their country. All of them were on horseback, and they were in ambush ready to make a dash and carry off some shepherds and their flocks which were grazing near a fountain, and one of the shepherds who were guarding them took to flight and warned the Grand Master of Rhodes that the Turks

were carrying off the flocks and their shepherds. Then the Knights sallied forth and a battle was fought between them and the Turks, and they recaptured the flocks.

Then other squadrons of Turks came in from other directions and fell upon the Rhodians and fought other battles with the Knights, and many of the Turks were taken prisoners, and then a lot of fierce bulls were let loose so as to separate them.

Now I wish to tell about the many ladies, wives of the Conquistadores and other settlers in Mexico, who were at the windows of the Great Plaza, and the riches they wore of crimson and silk and damask and gold and silver and jewels, which was a splendid sight, and in other corridors were more ladies very richly adorned, whom gentlemen served with a splendid repast, which was provided for all those ladies both those at the windows and those in the corridors; and they served them marzipan, sweetmeats of citron, almonds and comfits, and others of marzipan with the arms of the Marquis, and others with the arms of the Viceroy, all gilded and silvered, and among them some containing a lot of gold without any other kind of sweets were distributed. About the fruits of the country I will not write here, for it is too lengthy a matter to relate. Besides all this there were the best wines obtainable, aloza,[1] chuca,[2] and cacao all frothed up, and suplicaciones,[3] all served on a rich table service of gold and silver. This repast commenced an hour after vespers and continued for two hours, when everyone went home.

Let us stop telling these stories about entertainments and past festivals, and I will tell about the other banquets

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[1] Aloja, a beverage made of water, honey and spice (mead).
[2] Chuca = Chicha, a beverage made from fermented fruits.
[3] Suplicaciones, a kind of thin light pastry.

which were given. One was arranged by the Marquis in his palace, and the other by the Viceroy in his palace and royal house, and these were suppers. The first was given by the Marquis, and the Viceroy and all the gentlemen and Conquistadores who could be counted upon supplied him with all the ladies, who were the wives of the gentlemen and Conquistadores, and other ladies, and it was a most ceremonious affair, and I will not try to remember all the courses for it would be a long story, sufficient to say that they were very abundant. The other supper was given by the Viceroy,[1] and this feast took place in the corridors of the Royal Palace, which were transformed into bowers and gardens, interwoven overhead with many trees with their fruits which appeared to grow on them, and above the trees as many [kinds of] birds as can be found in the country; and they had copied the spring at Chapultepec, just like the original, with some tiny springs of water which burst forth from some parts of this same fountain, and there close to it was a great tiger tied with chains, and on the other side of the fountain was the figure of a man of great bulk dressed like a muleteer, with two skins of wine on his back, who had gone to sleep through weariness; and there were figures of four Indians who had untied one of the skins and had got drunk, and it appeared as though they were drinking and were making grimaces, and it was all done so true to life that many persons of all classes with their wives came to see it.

When the tables were set they were very long and each one had its seat of honour, in one was the Marquis and in the other the Viceroy, and for each seat of honour there were stewards and pages and a full and well arranged service.

[1] Blotted out in the original: "the entertainment was greatly varied."

I should like to recite what was served, although it is not all written down here. I will state what I remember, for I was one of those who supped at these great feasts:—

To begin with there were salads made in two or three ways, and then kids and cured hog hams dressed à la ginovisca, after this pies of quails and pigeons, and then turkeys and stuffed fowls, then manjar blanco,[1] after this a fricassée, then torta-real, then chickens, partridges of the country and pickled quails, and then after this they took off the table cloths twice and there were clean ones beneath with napkins. Then pasties of every sort of birds and wild fowl, these were not eaten and many things of the earlier courses were not eaten.

Then they served other pasties of fish, none of this too was eaten, then they brought baked mutton and beef and pork, turnips, cabbage and garbanzos,[2] but none of these were eaten, and in between these courses they placed on the table various fruits to incite the appetite, and then they brought the fowls of the country baked whole with their beaks and feet silvered, and after that mallards and geese whole, with gilded beaks, and then heads of pigs, deer and calves whole, by way of pretentiousness. Together with this much music of singers at each seat of honour, and trumpetry and all sorts of instruments, harps, guitars, violas, flutes, dulcimers and oboes, especially when the stewards served the cups which they brought to the ladies who were supping there, who were more numerous than they were at the supper of the Marquis, and many gilt goblets, some with aloja,[3] others with wine, others with water, others with cacao, others with

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[1] Manjar blanco = a dish made of the breast of fowl mixed with sugar, milk and rice flour.
[2] Garbanzos = chick peas.
[3] A beverage made with honey and spice.

mulled wine. After this they served, to the ladies of greater distinction, some very large pasties, and in some of them were two live rabbits and in others small live rabbits, and others were full of quails and doves and other small birds all alive, and when they placed them on the tables it was at one and the same time, and as soon as they took off the top crusts the rabbits went fleeing over the tables and the quails and birds flew off.

I have not yet told about the service of olives and radishes and cheese and artichokes,[1] and fruits of the country—no more can be said than that all the tables were full of such courses.

Among other things were jesters and versifiers who in praise of Cortés and the Viceroy recited things that were very laughable.[2] I have not yet spoken of the fountains of white wine, Indian sherry and red wine,[3] and other store of bottles, or of another service there was in the courtyards, for the people and equerries and servants of all the gentlemen who were supping above at that banquet, more than three hundred of them with over two hundred ladies. I have forgotten the young oxen roasted whole, stuffed with chickens and fowls, quails and pigeons and bacon, these were in the courtyards below among the equerries and mulattos and Indians. I must state that this banquet lasted from nightfall until two hours after midnight, when the ladies cried out that they could stay no longer at table, and others were indisposed, and the tablecloths were changed by

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and then marzipan and almonds and comfits and citron and other sorts of sugar plums."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "and some of them were drunk and spoke on their own account and indecently, until they were taken by force and carried out, so as to silence them."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "and there were many drunkards."

force because other things had [still] to be served, and everything was served on gold and silver and great and rich table service.

One thing I saw was that each room was full of Spaniards who were not invited guests, who came to see the supper and banquet, and they were so numerous that the corridors would not hold them. Not a single piece of plate belonging to the Viceroy was missing throughout the supper, but at that of the Marquis more than one hundred marks of silver were missing; the reason why nothing was missing belonging to the Viceroy was because the chief Mayordomo, who was named Augustin Guerrero, ordered the Mexican Caciques to place an Indian on guard over each piece, and although many plates and porringers with manjar blanco and pastry and pasties and other things of the sort were sent to every house in Mexico, an Indian went with each piece of plate and brought it back; what was missing was some silver salt cellars, [a good] many tablecloths and napkins and knives, and this was told me by Augustin Guerrero himself the next day. The Marques took it [as a sign of] grandeur that he lost over a hundred marks of silver plate.

Let us leave the suppers and banquets and I will relate how the next day there were bull [fights] and reed games, and the Marquis received a blow from a reed on the instep from which he suffered and went lame. The next day there were horse races from the plaza called Tlatelolco to the great Plaza, and certain yards of velvet and satin were given [as prizes] for the horse which galloped best and arrived first at the plaza. Then too some women raced from under the colonnade of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada to the royal palace, and some golden jewels were given to her who arrived first at the post.

Then many farces were acted, and they were so many

that I cannot now call them to mind, and by night they had masks and ballads and jokes. There were two chroniclers of these great festivals, who recorded them just as they happened, and [noted] who were the Captains and the Grand Master of Rhodes, and they [the descriptions] were even sent to Castile that they might be seen by the Royal Council of the Indies (for His Majesty was then in Flanders).

I want to add an amusing story concerning a settler in Mexico called the Master of Rhodes, already an old man, who had a great wen on his neck. He had the name of Master of Rhodes because they called him purposely Master of Rhodes, and it was he for whom the Marquis had sent to Castile to heal his right arm, which he had broken in a fall from a horse after his return from Honduras, and he paid him very well for coming to cure his arm and gave him some pueblos of Indians.

When the Festivals, which I have mentioned, were over, as this Master of Rhodes was one of those chroniclers and was a good talker, he went to Castile at that time and became so well acquainted with the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, the wife of the Comendador Mayor, one Don Francisco de los Cobos, that he bewitched her and promised to give her drugs so that she should bear a child, and he said this in such a way that she believed him, and the Señora Doña Maria promised him that if she bore a child she would give him two thousand ducats, and would support him before the royal Council of the Indies in obtaining further pueblos of Indians. This same Master of Rhodes also promised Cardinal de Ciguenza, who was President of the [Council of the] Indies, that he would cure him of the gout, and the President believed him and they allotted him, on the order of the Cardinal and through the support of the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, very good Indians,

better than those he owned. What he did in the matter of cures was to heal neither the Marquis' arm, (if anything he left him more crippled, although he paid him very well and gave him the Indians I have mentioned), nor did the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza ever bear a child, for all the hot sweetmeats of sarsaparilla which he ordered her to take, nor did he cure the Cardinal of the gout, but he kept the bars of gold which Cortés gave him and the Indians which the Royal Council of the Indies bestowed upon him in New Spain. He left behind him in Castile among the traders who had gone to law[1] a joke [to the effect] that a little sarsaparilla which the Master of Rhodes had brought with him was worth more than all the services the true Conquistadores had rendered His Majesty, for owing to this name which had been given him of Master of Rhodes, and through being a good talker, he had deceived both the President and the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, while other Conquistadores, however much they had served His Majesty, got no benefit at all.

Let us stop relating the lives of strangers, for I know well there will be reason to say why do I meddle with these matters, and interrupt my narrative in order to tell an old yarn that happens to come to mind. Let us get back to it, and it is that, after the festivals were over, the Marquis ordered ships and stores to be prepared to go to Castile, in order to petition His Majesty to cause him to be repaid some of the many pesos de oro which had been expended on the fleets which he had despatched on voyages of discovery, and because he had lawsuits with Nuño de Guzman; for at that time the Royal Audiencia had sent Nuño de Guzman as a prisoner to Castile. Cortés also had lawsuits about the counting of the vassals. Then

[1] Blotted out in the original: "about Indians."

Cortés begged me to go with him, as I could urge my claim to my pueblos better at court before the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies than before the Royal Audiencia in Mexico. So I promptly embarked and went to Castile, but the Marquis did not start until two months later, for he said that he had not collected as much gold as he wished to take with him, also because he was ill from the blow from the reed which he had received on his instep. This was in the year five hundred and forty [1540], for in the previous year five hundred and thirty nine Her Most Serene Empress our Lady Doña Ysabel of Glorious memory had died, who departed this life in Toledo on the first day of May, and her body was carried for burial to the City of Granada. Her death caused great grief in New Spain, and nearly all the Conquistadores put on full mourning, and I, as the Regidor of the town of Coatzacoalcos and the oldest Conquistador, went into deep mourning, and in it went to Castile, and when I arrived at the Court I put it on again as I was obliged to do on account of the death of our Queen and Lady.

At that time there also arrived at Court Hernando Pizarro, who came from Peru, and was bowed down with mourning, with his more than forty men whom he brought with him in his Company. Cortés also arrived at this time at Court in mourning, he and his servants. As soon as the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies knew that Cortés was approaching Madrid, they gave orders to go out and receive him, and assigned him as quarters the houses of the Commendador Don Juan de Castilla, and, on the occasion of his going to the Royal Council of the Indies, an Oidor came to the door where the meeting of the Royal Council was held and led him to the dais where sat the President Don Fray Garcia de Loyasa, Cardinal of Ciguenza, who was afterwards Archbishop of Seville, with the Oidores the Licentiate Gutiere Velásquez and the

Bishop of Lugo and Doctor Juan Bernal Díaz de Lugo and Doctor Beltran; and close to the seats of those gentlemen they placed another seat for Cortés and listened to him. From that time onwards he never returned again to New Spain, for then they took his Residencia, and His Majesty would not give him leave to return to New Spain, although he had for advocates the Admiral of Castile and the Duque de Bejar and the Commendador Mayor de Leon, and also had as a mediatrix the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, but His Majesty would never give him leave. On the contrary he ordered him to be detained until his Residencia was concluded, but they never intended to finish it, and the answer they gave him in the Royal Council of the Indies was that until [His Majesty] returned from Flanders, after chastising Ghent, they could not give him permission.

At this same time they also ordered Nuño de Guzman to be banished from his country and always to remain at Court, and they sentenced him [to pay] a certain number of pesos de oro, but they did not take from him the Indians of his Encomienda in Jalisco, and he and his servants also went about in deepest mourning. When they saw us at Court, both the Marquis Cortés as well as Pizarro and Nuño de Guzman and most of us who had come from New Spain on business, and the other persons from Peru, they considered it a joke to call us 'the mourning Indians and Peruvians.'[1]

To go back to my story, at that time they also ordered Hernando Pizarro to be made prisoner in the Mota de Medina.

Then I came back to New Spain, and learned that a few months earlier [the inhabitants of] some rocky hills, called Nochistlan, in the province of Jalisco, had risen in

[1] Los Indianos Peruleros enlutados.

revolt, and that the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had sent some Captains and a certain Onate to pacify them, and the insurgent Indians made fierce attacks on the Spaniards and soldiers sent from Mexico, who seeing themselves surrounded by Indians began to beg assistance from the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, who at that time was on board a ship of a great fleet, then in the port of La Purificacion, which he had prepared to go to China. He went to assist the Spaniards who were on the rocky hills I have mentioned, and took with him a great company of soldiers, and within a few days he died from a horse falling on him and crushing his body, as I shall relate further on. I want to leave this story and call to mind the two fleets which set out from New Spain, one fitted out by the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the other prepared by Don Pedro de Alvarado, as I have already stated.

CHAPTER CCII.

How the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza sent three ships to explore the South Coast in search of Francisco Vásquez Coronado and sent him provisions and soldiers, supposing that he was engaged in the conquest of Cibola.

I HAVE already stated in a former Chapter which treats of it that the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent [an expedition] to discover the seven cities otherwise called Cibola, and that a nobleman named Francisco Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, went as Captain General, who at that time had married a lady, who in addition to being very virtuous was the beautiful daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada.

Francisco Vásquez was then Governor of Jalisco, for Nuño de Guzman who used to be Governor had already been removed. He set out over land with many horse soldiers and musketeers and crossbowmen, and left as his Lieutenant in Jalisco a nobleman named Fulano de Onate, and when after some months he arrived at the seven cities he found that a certain friar named Fray Marcos de Niza had gone previously to explore these lands, or went on the expedition with Francisco Vásquez Coronado himself (this I am not sure about), and when they reached the country of Cibola they beheld the fields quite level and full of cows and bulls unlike ours in Castile, and the pueblos and houses with granaries, and they ascended to them by ladders. The Friar thought that it would be as well to return to New Spain, and, as soon as he arrived, to make a report to the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza [to induce him] to send ships along the south coast with iron tools, cannon and powder, and crossbows and arms of all kinds, and wine, oil, and biscuit; for he reported that the lands of Cibola were in the district of the South Coast and that the provisions and tools would be a help to Francisco Vásquez and his companions who were already settling in that Country. This was the reason why he [the Viceroy] sent the three ships I have mentioned, and one Hernando de Alarcon, who was head Steward of the said Viceroy, went as Captain General, and there went as Captain of the other ship a gentleman named[1] Marcos Ruiz de Rojas, a native of Madrid; other people say that one Fulano Maldonado sailed as Captain of the other ship, but because I did not go with that fleet, I state it in this way from hearsay. After all the instructions had

[1] Blotted out in the original: "Alonzo Gasca de Herrera who is now a settler in Guatemala."

been given to the pilots and Captains about what they had to do and how they were to manage and navigate, they set sail on their voyage.[1]

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[1] The original here leaves a large blank space and then comes this note: "this which is blotted out is not to be read, nor this other part up to the Chapter two hundred and fifty three" [sic]. What is blotted out in one and the other part is as follows and is short of one page, which was perhaps destroyed by the author himself.—E.G.

CHAPTER CCLII. [CCIII.] About a great fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out in the year five hundred and thirty-seven.

It is right to call to mind, so that it should not be forgotten, a fine fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven in the province of Guatemala, where he was governor, at a port named Acajutla on the south coast, and it was to fulfil a certain contract that he made before His Majesty the second time that he returned to Castile and came back married to a lady named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva. The contract made with His Majesty was that the Adelantado should find certain ships, pilots, sailors and soldiers, provisions and all that was necessary at his own expense, to be sent to explore the western route to China or the Moluccas, or any other of the spice islands, and on account of what he should discover His Majesty promised to grant him certain concessions in these same lands and would give him revenue from them; and because I have not seen the contract I leave it there, and for this reason do not put it in this narrative. To return to our subject, the Adelantado, who was always a faithful servant of His Majesty as he showed himself to be in the conquest of New . . . .

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very noble and loyal city of Guatemala [prepared] two tombs near the altar of the principal church, in order to bring the bones of the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, which were buried in the pueblo Chiribitio, and inter them in one of the tombs; and the other tomb, in order to inter in it, when Our Lord God is pleased to remove them from this present life, Don Francisco de la Cueva and Doña Leonor de Alvarado, his wife, and daughter of the said Adelantado; for at her own expense she brought the bones of her father and ordered the tomb to be made in the holy church as I have stated.

Let us leave this subject and say what happened to the fleet of the Adelantado, which is that (after he died as I have related) within a year, a little more or less, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza ordered certain ships to be selected, the best and newest of the thirteen which the Adelantado had despatched from the West Coast to discover China, and he sent as Captain of these ships a relation of his own, named Fulano de Villalobos, and ordered him to proceed by the same course which it had been agreed upon to follow and explore.

What this voyage ended in I do not well know, and for this reason

CHAPTER CCIII.

About a fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out from a port called Acajutla in the province of Guatemala.

It is right to call to mind, so that it should not be forgotten, another fleet which the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven in the province of Guatemala, where he was Governor, at a port called Acajutla on the South Coast, and it was done to fulfil certain contracts made with His Majesty during the second time that he returned to Castile and returned married to the lady named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva, the sister of a certain Doña Francisca de la Cueva, who was extremely beautiful (and had been the first wife of Don Pedro de Alvarado), who died at Vera Cruz in New Spain. The contract arranged with His Majesty was that Don Pedro de Alvarado should provide certain ships, pilots, sailors and soldiers, provisions and all that was needed for that fleet at his own cost, and it was proposed that he was to send and explore the western route to China and the Moluccas, or any other of the Spice Islands, and according to what he should discover His Majesty promised to grant him certain favours in these same lands. However, as I have not seen the contract I omit it, and for that reason I do not include it in this narrative. To go back to my story he cleared for sea twelve ships of considerable size, well provisioned with bread and meat, barrels of water, and everything that could be provided at that time, well armed with cannon and with good pilots and sailors.

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say no more about it, however I have heard it said that the heirs of the Adelantado never recovered anything either on account of the ships or of the provisions, but lost it all.

Let us leave this subject—I was not engaged in it and do not know much about it; other gentlemen will report it more fully.

It was indeed a powerful fleet, although the port of Vera Cruz was so far off, a matter of one hundred and fifty leagues from where the ships were built, for at that time the iron for the nails, and anchors and casks and other things necessary for the fleet, were brought from Vera Cruz; for as yet there was no question of Puerto de Caballos.

He expended on them [the ships] many thousands of pesos de oro, with which in Seville they would have been able to build more than eighty ships; yet all the riches he brought from Peru, and the gold which they extracted from the mines in the province of Guatemala, and the tributes from his pueblos, and what he borrowed from friends and relations, and what he got on credit from merchants, did not suffice him [to cover expenses]. What he spent on horses and Captains, soldiers, arquebuses, crossbows, and all kinds of arms, was a great sum in pesos de oro. When his ships were ready to sail, each one with its royal standard [hoisted] and pilots and Captains appointed, and instructions given about what they had to do both by night and day, and the courses they were to follow, and the signals of the lamps if a storm should rise during night time; after hearing Mass of the Holy Spirit, and after their banners had been blessed by the Bishop of that Province, with the Adelantado himself as Captain General of the fleet, they set sail in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven or thirty-eight (I do not clearly remember [which year]) and went sailing on their course to the port called la Purificacion, which is in the province of Jalisco. At that port they had to take in water and provisions and more soldiers, although they already carried over five hundred and fifty soldiers in the ships. When the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza heard about this powerful fleet, for in these parts it might be called a very great one,

and about the great number of soldiers and horses and cannon that it carried, he regarded it as a matter of great importance—and he had reason so to consider the collection and arming of thirteen ships on the south coast, and that so great a number of soldiers should have joined him so far from the port of Vera Cruz and from Mexico; for, as I have already noted, ships with merchandise from Castile did not come to the Puerto de Caballos as they do now, and it is a matter for reflection for persons who have a knowledge of these countries and know about the expenses that are incurred.

When the Viceroy Don Antonio was informed that it [the expedition] was for the discovery of China, and understood from pilots and cosmographers that it [China] might certainly be discovered towards the west, and one of his relations named Villalobos, who knew much about latitudes and the art of navigation, assured him of it; and moreover he learned that the valorous Hernando Cortés, before he went to Castile and became a Marquis, had sent three ships to discover these same Islands; he determined to write from Mexico to Don Pedro de Alvarado with offers and favourable promises to induce him to give orders that he should become a partner with him in the fleet. So as to bring this about, Don Luis de Castilla and a Mayordomo of the Viceroy named Augustin Guerrero went to settle the bargain.

As soon as the Adelantado beheld the messages they were bringing on this account, and had fully discussed the business, it was agreed that the Viceroy and the Adelantado should have an interview at a pueblo named Chiribitio, which is in the province of Mechuacan and was in the Encomienda of one Juan de Alvarado, a relation of Don Pedro de Alvarado himself; and in this pueblo it was settled that both together should go and inspect the fleet.

After they had inspected it, differences arose as to who should go as Captain General, for Don Pedro wished it to be a nephew of his named Juan de Alvarado (I do not speak of him of Chiribitio but another who bore the same name), and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza wished his nephew who was a great cosmographer named Villalobos to go. Finally it was arranged that Alvarado and Villalobos should go as Captains.

Then Don Pedro de Alvarado went to the port of Natividad, for so it was called, where at that time all his ships and soldiers were then assembled, so that he himself should despatch them. When they were already prepared to set sail, a letter reached him sent by one Cristóbal de Onate, who was Captain of the soldiers on some rocky hills called Nochistlan, and what he sent to say was that, being a matter of His Majesty's service, he [Pedro Alvarado] must come and help them in person and bring soldiers, for they were surrounded in a place where if help did not reach them they could not defend themselves from the many squadrons of excessively valiant Indian warriors who were posted in strong fortified positions and rocky hills, and had killed many of the Spaniards who were in his company, and he feared greatly that they would finally defeat him. He made known in the letter many other misfortunes and [said] that should the Indians emerge victorious from those rocky hills New Spain would be in great danger. When Don Pedro de Alvarado saw the letter and the words recorded by me, and other Spaniards told him of the danger they were in, promptly without any delay he ordered some soldiers whom he had brought in [his company] to get ready, horsemen as well as musketeers and crossbowmen, and he went post haste to render that assistance.

When he reached the camp, those hedged in were so

exhausted that had it not been for his coming they would have been much more so; however, on his arrival, the Indian warriors slackened somewhat in their attack—not that they ceased to wage fierce war as they did before. While a company of soldiers were posted on some rocky hills to prevent the warriors entering that way, and were defending that pass, it seems that a horse of one of the soldiers came rolling down the hill with great impetus, and by bounds, to where Don Pedro de Alvarado was standing, and he was not able nor did he have time to move away at all, and the horse struck against him in such a way that it injured him and crushed his body, for it fell upon him. He at once felt very sick, and, so as to aid and cure him, thinking that his injury was not so serious, they carried him on a litter to be treated at the town nearest to the camp, called la Purificacion; but on the road he fainted, and when he reached the town he was at once confessed and received the Holy Sacraments, but he made no will, and he died and was buried there with as great pomp as was possible. Let us cease speaking of his death, may God pardon him, Amen.

I will go back to say that Cristóbal de Onate found himself in the greatest exigency on those rocky hills and was on the point of being defeated, had not the Viceroy sent in all haste the Licentiate Maldonado, the Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, with many soldiers [to his assistance].

Let us leave this subject and relate what was done and in what the fleet ended, and it is this, that when they of the fleet saw that their Captain was dead, each one went off on his own account. A year later the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza ordered three of the best ships to be taken (the newest of the thirteen which the Adelantado sent on the voyage of discovery), and appointed his relation, already mentioned by me, named Fulano de

Villalobos, in command of them, to follow the same course by which they had [before] agreed to send and explore; what happened on that voyage I do not well know, except that I have heard rumours, and it is believed to be true, that he went to some Islands where there were Captains of the King of Portugal who traded there, and they took him prisoner and he went to Castile. The same thing happened when the valiant Don Hernando Cortés sent a Captain named Alvaro de Sayavedra Ceron in command of three other ships; thus all that the Adelantado spent was lost and his heirs never recovered anything at all.

CHAPTER CCIV.

What the Marquis did when he was in Castile.

WHEN His Majesty returned to Castile after punishing Ghent, he prepared a great fleet to go against Algiers, and the Marquis del Valle went to serve in it and took with him his firstborn son, who was heir to his estate; and he also took Don Martin Cortés, his son by Doña Marina, and many esquires and servants, and horses and a great company and attendance, and embarked in a fine galley in company with Don Enrique Enríquez. It pleased God to cause such a fierce storm to arise that a great part of the Royal fleet was lost and the galley in which Cortés and his sons sailed was wrecked, and they and most of the other gentlemen who were in her escaped with great risk of their lives. At the same time, when there was not such [calm] reflection as there ought to have been, especially when death stares one in the face, the servants of Cortés alleged that they saw him tie in a handkerchief twisted round his arm certain jewels of

very precious stones which he carried[1] as a great Lord, and in the confusion of escaping in safety from the galley, among the great crowd of persons who were present, all the jewels and precious stones which he carried, and which were reported to be worth many[2] pesos de oro, were lost.

I will go on to tell about the great storm and loss of knights and soldiers who perished. The quarter-masters and Captains who belonged to the Royal Council of war advised His Majesty at once and without delay to remove the head quarters [of the expedition] against Algiers, and to go by land along the coast, for they saw it was God's will to send them that foul tempest and nothing could be done more than had been done. To that meeting and council Cortés was not summoned to give his opinion, and, when he knew about it, he said that if it pleased His Majesty he would undertake by the help of God and the luck of our Cæsar, with the soldiers then in camp, to take Algiers. Immediately after saying these words he also expressed much praise of his Captains and comrades who were present with him in the capture and conquest of Mexico, saying that they went there to suffer hunger and hardships and wherever he should call them he could perform heroic deeds with them, and that when wounded and enveloped in rags they never ceased fighting and capturing every city or fortress, although they might chance to lose their lives in the act. As many gentlemen overheard those arrogant words, they said to His Majesty that it would have been well to call him to the Council of War, and it was looked upon as a great discourtesy that he had not been summoned. Other gentlemen said that his not being summoned was because they felt sure that the Marquis would be of

[1] Scratched out in the original: "so to say from no necessity."
[2] Blotted out in the original: "thousands of."

House at Castilleja de la Cuesta, where Cortés died.

Photo by A. P. M.

contrary opinion; that during such tempestuous weather there was no need for many councillors, but that His Majesty and the rest of the Royal fleet had to be placed in safety, for they were in great danger, and that at some future time with God's help they would return to besiege Algiers, and so they went along the coast.

Let me leave this subject and I will relate how they returned to Castile from that arduous journey, and how the Marquis was already tired of being in Castile at court, on account of having returned coastwise, weary and worn out from the journey already described by me, and desired greatly to return to New Spain, if they would give him leave. As he had sent to Mexico for his eldest daughter, named Doña Maria Cortés, whom he had arranged to marry to Don Álvaro Pérez Osorio, son of the Marquis de Astorga and heir to the Marquisate, and had promised over a hundred thousand ducats of gold as a marriage portion, and many other matters of clothes and jewels, he went to meet her at Seville. This marriage was broken off, many gentlemen say through the fault of Don Álvaro Pérez Osorio, at which the Marquis was so angry that with fever and dysentery he was very . . . . . . at the end, and, his illness continuing and always getting worse, he decided to leave Seville so as to be free of the many persons who came to visit him and bother him with business, and he went to Castilleja de la Cuesta, there to attend to his soul and arrange his will. After he had settled it as was fitting and had received the Holy Sacraments, Our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to take him from this toilsome life, and he died on the second day of December in the year fifteen hundred and forty-seven. They carried his body to bury it with great pomp and concourse of clergy, with the great grief of many gentlemen of Seville and he was interred in the chapel of the Dukes of Medina

Sidonia; and later on his bones were carried to New Spain and placed in a tomb at Coyoacan or in Texcoco (I am not sure about this) for so he ordered by his will.[1]

I wish to speak of his age, from what I remember, and I will state on this point that in the year when we went with Cortés from Cuba to New Spain—which was in fifteen hundred and nineteen—he then used to say, when he stood talking to all of us comrades who went with him, that he was thirty-four [years old]; and, with the twenty-eight [years] that passed before he died, this would make sixty-two. The legitimate sons and daughters he left were Don Martin Cortés who is now the Marquis, and Doña Maria Cortés (she who I have stated was engaged to be married to Don Álvaro Pérez Osorio, heir to the Marquisate of Astorga: this Doña Maria afterwards married the Conde de Luna de Leon), and Doña Juana who married Don Hernando Enríquez, who was to inherit the Marquisate of Tarifa, and Doña Catalina de Arellano who died in Seville while a girl. I know that the Marchioness Doña Juana de Zuñiga took them with her to Castile when a Friar[2] named Fray Antonio de Zuñiga came to fetch them, and this Friar was a brother of the Marchioness herself. Another daughter, a spinster named Doña Leonor Cortés, who was in Mexico, married one Juanes de Toloza, a Basque and a very rich man, who possessed over one hundred thousand pesos and some mines;[3] at which marriage the Marquis was very angry when he came to New Spain. He left two sons who were bastards named Don Martin Cortés, Comendador of Santiago (this gentleman was born of Doña Marina the Interpreter), and Don Luis Cortés, also a Comendador of Santiago, who was born of another

[1] See Appendix B.
[2] Blotted out in the original: "of Santo Domingo."
[3] Blotted out in the original: "of silver."

lady named Doña Fulano de Hermosilla, and he had three other daughters, one by an Indian woman of Cuba named Doña Fulana Pizarro, and another by another Indian woman, a Mexican, and another, who was born deformed, by another Mexican woman. I know that these young ladies were well dowered, for from childhood he had given them good Indians in some pueblos named Chinantla. What he provided in his will and instructions I am not sure about, but I feel that as a wise man and having plenty of time for it, and because he was old, that he would do it with much deliberation. So as to ease his conscience, he ordered a Hospital and a College to be built in Mexico, and he also provided that in his town, named Coyoacan, which is a matter of two leagues from Mexico, a convent for Nuns should be built; also that his bones should be brought to New Spain. He assigned good revenues to carry out his will and legacies, and they were many and good and [the deeds] of a good Christian. To avoid prolixity I will not state them, and as I do not remember them all I will not quote them.

The motto and blazon which he bore on his coat of arms and banners was that of a very valiant man and appropriate to his heroic deeds, and it [the motto] was in Latin, and as I do not know Latin I do not record it. He had on it seven heads of Kings, who were captives on a chain, and it seems to me, as far as I can see and understand it, these were the Kings whom I now name: Montezuma Great Lord of Mexico, Cacamatzin the nephew of Montezuma who was also Great Lord of Texcoco, and Coadlabaca Lord of Iztapalapa and another pueblo, the Lord of Tacuba, the Lord of Coyoacan, and another great Cacique Lord of two provinces named Tulapa near to Matalzingo; this one as I have stated was said to be the son of a sister of Montezuma, and the nearest heir to Mexico after Montezuma. The last King was

Guatemoc, he who fought us and defended the City when we captured the Great City of Mexico and its provinces.

These seven great Caciques are those whom the Marquis bore on his banners and coat of arms as emblems, for I remember no other Kings who could have been captives and [also] Kings, as I have stated in the chapter that treats of it.

I will go on and speak of the appearance and disposition of Cortés. He was of good stature and figure well proportioned and robust, the colour of his face inclined to be greyish and not very bright, and if his face had been longer he would have been better looking; in his eyes and expression there was something kindly, [but] on the other hand grave. His beard was rather dark, scant and thin, and the hair which at that time he possessed was of the same sort as the beard. He had a deep chest and well shaped shoulders, and was lean and with little belly, and slightly bow-legged, with the legs and thighs well set on. He was a good horseman and skilful with all arms both on foot and on horseback, and knew well how to manage them. Above all [he possessed] courage and spirit which is what matters most of all.

I have heard it said that when he was a youth in the Island of Hispañola he was somewhat dissolute about women, and that he fought with knives several times with strong and dexterous men, and always came off victorious. He had a scar from a knife wound near his under-lip, and if one looked hard at it, he was inclined to cover it up more with his beard. This scar was given him when he indulged in those quarrels. In all of which he showed both by his appearance and in his speech and conversation, and in eating and in his dress, signs of being a great Lord.

The clothes he wore were in accordance with the time and fashion, and he thought nothing about wearing many

silks and damasks or satins, but [dressed] simply and very neatly, nor did he wear grand gold chains, except a small chain of gold of finest workmanship and a small pendant with the image of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria with her precious son in her arms, and with a motto in Latin on one side with Our Lady, and on the other side of the jewel St. John the Baptist with another motto. He wore besides on his finger a very rich ring with a diamond, and on the cap, which then was [usually] made of velvet, he wore a medal. I do not remember what design was on it, but on the medal were written his initials. Later on in the course of time he always wore a cloth cap without a medal. He was luxuriously attended as a great Lord by two stewards and mayordomos and many pages, and all the service of his house was very complete, with great table services of silver and gold. He dined well and drank a good cup of wine and water which held a pint, and he also took supper, but was not dainty, nor did he care to eat of delicate or costly dishes except when he saw that expenditure was necessary or he was obliged to give them[1].

He was very affably disposed to all his Captains and comrades, especially with those of us who went [with him] from the Island of Cuba on the first occasion. He was a Latin scholar, and I have heard it said that he was a bachelor of laws, and when he spoke with educated men or Latin scholars he replied to what they said in Latin. He was something of a poet and composed couplets both in rhyme and prose, and in what he talked about he spoke with moderation and with very good expression. He recited prayers every morning out of a Book of Hours, and heard Mass with devoutness. He took as his especial patron saint Our Lady the Virgin Mary, whom

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "to visitors or invited guests!"

all we faithful Christians should take as our intercessor and advocate, and he also held by Señor San Pedro, and Santiago, and Señor Saint John the Baptist. He was charitable with alms, and when he used an oath he said "on my conscience," and when he was angered with one of us soldiers who were his friends he would say "Oh evil take you;" and when he was very angry a vein on his throat swelled up and another on his forehead, and sometimes when very angry he raised a cry to heaven, but he never said a foul or injurious word to any Captain or soldier.

He was very long-suffering, for there were very inconsiderate soldiers who said insolent things to him, and he did not answer them with anything haughty or unpleasant, although there may have been reason to do so; the most that he said to them was "Be quiet!" or "God go with you and for the future be more careful what you say or it will cost you dear." He was very obstinate, especially about warlike matters, however much advice and persuasion we might offer to him about imprudent attacks and expeditions which he ordered us to undertake—[such as] when we marched round the great pueblos of the Lakes, or on the rocky hills which they now call the "Peñoles del Marques," when we told him that we could not climb up to the fortifications and rocky heights, but that we would keep them beleagured, because of the many boulders which came bounding down hurled at us from the top of the fortress, for it was impossible to protect ourselves from the shock and impetus with which they came, and it was risking all our lives, for valour and counsel and prudence were of no avail; yet still he contended against all of us, and we had to begin to ascend again and we were in extreme danger, and eight soldiers were killed, and all the rest of us injured in the head and wounded, without accomplishing anything worth mentioning until

we changed to other plans. Furthermore when we went on our march to the Hibueras on the affair of Cristóbal de Olid, when he revolted with the fleet, I told him many times that we ought to go by the Sierras, but he contended that it was better along the coast and he was wrong again, for if we went the way I said it led all through a populous country, and, so that it may be well understood [by persons] who have never marched across it, [I state] that from Coatzacoalcos to Chiapa is a straight road, and from Chiapa to Guatemala, and from Guatemala to Naco, where at that time Cristóbal de Olid was stationed.

Let us leave this talk and I will say that when we came with the fleet to Villa Rica and presently began to build a fort, the first to do his share and dig out earth for the foundations was Cortés. In battles, I always saw him enter them in close company with us, and I will begin with the battles of Tabasco where he was in command of the horsemen, and he fought very well. Let us go on to Villa Rica: I have already spoken about the fortress, [then he did well] in scuttling as we did eleven ships on the advice of our valiant Captains and brave soldiers (and not as Gomara represents it). Then in the wars in Tlaxcala in three battles he proved himself very valiant, and in the entry into Mexico with four hundred soldiers, which is a thing to wonder at, and moreover in having the daring to seize Montezuma within his own palace—[Montezuma] who possessed such a vast number of warriors (and I also state that we seized him on the advice of the Captains and nearly all the soldiers); and another thing which must not be forgotten, the burning in front of his palace Montezuma's Captains who were concerned in the death of our Captain named Juan de Escalante and of seven other soldiers; these Indian Captains were called Quetzalpopoca (I do not remember the name of the other, but it does not matter,

as it is not to the point). Then, too, what daring and boldness it showed to attack with gifts of gold and strategems of war Panfilo de Narvaez the Captain of Diego Velásquez, who brought over thirteen hundred soldiers and ninety horsemen and as many more cross-bowmen and eighty espingarderos [Gunners], for so we called them, and we with two hundred and sixty-five comrades, without horses or muskets or crossbows, with only pikes and swords, daggers and shields, defeated them and captured Narvaez and other Captains. Let us go on ahead, for I want to state how when we entered Mexico a second time in aid of Pedro de Alvarado and before we left it fleeing, when we ascended the great Cue of Huichilobos I saw that he showed himself to be very brave, although his valour and ours availed us nothing. Then in the rout and very celebrated battle of Otumba, when we were expecting all the flower of the valiant Mexican warriors and all their subjects to kill us, there too he proved himself very courageous when he attacked the Captain and standard-bearer of Guatemoc, and made him lower his standard and loose the great vigour of the intrepid attack of all his squadrons which fought against us so bravely. After God our valiant captains who helped him were Gonzalo de Sandoval, Cristóbal de Olid, Diego de Ordás, Gonzalo Domínguez, and one Lares, and other brave soldiers whom I do not name here, who had no horses, and of the followers of Narvaez there were gallant men who helped very much. He who killed the Captain of the standard was one Juan de Salamanca, a native of Ontiveras, and he took from him a rich plume and gave it to Cortés. Let us go on and I will state that Cortés found himself engaged in a very dangerous battle during the affair of Iztapalapa, and bore himself as a good Captain; and in the affair of Xochimilco, when the Mexican squadrons dragged him

off the flat-nosed horse, and some of our friends the Tlaxcalans came to his assistance, and above all our brave soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, a native of Old Castile. (It should be noted that I say one was Cristóbal de Olid who was quartermaster, and the other Cristóbal de Olea of Old Castile, and this I state here so that it should not be questioned, and they cannot say that I am making a mistake).

Our Cortés also proved himself very valiant while we were in Mexico, and the Mexicans defeated him on a small causeway and carried off for sacrifice sixty two soldiers, and they had seized Cortés himself and were grappling with him to carry him off for sacrifice, and they had wounded him in the leg. It pleased God that through his own valour, and because there came to his aid the same most gallant soldier Cristóbal de Olea (he who on the other occasion in Xochimilco freed him from the Mexicans), who helped him to mount his horse, that the life of Cortés was saved, and the gallant Olea was left there dead with the others, as I have already stated. As I am writing now I have before my mind the manner and resolution of the personality of Cristóbal de Olea and his very great valour, and it still makes me sad, for he came from my house, and was the relation of my kindred.

I do not wish to speak of many other deeds of prowess and valour which I saw done by our Marquis Don Hernando Cortés, for they are so numerous and of such a nature that I could not relate them quickly enough.

I will still say of his disposition that he was very fond of games of cards and dice, and when he played he was very sociable in playing, and would use certain witty expressions which those who play at dice are wont to repeat; and he was addicted to women in excess, and

jealous in guarding his own[1]. He was most careful during all the conquests that we made, even by night, and on many nights he went the rounds and challenged the sentinels and entered into the Ranchos and shelters of our soldiers, and, if he found one without his arms and with his shoes off, he admonished him and said to him that "to a worthless sheep the wool seems heavy," and upraided him with bitter words.

When we went to the Hibueras I noticed that he took liquor before breakfast, a thing he was not used to do in the earlier wars, and when he had dined if he did not take a nap his stomach was upset and it made him feel ill, and in order to avoid this indisposition when we were on the march they placed a rug or a cloak, which was carried handy for that purpose, under a tree or other shade, and however powerful the sun might be he did not fail to sleep a little and then at once to go on marching. I also noticed that during the wars of New Spain he was lean and with little belly, but after our return from the Hibueras he was much more corpulent with a great belly, and I also noticed that the beard which was black before had become whitened. I also wish to say that he used to be very open-handed when he was in New Spain, and the first time he went to Castile; but when he returned the second time in the year fifteen hundred and forty they thought him niggardly, and one of his servants named Ulloa, brother of the other Ulloa whom they killed, brought a law-suit against him for not paying him his wages; and, if one considers and looks into it well, after we had conquered New Spain he was always in difficulties and spent many pesos de oro on the fleets which he sent to California, nor in the journey to the Hibueras did he have any luck. (No more has apparently his son

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "his Indian women."

Don Martin Cortés either, who, being the Lord of such a great revenue, has met with such a great disaster as they relate of him and his brothers.) May our Lord Jesus Christ remedy it and may He pardon the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés his sins.

I well believe that I may have forgotten to write down other things about the habits of his valiant person; what I remember and saw, that I have written down.

Concerning the other young lady, his daughter, I do not know whether they made her a nun or married her off. I have heard it said that she went to Valladolid and a gentleman married her, but I am not sure. His other daughter, who was deformed on one side, I have been told became a nun in Seville, or in San Lucar. I do not know their names, and so do not give them, nor can I say what was done with so many thousand pesos de oro which they had for their dowries[1].

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "there was much talk and suspicion about her marriage. I don't know about it nor do I touch more on this point, so help me God, and pardon me my sins, Amen. I knew that the friar the brother of the Marchioness was very avaricious and had an evil face and worse squinting eyes."

BOOK XVII.

THE RECORD OF THE CONQUISTADORES.

CHAPTER CCV.

A record of the gallant Captains and stout and valiant soldiers who left the Island of Cuba with the daring and courageous Captain Don Hernando Cortés, who after conquering Mexico became Marquis del Valle and had other titles.

FIRST of all the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés, who died near Seville in a town or place called Castilleja de la Cuesta.

Then Don Pedro de Alvarado, who, after the conquest of Mexico was Comendador de Santiago and Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala;[1] he died in the affair of Jalisco, when he was on his way to relieve an army which was camped on the rocky hills of Nochistlan.

Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was a prominent Captain and chief Alguazil during the affair at Mexico, and for some time was Governor in New Spain in association with the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada. His Majesty received the highest reports of him, and he died in Castile

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and Honduras and Chiapa."

in the town of Palos when he went with Don Hernando Cortés to kiss the feet of His Majesty.

Cristóbal de Olid, who was a valiant Captain and quarter-master in the wars in Mexico, and who came to his end in the affair at Naco, beheaded as a punishment because he rose in revolt with the fleet which Cortés had given him.

These three Captains I have mentioned were highly praised before His Majesty when Cortés went to Court, and remarked to His Majesty, our Lord, that he had in his army when he conquered Mexico three Captains who might be counted among the most famous in the world. The first was Don Pedro Alvarado, who, besides being very valiant, was elegant both in person and appearance, and [distinguished] for his capacity in training soldiers[1]. He said of Cristóbal de Olid that he was a Hector in valour in single combat, and had he been as judicious as he was brave he would have been much more highly esteemed, but he needed to be under orders. Of Gonzalo de Sandoval he stated that he was of such value, as much on account of his bravery as for his counsels, that he was fit to command armies and was competent in all that he dared to say or do.

Cortés also gave praise to the very good and daring soldiers whom he had commanded; and as to this Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the author of this narrative, remarks, that it would have been as well if Cortés had written thus on the first occasion that he told the story of the events in New Spain, but what he wrote at that time gave all the honour and glory of our conquests to himself alone, and made no mention of us.

To return to my story: Another good and valiant

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and for inciting them to go anywhere however dangerous it might be."

Captain named Juan Velásquez de Leon died at the bridges.[1]

Francisco de Montejo, who after Mexico was captured became Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan, and held other titles, died in Castile.

Luis Marin, who was a Captain in the affairs of Mexico, a distinguished person and very valiant, died a natural death.

A certain Pedro de Ircio, who died, was cunning in disposition, of middle height, and talked much of what he would accomplish and what would happen through his doing, but he was no good at all, and we called him another Agrages [sour grapes] without works, on account of his loquacity; he was a Captain in the Camp of Sandoval.

Another good Captain was named Andrés de Tapia; he was very valiant, he died in Mexico.

One Juan de Escalante, who was Captain at Villa Rica while we went to Mexico, died in the hands of the Indians in what we call the affair of Almeria, which is the name of some pueblos situated between Taxpan and Cempoala; there died in his company seven soldiers whose names I cannot now remember, and they killed his horse; this was the first disaster we suffered in New Spain.

One Alonzo de Ávila was a Captain, and the first accountant appointed in New Spain, a very brave man but somewhat given to turbulence, and Don Hernando Cortés knowing his disposition, in order to avoid discords, managed to send him as Proctor to Hispanola where the Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars resided, and when he despatched him he gave him good bars and jewels of gold so as to content him.[2]

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[1] During the "Noche triste."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "and the affairs he was charged with concerned the way in which we were to manage our conquests,

A certain Francisco de Lugo, who was in command of expeditions, a very valiant man died a natural death; he was the bastard son of a gentleman named Álvaro

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and the branding as slaves of the Indians, who, having first rendered obedience to His Majesty, after so doing should have again revolted, and in time of peace have treacherously killed Christians. After Alonzo de Ávila had returned from this mission in Hispañola, and it was seen that he had obtained favourable results, he [Cortés] then sent him to Castile, for we had meanwhile conquered Mexico. While we were subduing New Spain and capturing Mexico, Alonzo de Ávila took no part in any of the expeditions, except the expedition when we first went to Mexico and when afterwards we fled from it, for, as I have said, he was in Hispañola. Then, so as further to content him and to get him away from himself, [Cortés] gave him a good pueblo named Cuautitlan, and some bars of gold, so that he should conduct the negotiations satisfactorily and should report much that was good of the personality of Cortés to His Majesty. Then Don Hernando Cortés also sent, in company with Alonzo de Ávila, Fulano de Quiñones a native of Zamora, who was Captain of the Guard of Don Hernando Cortés, and he gave them power of attorney to advocate the affairs of New Spain. By them he despatched the great wealth of gold and silver jewels and many other things which we seized on the capture of Mexico, and the equipage of gold which Montezuma and Guatemoc, the great Caciques of Mexico, used to own.

As luck would have it they stabbed Quiñones in the Island of Terciera, over a love affair with a woman, and he died of those wounds. As Alonzo de Ávila continued his voyage, a French fleet met him near Castile, of which Juan Florin was the Captain, and robbed him of the gold and silver and the ship, and carried him off prisoner to France, and he was a prisoner for some time; but at the end of two years the Frenchman who held him let him go free and he came to Castile.

At that time Don Francisco de Montejo, Adelantado of Yucatan, was at Court, and he [Alonzo de Ávila] accompanied him on his being appointed Accountant of Yucatan. About the same time or a little earlier one Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, a brother of Alonzo de Ávila, who used to reside in the Island of Cuba, came to Mexico, and as Alonzo de Ávila was in Yucatan and Gil Gonzáles in Mexico, he [Alonzo] sent authority to his brother Gil Gonzáles de Benavides to hold the pueblo of Cuautitlan for himself and to make use of it. Gil Gonzáles went with us at that time to the Hibueras (for he was never a conquistador of New Spain), and years went by during which he utilized that pueblo and collected the tributes from it, apparently without any title to it beyond the authority which his brother sent him. When Alonzo de Ávila died, it seems that the Attorney General of His Majesty entered a claim for the pueblo to be restored to his Majesty, as Alonzo de Avila was dead. Over this lawsuit arose the riots and rebellions and deaths which took place in Mexico, and the exiles which resulted and the evil reputations of others. If all this is thoroughly taken into account the

de Lugo, the elder, the lord of some towns situated near Medina del Campo which are called Fuenencastin.

Andrés de Monjaraz, who was a Captain in the affair of Mexico, died; he was a great sufferer from boils and his ailment did not aid him much in warfare.

Diego de Ordas was a Captain during the first time we attacked Mexico, and after Mexico was captured was created a Comendador de Santiago; he died in the Marañon.

The four brothers of Don Pedro de Alvarado were named:—

Jorge de Alvarado, who was a Captain in the affair of Mexico and in that of Guatemala, who died in Madrid in the year fifteen hundred and forty.

Another brother named Gonzalo de Alvarado who died a natural death in Oaxaca.

Gómez de Alvarado, who died in Peru.

Juan de Alvarado, who was a bastard, died at sea on his way to the Island of Cuba.

Juan Jaramillo, who was Captain of a launch when we were attacking Mexico, and was a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Cristóbal Flores, who was a worthy man, died in the Affair of Jalisco, when he accompanied Nuño de Guzman.

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end was a bad one—Quiñones, who went to Castile, ended worse, and died stabbed at Terciera, the gold and silver was robbed by the fleet of the Frenchman Juan Florin, Alonzo de Ávila was a prisoner in France, and Juan Florin himself, who committed the robbery, was taken prisoner at sea by Basques and hanged at the port of Pico.

The pueblo of Cuautitlan was taken from the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, and over this they were beheaded, for it was found out they did not show the loyalty that they should to the service of His Majesty; other persons were condemned and banished, and others were left with damaged reputations.

I wish to include this in my narrative so that it may be seen what caused the restlessness in Mexico, although I believe there was no necessity for it, for they [the readers] will be tired of hearing these matters. Let us go on and speak of my [proper] subject."

Cristóbal Martin de Gamboa, who was Master of the Horse to Cortés, died a natural death.

A certain Çayzedo, who was a rich man, died a natural death.

Francisco de Sauzedo was a native of Medina de Rio Seco, and because he was very neat we called him "el galan," and they say that he was chief steward to the Admiral of Castile; he met his death at the bridges by the hands of the Indians.

Gonzalo Domínguez, a very valiant man and a fine horseman, died in the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Moron, a very brave man and a good horseman, a native of Gínes, died in the hands of the Indians.

Francisco de Morla, a very valiant soldier and good horseman, a native of Jerez, perished at the bridges.

Another good soldier named Morla, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, died on the rocky hills in the province of Guatemala.

Francisco Corral, a man of great merit, died in Vera Cruz.

Fulano de Lares, a very brave man and a good horseman, was killed by the Indians.

Another Lares, a crossbowman, died in the hands of the Indians.

Simon de Cuenca, who was Mayordomo to Cortés, died in the affair of Xicalango in the hands of the Indians, and there also died in company with him ten other soldiers whose names I do not remember.

So also Francisco de Medina, a native of Aracena and a Captain on one expedition, fell in the affair of Xicalango and with him other soldiers.

Maldonado "the broad," a native of Salamanca, and a distinguished person who had been in command of expeditions, died a natural death.

Two brothers called Francisco Álvarez Chico and Juan

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Álvarez Chico, natives of Fregenal; the former, a business man, was ailing and died in the Island of Santo Domingo, Juan Álvarez fell in the affair of Colima by the hands of the Indians.

Francisco de Terrazas, a man of distinction who had been mayordomo to Cortés, died a natural death.

Cristóbal del Corral, the first standard bearer we had in the battle of Mexico and a very valiant man, returned to Castile and there died.

A certain Antonio de Villareal, the husband of Ysabel de Ojeda, who afterwards changed his name and said he was called Antonio Serrano de Cardona, died a natural death.

Francisco Rodríguez Margariño, a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Francisco Flores of Oaxaca, a nobleman, died a natural death.

Alonzo de Grado, who married a daughter of Montezuma named Doña Ysabel, died a natural death.

Four soldiers whose surname was Solis. One, who was an old man, died in the hands of the Indians; another, called Solis Casquete, because he had rather a passion for asking questions, died a natural death in Guatemala. Another, called Pedro de Solis, "behind the door," because he was always in his house behind the door watching those who passed in the street while he could not be seen, was son-in-law to one Orduña the elder of Puebla, and died a natural death. The other Solis, who was called "he of the orchard," because he had a very good orchard and got a good income from it—and they also called him "silk jacket" because he boasted of the silk he brought—died a natural death.

A brave soldier named Benítez died in the hands of the Indians.

Another brave soldier named Juan Ruano died at the bridges at the hands of the Indians.

One Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia, a very distinguished and rich man, died a natural death.

A very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea was a native of the land of Medina del Campo, and one can well say that, after God, it was Cristóbal de Olea who saved the life of Don Hernando Cortés the first time in the affair of Xochimilco, when Cortés was seen to be in great danger, for the Mexican squadrons of war had pulled him down from his horse called "el Romo" and this Olea arrived among the first to rescue him, and personally accomplished so much that Don Hernando Cortés had a chance to mount his horse again; and some of us gentlemen and other soldiers who came up at that time promptly assisted him, but Olea was very badly wounded.

The last time this same Cristóbal de Olea rescued him was when the Mexicans defeated Cortés himself on the little causeway in Mexico, and killed sixty-two soldiers; and a squadron of Mexicans already had Don Fernando himself seized and grappled, ready to carry him off for sacrifice, and they had given him a cut on the leg, and that brave Olea with his valiant spirit fought so courageously that he freed Cortés from their hands, and there this gallant man lost his life; and now while I am writing about it my heart is moved to pity, for it seems as though I could see it now and his person and gallant spirit are present with me.

Cortés wrote about that defeat[1] to His Majesty, that not more than twenty-eight died, but as I state they were sixty-two.

There also came with us a brave soldier who had lost one hand which had been cut off in Castile as a punishment; he died in the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Tobilla, who had been

[1] Blotted out in the original: "bloody."

severely injured in one leg, which he said had happened in the affair of Garellano with the Great Captain, died in the hands of the Indians.

Two brothers named Gonzalo López de Gimena and Juan López de Gimena. Gonzalo López died in the hands of the Indians, and Juan López became chief Alcalde of Vera Cruz and died a natural death.

One Juan de Cuellar, a good horseman, first married a daughter of the lord of Texcoco, and his wife was called Doña Ana and was the sister of that Suchel the lord of this same Texcoco; he died a natural death.

One Fulano de Cuellar, said to be a relation of Francisco Verdugo a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Santos Hernández, an old man, a native of Sória, (for nickname we called him "the good old Trooper") died a natural death.

One Pedro Moreno Medrano, who was a settler in Vera Cruz and was repeatedly [chosen as] Alcalde Ordinario of that place, was upright in doing justice; later on he went to live in Puebla; he was a faithful servant of His Majesty both as a soldier and as a judge, and died a natural death.

One Juan de Limpias Caravajal, a good soldier who was Captain of a launch, and grew deaf during the war, died a natural death.

One Melchior de Alavez, a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

A certain Roman López, who after Mexico was captured lost an eye, and was a distinguished man, died in Oaxaca.

One Villandrano, who was said to be a relation of the Conde de Rivadéo, and was a distinguished man, died a natural death.

One Osorio, a native of Old Castile, a good soldier and a person of much importance, died in Vera Cruz.

Rodrigo de Castañeda, who was an interpreter and a good soldier, died in Castile.

One Fulano de Pilar, who was a good linguist, died in the affair of Coyoacan[1] when he went with Nuño de Guzman[2].

Another brave and good soldier named Fulano Granado, still lives in Mexico.

Martin López, a good soldier who was the shipwright who built the thirteen launches which were such a great help in capturing Mexico, and served His Majesty very well as a soldier, still lives in Mexico.

Juan de Najara, a good soldier and crossbowman, served well in the war.

One Ojeda was a settler among the Zapotecs; his eye was destroyed during the affair of Mexico.

One Fulano de la Serna, who owned some silver mines, had a sword cut on the face which was given him in the war. I do not remember what became of him.

Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Conde de Medellin, a distinguished gentleman, went to Castile the first time we sent gifts to His Majesty, and Don Francisco de Montejo went in his company, before he was appointed Adelantado. They took with them much gold in grains [as they were] taken from the mines, as well as jewels of different patterns, and the golden sun and the silver moon. It appeared the Bishop of Burgos, named Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, archbishop of Rosano, ordered Alonzo Hernández Puertocassero to be seized, because he told this same Bishop that he wished to go to Flanders with the gift for His Majesty, and because he advocated the affairs of Cortés,

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[1] Is this a mistake and should it be Colima?

[2] Scratched out in the original: "A good soldier named Francisco de Olmos is a rich man and lives in Mexico."

and the Bishop advanced as a pretext for seizing him that he was accused of having taken a married woman to the Island of Cuba; he died in Castile. Although he was one of the principal comrades who left Cuba with us I had forgotten to place him in this list[1] until fortunately I remembered him[2].

Another good soldier died, named Louis de Zaragosa.

Let us get on:—Fulano de Villalobos, a native of Sta. Eulalia, returned to Castile a rich man and died there.

Tirado de la Puebla, a man of business, died a natural death.

Juan del Rio, returned to Castile.

Juan Rico de Alanis, a good soldier, died in the hands of the Indians.

Gonzalo Hernández de Alanis, a very brave soldier, died a natural death.

Juan Ruiz de Alanis, died a natural death.

Fulano de Navarrete, who was a settler at Panuco, died a natural death.

As for Francisco Martin Vendabal, the Indians carried him off alive to be sacrificed, as well as a companion of his named Pedro Gallego, and we laid much blame for this on Cortés, because he intended to arrange an ambush for some Mexican squadrons, and the Mexicans deceived him and planned one against Cortés himself, seized from him the two soldiers mentioned by me, and carried them off to be sacrificed before his eyes, and they could not help themselves.

There were three soldiers surnamed Trujillo, one was a native of Trujillo and was very brave; he died at the hands of the Indians. Another was a native of Huelva or Moguer; he also was high spirited, and died at the

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "among the first."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "may he pardon me."

hands of the Indians, as did also the third who was a native of Leon.

A soldier named Juan Flamenco died a natural death.

Francisco del Barco, a native of Barco de Ávila, who was a Captain in the affair of Cholula, died a natural death.

Juan Pérez, who had killed his wife, and they called the woman "the daughter of the cowherd," died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Rodrigo de Jarra, the hunchback, a most sensitive man when his person was concerned, died in Colima or Zacatula, as did another hunchback, a good soldier named Madrid.

Another soldier, named Juan de Ynis, was a crossbowman; he died a natural death.

Fulano de Alamilla, who was a settler at Panuco, and a good crossbowman, died a natural death.

Fulano Moron, a great musician, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano de Varela, a good soldier, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano de Valladolid, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano de Villafuerte, a person of consequence who married a relation of the first wife of Don Hernando Cortés, and was a settler at Zacatula or Colima, died a natural death.

Juan Ruiz de la Parra, who was a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano Gutiérrez, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Valladolid, the stout, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Pacheco, who was a settler in Mexico, a man of distinction, died a natural death.

Hernando de Lerma or de Lema, an old man who was a Captain, died a natural death.

Fulano Juarez the elder, who killed his wife with a stone for grinding maize, died a natural death.

Fulano de Ángulo, and one Francisco Gutiérrez, and another youth named Santa Clara, who were settlers from Havana, all of them died at the hands of the Indians.

One Garci-Caro, a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A youth named Larios, who was a settler in Mexico, who had lawsuits about his Indians, died a natural death.

Juan Gómez, who was a settler in Guatemala, returned to Castile a rich man.

Two brothers named Jimenes, who were natives of Linguijuela in Estramadura; one died at the hands of the Indians, and the elder a natural death.

Two brothers called the Florianes, died at the hands of the Indians.

Francisco Gonzáles de Najera, and his son whose name was Pedro Gonzáles de Najera, and two nephews of Francisco Gonzáles, called Ramires; Francisco Gonzáles died in the rocky hills which are in the province of Guatemala, and the two nephews at the bridges of Mexico.

Another good soldier named Amaya, who was a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

Two brothers named Carmonas, natives of Jéres, died natural deaths.

Two other brothers named Bargas, natives of Seville; one died in the hands of the Indians, and the other a natural death.

A very good soldier named ..... de Polanco, a native of Ávila, who was a settler in Guatemala, died a natural death.

Herman López de Ávila, who was the custodian of the property of deceased persons, returned to Castile a rich man.

Juan de Aragon and Andrés de Rodas, settlers in Guatemala, died natural deaths.

A certain Fulano de Cieza, who hurled the bar very well, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Santistevan the elder, of Chiapa, died a natural death.

Bartolomé Pardo died at the hands of the Indians.

Bernaldino de Sória, who was a settler in Chiapa, the father of a man called Centeno, also died a natural death.

As for Pedro Escudero, and Juan Cermeño, and another the brother of this latter, also surnamed Cermeño, [both] good soldiers — Don Hernando Cortés ordered Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño to be hanged, because they mutinied in a ship, intending to go to the Island of Cuba and give information to Diego Velásquez, the governor of it, about when and how we were sending Proctors and gold and silver to His Majesty, so that they might sally forth and seize it at Havana. The man who betrayed it [the plot] was Bernaldino de Sória, who was a settler in Chiapa, and as I have stated they died hanged.[1]

Cortés also ordered the toes of Gonzala de Umbria, a very good soldier, to be cut off his feet because he had joined the others [mutineers], and he went to Castile to lay a complaint before His Majesty and was very inimical to Cortés; His Majesty ordered him to be given a royal decree that he should be awarded one thousand pesos of revenue in New Spain, but he never left Castile, and died there.

Rodrigo Rangel, who was a distinguished man, was

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[1] See note, vol. i, p. 207.

much crippled by bubos; he never took part in the wars in a way that is worth mentioning, and he died of his pains.

Francisco de Orozco, was likewise afflicted with bubos; he had been a soldier in Italy. For some days he was in command during the affair of Tepeaca, while we were warring against Mexico, I do not know what became of him or where he died.

A soldier named Mesa, who had been a gunner and soldier in Italy and was the same in New Spain, died drowned in a river after the conquest of Mexico.

Another very valiant soldier named Fulano Arbolanche, a native of Old Castile, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Luis Velásquez, a native of Arévalo, died in the affair of Higueras [Honduras] when we went with Cortés.

Martin García of Valencia, a good soldier, also died in the affair of Higueras.

Another good soldier, named Alonzo de Barrientos, went from Tuxtepec to take refuge among the people of Chinantla when Mexico rose in revolt, and in that affair of Tuxtepec seventy-six soldiers and five Castilian women belonging to the followers of Narvaez, as well as our own people, died, killed by the Mexicans who were in garrison in that province.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Luis, or Juan Luis, who was very tall of stature (and we gave him as a nickname "el nino") died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Hernando Burgueno, a native of Aranda de Duero, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Monroy, because of a rumour that he was the son of a Comendador of Santistevan, called himself "el manco" (the one handed), so as to avoid being recognised; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Concerning Almodóvar the elder, and a son of his called Álvaro de Almodóvar, and two nephews that bore the same surname of Almodóvar—one nephew died at the hands of the Indians, and the old man and Álvaro and the other nephew died natural deaths.

Two brothers called the Martínes, natives of Fronegal, good looking men, died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Juan del Puerto died crippled by bubos.

Another good soldier named Lagos died at the hands of the Indians.

A Friar of Our Lady of Mercy, named Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who was a theologian and a great chanter, died a natural death.

A presbyter named Juan Díaz, a native of Seville, died a natural death.

Another soldier named[1] , a native of Garrovillas. This man, according to report, took five thousand pesos de oro to Castile from the Island of Santo Domingo; this he had extracted from some rich mines, and when he reached Castile he spent it and gambled it away, and he came with us, and the Indians killed him.

Alonzo Hernández Paulo, already an old man, and two nephews; one was called Alonzo Hernández, a good musketeer, I do not remember the name of the other nephew. Alonzo Hernández died at the hands of the Indians, and the old man and the other nephew died natural deaths.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Almestra, a native of Seville or Alxarabe,[2] died at the hands of the Indians.

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[1] Here there is a blank space. Remon fills it in in his edition with the name "Sancho de Avila," Fol. 242 Vto.—G. G.

[2] Algarve?

Another good soldier named Rabanal Montañez died at the hands of the Indians.

A handsome man named Pedro de Guzman, who married a Valenciana named Doña Francisca de Valterra, went to Peru and gained reputation, and he and his wife were frozen to death.

A good crossbowman named Cristóbal Díaz, a native of Colmenar de Arenas, died a natural death.

Another soldier named Retamales died at the hands of the Indians in the affair of Tabasco.

Another valiant soldier who came was called Gínes Nórtes; he died in the affair at Yucatan, at the hands of the Indians.

A very skilful and valiant soldier named Luis Alonzo, who could cut very well with a sword, died at the hands of the Indians.

Alonzo Catalan, a good soldier, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Juan Ciciliano, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Fulano de Canillas, who was a drummer in Italy and was the same in New Spain, died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro Hernández, who was secretary to Cortés, was a native of Seville, and died at the hands of the Indians.

Juan Díaz, who had a great cloud in his eye, and was a native of Burgos, was in charge of the things for barter and the provisions which Cortés took with him; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Diego de Soria, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Another soldier, a youth named Juan Nuñez de Mercado, was reported to be a native of Cuellar, others said that he was a native of Madrigal; this soldier, who lost his eyesight, is now a settler at Puebla.

Another good soldier, and the richest of all those who came with Cortés, named Juan Sedeño, a native of Arevalo, brought his own ship and a mare and a negro, and bacon and much cassava bread; he was a distinguished man and died a natural death.

Fulano de Baena, who was a settler at Trinidad, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Zaragosa, already an old man, who was the father of Zaragosa the notary of Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Diego Martin de Ayomonte died a natural death.

Another soldier named Cárdenas (he himself said that he was grandson of the Comendador Mayor, Don Fulano Cárdenas) died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier also named Cárdenas was a seaman and pilot, a native of Triana. This was he who said that he never had seen a country where there were two kings as there were in New Spain, for Cortés took his fifth like a king after the royal fifth was taken out; reflecting on this caused him to fall ill, and he went to Castile and made a report of it to His Majesty, and of other injuries which they had done him; he was very hostile to the affairs of Cortés, and His Majesty ordered him to be given a royal decree that he should be given Indians and a revenue of one thousand pesos, but, as soon as he returned with it to Mexico, he died.

Another very good soldier named Arguello, a native of Leon, died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Diego Hernández, a native of Saelyzes de los Gallegos, who helped to saw the wood for the launches, went blind, and died a natural death.

A soldier of great strength and spirit named Fulano Vásquez, died in the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier, a crossbowman named Arroyuelo, reported to be a native of Olmedo, died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Pizarro went on expeditions as a Captain, Cortés said he was his relation; at that time the Pizarros were not known by name, nor was Peru discovered. He died at the hands of the Indians.

Alvar López, a settler in Puebla, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Yañes, a native of Cordova ; this soldier went with us to the Hibueras, and, while he was away, his wife married another husband, and when we returned from that journey, he would not take back his wife. He died a natural death.

A good soldier and very active man, named Magallanes, a Portuguese, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another Portuguese, a silversmith, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another Portuguese, already an old man, named Alonzo Martin de Alpedrino, died a natural death.

Another Portuguese, named Juan Álvarez Rubaco, died a natural death.

Another very valiant Portuguese, named Gonzalo Sánchez, died a natural death.

Another Portuguese, who became a settler at Puebla, named Gregorio Rios, a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Two other Portuguese, tall men, named Villanueva, became settlers at Puebla. I do not know what became of them or where they died.

Of three soldiers, with the names of Fulano de Ávila, one who was called Gaspar de Ávila, son-in-law of Ortigosa the notary, died a natural death ; the other Ávila joined the Captain Andrés de Tápia, he died at the hands of the Indians. I do not remember where the other Ávila settled.

Two brothers, already old men, named Bandadas, natives of the land of Ávila, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three soldiers, all three of them named Espinosa: one was a Basque, he died in the hands of the Indians; the other was called Espinosa of the Blessing, for he always brought it into his conversation, and his talk was very pleasant, thanks to the good blessing; he died a natural death. The third Espinosa was a native of Espinosa de los Menteros; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro Peron of Toledo, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Villa Sinda, a native of Portillo, died a natural death.

Two good soldiers who were nicknamed the "San Juanes:" one we called San Juan the haughty, because he was very pretentious, he died at the hands of the Indians; the other whom we called San Juan de Uchila, a Gallician, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Martin Ysquierdo, a native of Castromocho, was a settler in the town of San Miguel, subject to Guatemala, and died a natural death.

One Aparicio, who married a woman named La Medina, a native of Maria de Rio Seco, settled at San Miguel, and died a natural death.

A good soldier named Cáceres, a native of Trujillo, died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Alonzo de Herrera, a native of Jéres, who was a Captain against the Zapotecs, stabbed another Captain named Figueroa over certain disputes about the command, and from fear that the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, who at that time was Governor, should capture him, joined the expedition to Marañon, and there he died at the hands of the Indians. Figueroa was drowned in the sea on his way to Castile.

A youth named Maldonado, a native of Medellin, fell very ill with bubos, and I do not know if he died a natural death, nor can I assert it of the Maldonado

of Vera Cruz who was the husband of Doña Maria del Rincon.

Another soldier passed away named Morales, already an old man, who was lame of one leg, and was said to have been a soldier of the Comendador Solis; he was Alcalde in ordinary of Villa Rica and carried out true justice.

A soldier named Escalona the youth, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three other soldiers, settlers at Villa Rica, never went to the wars nor on any expedition in New Spain. One was named Arévalo, the other Juan Leon, and the third Madrigal; they died natural deaths.

Another soldier called by the nickname of "Lencero" [the linen draper], who owned the inn now called "de Lencero," which is between Vera Cruz and Puebla, was a good soldier and died a natural death.

Pedro Gallego, a pleasant man and a poet, who also owned an inn on the direct road from Vera Cruz to Mexico, died a natural death.

Alonzo Duran, who was somewhat cross-eyed and did not see well, and acted as Sacristan, died a natural death.

A soldier named Navarro, who was throughout attached to [the company of] Captain Sandoval, and afterwards married in Vera Cruz, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Talavera, who was attached to the household of the Captain Sandoval, died at the hands of the Indians.

Two soldiers, one of them named Juan de Manzanilla, and the other Pedro de Manzanilla; the latter died at the hands of the Indians, and Juan de Manzanilla, who was a settler in Puebla, died a natural death.

A soldier named Benito de Bejel, who was drummer and tambourine player to the armies in Italy, as he also was in New Spain, died a natural death.

Alonzo Romero, who was a settler at Vera Cruz, a rich and distinguished man, died a natural death.

Niño Pinto, brother-in-law of Alonzo Romera, was a prominent and rich man in Vera Cruz; he died a natural death.

A good soldier named Sindos de Portillo, a native of Portillo, who possessed very good Indians and was rich, left his Indians, sold his property and divided it among the poor, and became a Franciscan Friar. This Friar lived a holy life and was appreciated in Mexico, and it was generally known that he died a Saint and performed miracles, and he was almost a Saint.

Another good soldier named Francisco de Medina, a native of Medina del Campo, became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk.

Another good soldier named Quintero, a native of Moguer, who owned good Indians and was rich, gave all up for God, and became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk.

Yet another good soldier named Alonzo de Aguilar, who owned the inn, now called "de Aguilar," between Vera Cruz and Puebla, who was rich and held a good assignment of Indians, sold it all and gave it to God, and became a Dominican Friar and was a good monk. This Friar Aguilar was highly respected and was a very good Dominican Friar.

Another good soldier named Fulano Berguillos held good Indians and was rich, but gave it all up, and became a Franciscan Friar. This Burguillos later on left the Order and was not as good a monk as he ought to have been.

Another good soldier named Escalante, who was very courtly, and a good horseman, became a Franciscan Friar; he afterwards left the Monastery, but in about a month returned and took the cowl, and became a very good monk.

Another good soldier named Lyntorno, a native of Guadalajara, became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk; he had held assignments of Indians and been a man of business.

Another good soldier named Gaspar Díaz, a native of Old Castile, who was rich through his Indians as well as from business, gave up everything to God and went to the pine forests of Guaxalcingo[1], in a very solitary part, and made a hermitage and stayed there as a hermit; he led such a good life and so fasted and chastised himself that he became very thin and weak, and it was said that he slept on the ground on some straw. As soon as the[2] good Bishop, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, knew about this he sent to summon him, and commanded him not lead such a severe life. The hermit Gaspar Díaz had such a good repute that two other hermits joined company with him, and all led good lives, and, at the end of the four years that they remained there, God was pleased to take him to his holy glory.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Bellido died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Paynado, who was crippled with the disease of boils after the conquest of Mexico, died in Vera Cruz.

A good soldier named Rivadeo Gallego died at the hands of the Indians, in the affair of Almeria.

Another soldier named Galleguillo, for he was small in stature, died at the hands of the Indians.

A brave and daring soldier named Lerma, who was annoyed because Cortés ordered him to be reprimanded for no fault whatever, went away among the Indians, and nothing [further] was heard of him dead or alive.

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[1] Huexotzinco.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "very reverent."

Another good soldier named Pineda or Pinedo, who had been a servant of Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, when Narvaez came left Mexico to join him, and was killed on the road by the Indians. It was suspected that Cortés ordered him to be killed.

Another good soldier and good crossbowman named Pedro López died a natural death.

Another Pedro López, a crossbowman, went with Alonzo de Ávila to the Island of Hispañola and remained there.

There were three blacksmiths, one named Juan Garcia, the other Hernan Martyn, who married La Bermuda, and I do not remember the name of the third. One died at the hands of the Indians and the other two natural deaths.

A soldier named Álvaro Gallego, who became a settler in Mexico and was brother-in-law to some Zamoras, died a natural death.

Another soldier, who was already an old man, named Paredes (father of one Paredes who is now in the province of Yucatan), died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Guillermo Mexia Rapalpelo [the plunderer] (because he himself said that he was the descendant of a Mexia who went about robbing in the time of the King Don Juan), in company with one Zenteno, died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro de Tápia died paralysed after the capture of Mexico.

Certain pilots, namely Anton de Alamínos and his son, who also bore the same name as his father, natives of Palos, and one Comacho of Triana, and one Juan Álvarez "el Mariquillo" of Huelva, and one Sopuesta del Condado, already an old man, and one Cárdenas (this was he who was affected in his mind when they took out two fifths from the gold, one of them for Cortés), and one

Gonzalo de Umbria; and there was another pilot named Galdin, and there were also other pilots whose names I do not remember, except that of one whom I saw remaining as a settler in Mexico, which was Sopuesta. All the rest went to Cuba and Jamaica and other islands and to Castile to get engagements as pilots, through fear of the Marquis Cortés who was not on good terms with them, because they gave advice to Francisco de Garay about the country which he begged His Majesty to grant to him. There were even four of these pilots who made complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, these were the two Alamínos and Cárdenas and Gonzalo de Umbria, and he [His Majesty] ordered them to be given royal decrees that to each of them there should be given in New Spain a thousand pesos of revenue. Cárdenas came back and the others never returned.

A soldier named Lucas Genovés, who was a pilot, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Juan Genovés died at the hands of the Indians.

A third Genovés, who was a settler in Oaxaca, the husband of an old Portuguese woman, died a natural death.

A soldier named Enríquez, a native of the country of Palencia, was choked by fatigue and the weight of his arms and the heat they caused him.

A soldier named Cristóbal de Jaen, who was a carpenter, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Ochoa, a Basque, a rich and notable man who became a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

A very valiant soldier, named Zamudio, went to Castile because he had stabbed someone in Mexico, and in Castile he became Captain of a company of men at arms, and died in the battle of Castyl Novo with many other Spanish gentlemen.

Another soldier, named Cervantes the crazy, was a buffoon and a knave, and died at the hands of the Indians.

One Plazuela died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Alonzo Pererelmayte, who came married to a very beautiful Indian from Bayamo, died at the hands of the Indians.

Martin Vásquez, a native of Olmedo, a rich and distinguished man who became a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Sebastian Rodríguez, who was a crossbowman and after Mexico was captured became trumpeter, died a natural death.

Another crossbowman named Peñalosa, a companion of Sebastian Rodríguez, died a natural death.

A soldier who called himself Álvarez, a seaman and native of Palos, who was said to have had thirty sons and daughters by Indian women within a matter of three years, died among the Indians in the Higueras.

A soldier named Perez Malinche, whom I afterwards heard called Artiaga, a settler at Puebla and a rich man, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Pedro Gonzáles Sabiote died a natural death.

A good soldier named Gerónimo de Aguilar, whom I include in this list because it was he whom we found at the Punta de Catoche in the hands of the Indians, became our interpreter, and died of bubos.

Another soldier named Pedro Valenciano, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Of two soldiers who bore the surname of Tarifa, one became a settler in Oaxaca and husband of La Muñiz, and died a natural death; the other, who was called Tarifa of the White Hands, was a native of Seville, and that name was given him because he was not fit for warfare or hard-

ship, only to talk of past events; he died drowned in the River of the Golfo Dulce, he and his horse, and they never appeared again.

Another good soldier named Pedro Sánchez Farfan, a man of worth who was Captain in Texcoco while we were attacking Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Alonzo Escobar, the page, who personally was held in great esteem, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named the Bachelor Escobar was an Apothecary and effected cures; he died a natural death.

Another soldier, also named Escobar, was very brave, but of such [a disposition] and so quarrelsome and ill mannered that he died hanged, because he violated a woman and was mutinous.

A soldier named Fulano de Santiago, a native of Huelva, returned to Castile a rich man. Another man, his companion, named Ponce, from Santiago, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Fulano Méndez, already an old man, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three other soldiers died in the wars which we fought in Tabasco. One was named Saldaña, and I do not remember the names of the other two.

Another good soldier and crossbowman, an old man much given to card playing, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier, also an old man, brought his son named Ortequilla, who was page to the great Montezuma; both the old man and his son died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Fulano de Gaona, a native of Medina del Rio Seco, died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Juan de Cáceres, who after the capture

of Mexico was a rich man and a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A soldier named Gonzalo Hurones, a native of las Garrovillas, died a natural death.

A soldier, already an old man, called Ramíres the elder, who limped with one leg and was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Another very valiant soldier named Luis Farfan died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Morillas died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Fulano de Rojas afterwards went to Peru and there died.

A certain Astorga, an old man who became a settler at Oaxaca, died a natural death.

Of Pedro Tostado and his son who bore the same name, one Tostado died at the hands of the Indians, and the other died a natural death.

A good soldier named Baldovinos died at the hands of the Indians.

I also wish to place here Guillen de la Loa, and Andrés Núñez, and Maestre Pedro the harpist, and three other soldiers. This Guillen de la Loa was a notable man and was one of those whom Francisco de Garay had sent to explore Panuco; he came to take possession of the country for Garay, and we took him prisoner, him and those in his company, and for this reason I place them in this account among those [the companions] of Cortés. Guillen de la Loa died of a cane thrust which he was given in a game with reed spears. The Maestre Pedro the harpist, who was a Valencian, died a natural death. Andrés Núñes also died a natural death, the others died at the hands of the Indians.

One Porras, very rubicund and a great singer, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Ortiz was a fine performer on the viola, and teacher of dancing; another who came with him as companion, named Bartolomé García, was a miner in the Island of Cuba, and this Ortis and Bartolomé García owned the best horse that there was in our Company, the one which Cortés took from them and paid them for it; both companions died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Serrano, a crossbowman, died at the hands of the Indians.

An old man passed away named Pedro de Valencia, a native of a place belonging to Placencia.

A good soldier named Quintero, who was a shipmaster, died at the hands of the Indians.

Alonzo Rodríguez, who left good mines in the Island of Cuba and was a rich man, died at the hands of the Indians at the rocky hills which they now call the Peñoles which the Marquis captured.

There also died at that place another good soldier named Gaspar Sánchez, a nephew of the Treasurer of Cuba, with other soldiers who were followers of Narvaez.

One Pedro de Palma, who was the first husband of Elvira López la Larga, died hanged, together with another soldier of Cortés' company named Trebejo, a native of Fuente Ginaldo. Gil Gonzáles de Ávila or Francisco de las Casas ordered them to be hanged, and they hanged a presbyter together with them, as revolters and instigators of mutinies, when they were on their way to New Spain from Naco, after they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid.

These soldiers and the presbyter belonged to the party of Cristóbal de Olid, and, when I came from the Hibueras in the company of Captain Luis Marin, I was shown the tree, a ceiba, where they were hanged.

Once more to take up my first list: Andrés de Mol, a Levantine, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Albera, a native of Villa Nueva de la Serena, died at the hands of the Indians.

Concerning other very good soldiers who used to be in Cuba, who were sailors, pilots, masters and mates of the artificers of the ships which we destroyed, many of them were very active soldiers in the wars and battles, but as I do not remember them all I do not place their names here.

There were also other soldiers who were seamen named los Peñates, and the Pinzons, the former natives of Gibraltar and the others of Palos; some of them died at the hands of the Indians and others natural deaths.

I also wish to mention myself here in this report, at the end of all, because I came on a voyage of discovery twice before Don Hernando Cortés undertook his voyage, (as I have already stated in the chapter that speaks about it), and the third time with Cortés himself. My name is Bernal Díaz del Castillo and I am a settler and Regidor of the City of Santiago de Guatemala, and a native of the very noble and famous and most celebrated town of Medino del Campo, the son of Francisco Díaz del Castillo, who was Regidor of it, and for another name was called "el Galan," may he rest in holy glory. I give many thanks and much praise to Our Lord Jesus Christ and our Lady the Holy Virgin Mary, His blessed mother, who have protected me so that I have not been offered in sacrifice, as in those times they sacrificed the majority of my companions whom I have named. So now one can understand and see clearly our heroic deeds, and who were the valiant Captains and brave soldiers who conquered this part of the New World, and the honour of us all shall not be attributed to one Captain alone.

CHAPTER CCVI.

About the stature and shape of certain of the Captains and brave soldiers and the age they had attained when we came to conquer New Spain.

I HAVE already spoken, in the chapter that treats of it, of the age and the personal appearence of the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés at the time when he died at Castilleja de la Cuesta, and of the rank he held, and other things which will be found written in this narrative.

I have also said, in the chapter that tells about it, how old Captain Cristóbal de Olid was when he went with the fleet to the Hibueras, and about his disposition and personal appearance, and there [the description] can be seen.

I wish now to record the age and appearance of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was Comendador of Santiago and Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala, Honduras, and Chiapa. He was about thirty-four[1] years old when he came here, of good size, and well proportioned, with a very cheerful countenance and a winning smile,[2] and because he was so handsome the Mexican Indians gave him the name of "Tonatio," which means "the Sun." He was very active and a good horseman,[3] and above all was very frank-hearted and a good talker, and he was very neat in his attire but with rich and costly clothes. He wore a small gold chain round his neck with a jewel, and a ring with a good diamond. As I have already stated where he died and other things about him, I will say no more here.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "six."

[2] Blotted out in the original: "but grave when necessary."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "and very valiant."

The Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo was of medium height and cheerful countenance; he liked merriment, and was a man of business and a good horseman, and was about thirty-five years old when he came. He was open-handed and spent more than his income; he was Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan and had other titles; he died in Castile.

Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval was a very valiant Captain, and was about twenty-four[1] years of age when he came here; he was Chief Alguacil of New Spain and for a matter of ten months was Governor of New Spain together with the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada. He was not very tall but was very well made and robust, with a broad and deep chest, as were his shoulders. He was somewhat bow-legged, and was a very good horseman. His countenance tended towards the coarse, and his chestnut hair and beard were rather curly. His voice was not very clear, but slightly hesitating and lisping, more or less so. He was not a man of letters but of good average knowledge, nor was he covetous of anything but to be of good repute and act like a good and valiant Captain. In the wars which we waged in New Spain he always showed consideration for the soldiers who appeared to him to be behaving like men, and he protected and helped them. He was not a man to wear rich apparel but was always plainly clad. He owned the best horse, the best galloper and most easily turned to one side or the other, and they said that its like had never been seen in Castile or elsewhere. It was a chestnut with a star on its forehead and a white stocking on its near hind leg. It was named Motilla, and now when men dispute about good horses it is the custom to say in proof of excellence, "It is as good as was Motilla." I must stop talking about horses

[1] Blotted out in the original: "eight or thirty."

and say about this valiant Captain that he died in the town of Palos, when he went with Don Hernando Cortés to kiss the feet of His Majesty. It was about Gonzalo de Sandoval that the Marquis Cortés said to His Majesty, that besides the brave soldiers whom he had in his company, who were so valiant that one might name them amongst the most notable that the world had known, there was above them all Sandoval, who was already [fitted to be] the commander of many armies both in council and in action. He was a native of Medellin and a gentleman by birth, and his father was Alcalde of a fortress.

Let us go on to speak of another good Captain named Juan Velásquez de Leon, a native of Old Castile; he was about thirty-six years old when he came here. He was of good size and robust with good shoulders and chest, all well proportioned and upstanding. His countenance was a strong one and his beard was somewhat curly and well kept, his voice was harsh and coarse and he stuttered a little; he was very spirited and a good talker, and when at that time he had any possessions he shared them with his comrades. It is said that in the Island of Hispañola he killed a gentleman of importance, a rich man named Rívas Altias or Altas Rívas, in personal combat, and when he had killed him neither the Magistrates of that Island nor the Royal Audiencia were ever able to catch him to execute justice in the case, but although they went to arrest him he defended himself against the Alguacils, and he came to the Island of Cuba, and from Cuba to New Spain. He was a very good horseman and both on foot and on horseback was a very thorough man. He died at the bridges when we went fleeing from Mexico.

Diego de Ordás was a native of Campos de Valverde or Castro Verde; he was probably forty years old when

he came here, and was Captain of sword and shield soldiers, for he was no horseman; he was brave and judicious. He was of good height and sturdy and had a very strong face with a thin blackish beard. In his speech he pronounced certain words imperfectly and with something of a stammer. He was frank and a good talker, a Comendador of [the order of] Santiago, and died in the affair of Marañon when he was Captain or Governor, but I do not know very well about that.

Captain Luis Marin was of fair size, robust and vigorous; he was bow-legged and his beard was reddish and his face long and pleasing, except that he had scars as though he had had smallpox. He was about thirty years old when he came here. He was a native of San Lucar, lisped a little like a Sevillano, was a good horseman, and a good talker[1]; he died in the affairs of Michuacan.

Captain Pedro de Ircio was of middle height and limped, he had a cheerful face and talked to excess, and so it would come about that he was always telling stories about Don Pedro Giron and the Conde de Hurueña; he was cunning and so we called him "Sour grapes" without works, and without having done anything worth recording he died in Mexico.

Alonzo de Ávila was a Captain for a certain time in the affair of Mexico, and was the first Accountant that Cortés chose until our Lord the King should choose otherwise. He had a good figure and pleasing face, and in talking he expressed himself very clearly and with good judgment. He was very daring and valiant, and about thirty-three years old when he came here. There was another [good] point, that he was very frank with his comrades, but he was so arrogant and fond of commanding and not being commanded, and somewhat jealous, besides being proud

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "he did not know how to read."

and quarrelsome, that Cortés could not endure him, and this was the reason why he sent him to Castile as Proctor, together with one Antonio de Quiñones, a native of Zamora. With them he sent the personal effects and riches of Montezuma and Guatemoc, and the Frenchmen stole them, and they captured Alonzo de Ávila (for Quiñones was already dead in Terceira). Two years later Alonzo de Ávila returned to New Spain and died either in Yucatan or Mexico. This Alonzo de Ávila was uncle to the gentlemen who were beheaded in Mexico, who were the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, which event I have already spoken about and reported in my history.

Andrés de Monjaras was a Captain during the war in Mexico; he was of fair height and pleasing countenance with a black beard, he was good company, but because he was very ill with boils he did not do anything worth recording, but I place his name in this report so that it may be known that he was a Captain. He was about thirty years old when he came here, he died from the pain of his boils.

Let us go on to a very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, a native of the land of Medina del Campo; he was about twenty six years old when he came here, was well made and robust, neither tall nor short, and had a good chest and shoulders; he had rather a coarse face, but was amiable, his beard and hair were inclined to be curly, and his voice was clear. This soldier was so valiant in all that we saw him do, and so quick with his arms that we held him in great good will and honoured him. It was he who saved Don Hernando Cortés from death in the affair at Xochimilco, when the Mexican squadrons had dragged him from his horse "El Romo" and had seized him to carry him off to be sacrificed. He also rescued Cortés another time on the small causeway, when a

number of Mexicans had grappled with him to carry him off for sacrifice. They had already wounded Cortés himself in one leg and had carried off sixty-two soldiers, when this brave soldier performed wonders in personal combat, and, although he was very badly wounded, killed and slashed and stabbed all the Indians who were carrying Cortés off and made them release him, and this saved his life, but Cristóbal de Olea gave up his life there through saving him.

I wish to speak of two soldiers named Gonzalo Domínguez and a certain Lares. I assert that they were so valiant and daring that we esteemed them equally with Cristóbal de Olid. They were big men and sturdy, with pleasant faces, good speakers and very well conducted, and, so as not to waste more words in their praise, they may be numbered amongst the most valiant soldiers that Castile has produced; they died in the battle of Otumba—I speak of Lares—Domínguez [died] in the battle of Huastepeque, from a horse rolling on top of him.

Let us go on to another good Captain and valiant soldier named Andrés de Tápia. He was about twenty-four years old when he came here, his face was rather ash-coloured and not very pleasing, he was well made and had a thin and scanty beard, and was a good Captain both on foot and on horseback; he died a natural death.

If it were necessary to describe all the features and forms of our Captains, and brave soldiers, who came with Cortés it would be a long story, for as all were valiant and of great repute, we were worthy to be recorded in letters of gold. I do not include here other[1] Captains who belonged to the Company of Narvaez, for my intention since I began to tell my story was to record only the doings and adventures of us who came with Cortés, and I only wish to place

[1] Blotted out in the original: "many valiant."

here [the name of] Captain Panfilo de Narvaez, him who came against us from the Island of Cuba with thirteen hundred soldiers, and with all these[1] [at his back] we defeated him with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers, and how and when and in what way that deed was done, may be seen in my narrative.

To go back to my story, Narvaez was by appearance about forty years old, tall and strong limbed, his face long, with a red beard, and an agreeable presence. His speech and voice was deep as though it came from a cavern. He was a good horseman, said to be brave, a native of Valladolid or of Tudela de Duero, and was married to a lady named Maria de Valenzuela. He was a Captain in the Island of Cuba and a rich man, but said to be very parsimonious. When we defeated him he lost an eye; he made use of good arguments in what he said. He went to Castile to complain to His Majesty of Cortés and of us, and His Majesty granted him the government of certain lands in Florida and there he spent and lost whatever he possessed.

Two interested gentlemen have seen and read the foregoing record of all the Captains and soldiers who came over to New Spain from the Island of Cuba with the daring and valiant Don Hernando Cortés, which I have written down with the qualities both of their bodies and faces, their ages and the rank they held, and where they died and what country they belonged to, and they [the two gentlemen] have told me that they marvel at me, how after so many years I have not forgotten and [still] recollect them. To this I answer that it is no great matter that I now remember their names, although we were five hundred and fifty comrades, for we always

[1] Blotted out in the original: "not counting among them the sailors."

discussed matters together, on expeditions as well as when keeping watch and in the battles and encounters of the wars, and [noted] those of us who were killed in the battles, and how they were carried off to be sacrificed. In this way we told [these things] to one another, especially when we came out wounded from some very bloody and indecisive battles and missed those who remained there dead, and for this reason I include them in this narrative. It is not to be wondered at, for in past times there were great Kings and valiant Captains who, when going to war, knew the names of their soldiers and recognised them and called them by name, and even knew of what provinces or countries or regions they were native. In those days each one of the armies they led often numbered more than thirty thousand men, and the historians who have written about it say that Mithridates, the King of Pontus, was one of those who knew [the men of] his armies, another was the King of Egypt, and another the King of Epirus, otherwise called Alexander. They also say that Hannibal, the great Captain of Carthage, knew all his soldiers, and in our time the valiant and great Captain Don Gonzalo Hernández de Córdova, and many other brave commanders have done so. Moreover I say that if I knew how to paint and carve as did that famous Apelles or those of our own times Berruguete and Michael Angelo, and the famous man of Burgos whom they say is a second Apelles, I have in my mind and sense and memory their bodies and forms and heights and manners and faces and features [so fixed] that I could draw all those I have mentioned true to nature, and even how each one entered on a battle and the great spirit they displayed. Thanks to God and our Lord Jesus Christ that I escaped being sacrificed to the Idols, and was freed from many perils and snares, so that I can now write this memorial or narrative.

CHAPTER CCVII.

About the matters dealt with herein, concerning the merits which we the true conquistadores possess, which will be pleasant to hear.

I HAVE already enumerated the soldiers who came with Cortés and where they died, and if one wishes to know about us, we were most of us gentlemen, although all could not be of such illustrious lineage, for it is evident that in this world men are not born equal either in rank or in virtue. Leaving this talk aside, in addition to our ancient nobility we performed heroic deeds and great exploits in the wars, fighting by day and night serving our Lord and King, discovering these lands until we conquered New Spain and the Great City of Mexico and many other provinces at our own cost,[1] when we were far away from Castile and had no other help save that of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the true help and support that inspires us more than ever. If we read the ancient scriptures which speak of it, and if it is as they say, many gentlemen were in past times exalted and placed in high position, both in Spain as well as in other countries, serving, as at that time they served, in the wars, and for other duties which were acceptable to the Kings who then reigned. I also have noted that some of those gentlemen, who then rose until they held titles of estates and honours, did not go to such wars, nor did they join in the battles, without first being paid wages and salaries. Besides their being paid they were given towns and castles and great lands in perpetuity, and privileges with exemptions which their descendants hold. In addition to this, when the King Don Jaime de Aragon conquered and captured a great part of their kingdom from the Moors, he

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and reputation."

divided it among the gentlemen and soldiers who were present at its conquest, and since those times they own their coats of arms and they are powerful. The same when Granada was captured, and Naples at the time of the Great Captain. The Prince of Orange in the affair of Naples also gave lands and lordships to those who assisted them in the wars and battles. I have called this to mind so that there can be seen our many good and notable services which we rendered our Lord the King and all Christendom ; let them be placed in the balance and everything measured in proportion, and it will be found that we are worthy and deserving to be placed and rewarded like the gentlemen just mentioned by me. Although to the valiant soldiers whom in these latter pages I have called to mind many other brave and vigorous comrades could be added, all gave me the reputation of being a good soldier.

To go back to my story, let interested readers observe my narrative with attention and they will see in how many battles and encounters and wars I have been present since I came to explore,[1] and how I have been twice seized and grabbed by many Mexican Indians, with whom at the time I was fighting, who intended to carry me off to be sacrificed, and at the same moment they carried off many others of my companions, to say nothing of other great perils and hardships, both from hunger and thirst and infinite toil, which are sure to happen to those who undertake similar explorations in new countries, which will be found described point by point in this my story. I do not wish to dip my pen further into this but will record the benefits which have followed on our illustrious conquests.

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[1] Blotted out in the original : "and how full of wounds I have been."

CHAPTER CCVIII.

How the Indians throughout New Spain practised many sacrifices and vices, and [how] we did away with these and instructed them in the holy matters of good doctrine.

I HAVE given an account of events which should be clearly told, such as the benefits which have accrued both to the service of God and of His Majesty through our glorious conquests, costly as they were in the lives of the majority of my comrades, for very few of us are still alive, and those who died were sacrificed, and their hearts and blood offered to the Mexican idols named Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos.

I wish to begin by speaking about the sacrifices which we found in the countries and provinces we conquered. These [provinces] were full of sacrifices and iniquities, for they slew every year in Mexico alone, and certain neighbouring pueblos on the Lake, over two thousand[1] persons big and little, as was found from the count which the Franciscan Monks made (and they were the first to come to New Spain, four and a half years before the Dominicans came), and these Franciscans were very good monks and [men] of holy principles.

In other provinces many more would be added to this count, and they practised other vices of sacrifice, and these were in so many ways I should never finish writing about them in detail, but those which I saw and took note of I will call to mind. They were accustomed to sacrifice the foreheads, ears, tongues, and lips, the breasts, arms, thighs and legs, and even the genital parts, and in some provinces they were circumcised and had flint knives with which to circumcise. The oratories,

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and five hundred."

which are Cues, for so they are called among them, were so numerous that I deliver them to execration. Much in the same way as we in Castile have in every city our holy churches and parish churches and hermitages and wayside chapels, so in this country of New Spain they have their Idol houses full of devils and diabolical figures. In addition to these Cues, every Indian man and woman has two altars, one near their sleeping place and the other at the door of the house, and in the houses many little chests and others which they call "petacas" full of Idols, some small and others large, and small stones and flints, and little books of a paper made from the bark of a tree which they call "Amate," and in them are marked the signs of dates and of past events. In addition to this nearly all of them were sodomites, especially those who live on the coast and hot country, to such an extent that boys go about clothed in the dress of women to gain [a livelihood] in that diabolical and abominable employment. Then they ate human flesh, just as we bring beef from the butchers, and they have in all the pueblos prisons of stout beams, made like houses, as cages, and in them they place and fatten many Indian men and women and boys, and when they are fat they sacrifice and eat them. In addition to this, in the wars which some provinces and pueblos wage against others, those who are captured and taken prisoners are sacrificed and eaten. Then sons have carnal connection with mothers, and brothers with sisters, and uncles with nieces; many are found who indulge in this iniquitous vice. About drunkards I do not know what to say, so many obscenities take place among them; I wish to note only one here which we found in the province of Panuco; they make an injection by the anus with some [hollow] canes and distend the intestines with wine, and this is done among them in the same way as among us an enema is applied

Then they have as many women as they wish, and they have many other vices and iniquities. From all these things which I have enumerated it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that, with his holy aid, we, the true Conquistadores, who have escaped from the wars, battles, and dangers of death, already recorded by me, have freed them, and led them into cleanly ways and taught them holy doctrine.

It is true that when two years had already elapsed and we had nearly all the lands at peace, with the cleanliness and manner of life which I have mentioned, some very good Franciscan Friars arrived in New Spain who set a very good example and doctrine. Four years later other good monks came, of [the order of] Señor Santo Domingo, who have extirpated it [vice] from the very root, and have gained much fruit in the holy doctrine[1]. However it should be carefully noted that, after God, it is to us the true Conquistadores who discovered and conquered it [the country], and from the first took away their Idols and taught them the holy doctrine, that the prize and reward for all of it is due, before all other persons, although they be priests; for when a good beginning is made and the middle is [satisfactory] and the end good, the whole is worthy of praise, which interested readers can see in the good order, Christianity, and justice which we show them in New Spain.

I will leave this subject and will relate the other advantages which, after God, because of us, have come to the natives of New Spain.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and Christianity of the natives."

CHAPTER CCIX.

How we impressed very good and holy doctrines on the Indians of New Spain, and about their conversion, and how they were baptised and turned to our holy faith, and how we taught them the Offices in use in Castile, and to comprehend and secure justice.

AFTER getting rid of the idolatries and all the evil vices they practised, it pleased our Lord God that with his holy aid and with the good fortunes and the holy Christianity of our most Christian Emperor Don Carlos of Glorious Memory, and of our King and Lord the felicitous and invincible King of Spain, our Lord Don Felipe, his much loved and cherished son (May God grant him many years to live with an increase of more kingdoms, so that he may enjoy them in this his holy and happy [life-]time), there were baptised, after we conquered the country, all, both men and women, and children who have since been born, whose souls formerly went, lost, to the Infernal regions. Now there are many and good monks of [the order of] Señor San Francisco and of Santo Domingo and of other Orders, who go among the pueblos preaching, and, when a child is of the age our holy Mother Church of Rome ordains, they baptise it. Furthermore, through the holy sermons preached, the Holy Gospel is firmly planted in their hearts, and they go to Confession every year, and some of them, who have most knowledge of our holy faith, receive the Sacrament. In addition to this they have their Churches richly adorned with altars and all pertaining to the holy divine worship, with crosses and candlesticks and wax tapers and chalice and patens and silver plates, some large and some small, and censers all worked in silver. Then, in rich pueblos, they have copes, chasubles, and frontals, and often in moderate [sized] pueblos they are of velvet, damask and

satin, and of taffeta of various colours and workmanship, and the arms of the crosses are elaborately embroidered with gold and silk[1], and the crosses of the dead are of black satin, and figured on them is a death's head with its ugly likeness and the bones, and the pall of the bier itself is sometimes good and at other times not so good. Then the necessary bells [vary] with the rank of each pueblo. There is no lack of choir singers with well harmonised voices such as tenors, trebles, contraltos, and basses, and in some pueblos there are organs, and nearly all of them have flutes, oboes, sackbuts and lutes. As for trumpets, shrill and deafening, there are not as many in my country, which is Old Castile, as there are in this province of Guatemala. It is a thing to be grateful for to God, and for profound consideration, to see how the natives assist in celebrating a holy Mass, especially when it is chanted by the Franciscans and Dominicans who have charge of the curacy of the pueblo where it is celebrated. There is another good thing they do [namely] that both men women and children, who are of the age to learn them, know all the holy prayers in their own languages and are obliged to know them. They have other good customs about their holy Christianity, that when they pass near a sacred altar or Cross they bow their heads with humility, bend their knees, and say the prayer "Our Father," which we Conquistadores have taught them, and they place lighted wax candles before the holy altars and crosses, for formerly they did not know how to use wax in making candles. In addition to what I have said, we taught them to show great reverence and obedience to all the monks and priests, and, when these went to their pueblos, to sally forth to receive them with

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and even in some places with pearls."

lighted wax candles and to ring the bells, and to feed them very well. This they do with the monks, and they paid the same attentions to the priests, but after they had seen and known some of these and the covetousness of the rest, and that they committed irregularities in the pueblos, they took no [further] notice of them and did not want them as Curas in their pueblos, but Franciscans and Dominicans. It does not mend matters that the poor Indians say to a prelate that they do not hear him or . . . . but what more there is to be said about this subject had better remain in the inkpot, and I will return to my story. Besides the good customs reported by me they have others both holy and good, for when the day of Corpus Christi comes, or that of Our Lady, or other solemn festivals when among us we form processions, most of the pueblos in the neighbourhood of this city of Guatemala come out in procession with their crosses and lighted wax tapers, and carry on their shoulders, on a litter, the image of the saint who is the patron of the pueblo, as richly [adorned] as they are able, and they come chanting litanies and other prayers and playing on their flutes and trumpets. The same thing they do in their own pueblos when the day comes for these solemn festivals. They have the custom of making offerings, on Sundays and at Easter[1] and especially on All Saints Day, and about this custom of making offerings the secular priests hurry them up in their parishes by such means that the Indians cannot possibly forget, for two or three days before the festival takes place they order them to prepare for the offering. The Monks also [seek] offerings, but not with so great solicitude.

Let us get on, and state how most of the Indian

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[1] Domingos y Pascuas—Pascua is not only Easter, but any festival lasting three days.

natives of these lands have successfully learned all the trades that there are among us in Castile, and have their shops of the trades, and artisans, and gain a living by it. There are gold and silver smiths, both of chased and of hollow work, and they are very excellent craftsman, also lapidaries and painters. Carvers also do most beautiful work with their delicate burins of iron, especially in carving jades[1], and in them depict all the phases of the holy passion of our Lord Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, such that, if one had not seen them, one would never believe that Indians had done. It seems in my judgment that the most renowned painter, such as was Apelles in ancient times, or in our times a certain Berruguete and Michael Angelo or the other modern now lately become famous, who is a native of Burgos,[2] who has as great a reputation as Apelles, could not emulate with their most skilful pencils the works of art in jade, nor the reliquaries, which are executed by three Mexican Indian craftsmen of that trade, named Andrés de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and El Crespillo. In addition to this nearly all the sons of Chieftains are usually grammarians, and would have become expert, if the holy synod had not commanded them to abandon that which the very reverend Archbishop of Mexico had ordered to be done.

Many sons of Chieftains know how to read and write, and to compose books of plain chant, and there are craftsmen in weaving satin and taffeta and making woollen cloth, from veintecuatrenos[3] to sackcloth, and cotton cloths and rugs. They are carders, woolcombers, and weavers in the same manner as there are in Segovia and in Cuenca, and others are hat makers and soap

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[1] Esmeriles = half precious stones, such as jade, agate, etc.

[2] In the original there appears blotted out: "who is called . .," and then follows a blank space.

[3] A technical term for a narrow band of twenty-four threads.

makers. There are only two crafts they have not been able to undertake, although they have tried: these are to make glass, and to become druggists, but I believe them to be so intelligent that they will acquire them very well. Some of them are surgeons and herbalists. They understand conjuring and working puppets and make very good guitars, indeed they were craftsmen by nature before we came to New Spain. Now they breed cattle of all sorts, and break in oxen, and plough the land, and sow wheat, and thresh harvest, and sell it, and make bread and biscuit, and they have planted their lands and hereditaments with all the trees and fruits which we have brought from Spain, and sell the fruit which they produce. They have planted so many trees that, because the peaches are not good for the health, and the banana plantations give them too much shade, they have cut and are cutting down many of them and putting in quinces and apples and pears, which they hold in higher esteem.

Let us go on, and I will speak of the laws which we have shown them how to guard and execute, and how every year they are to choose the Alcaldes ordinarios and Regidores, Notaries, Alguacils, Fiscals, and Mayordomos, and have their municipal houses (Cabildos) where they meet two days in the week, and they place doorkeepers in them, and give judgment and order debts to be paid which are owed by one to another. For some criminal acts they flog and chastise, and if it is for a death or something atrocious they remit it [the case] to the Governors, if there is no Royal Audiencia. According to what people, who know very well, have told me, in Tlaxcala, Texcoco, Cholula, Oaxaca and Tepeaca and in other great cities, when the Indians hold Court (Cabildo), Macebearers with gilt maces precede those who are Governors and Alcaldes (the same as the Viceroys of New Spain take with them), and justice is done with as much

propriety and authority as among ourselves, and they appreciate and desire to know much of the laws of the kingdom.

In addition to this, many of the Caciques are rich, and possess horses, and bring good saddles with trappings, and ride abroad through the cities and towns and places where they are going for amusement, or of which they are natives, and bring Indians and pages to accompany them. In some pueblos, they even play at tilting with reeds and have bull fights, and they tilt at the ring, especially on Corpus Christi day or the day of San Juan or Señor Santiago, or of Our Lady of August, or at the removal[1] of the Saint of the pueblo from the Church. There are many who wait for the bulls although they are fierce, and many of them are horsemen, especially in a pueblo named Chiapa of the Indians, and, even those who are not Caciques, nearly all of them own horses, and some own herds of mares and mules, and use them to bring in firewood and maize and lime and other things of the kind which they sell in the Plazas, and many of them are carriers in the same way as we have in our Castile.

Not to waste more words, they carry on all trades very perfectly—and even know how to weave tapestry cloths.

I will stop talking further on this subject and will tell of many other grandeurs which, through us, there have been and still are in New Spain.

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[1] Probably the round of visits paid by the image of the saint to the various Cofradias.

CHAPTER CCX.

About other matters and advantages which have followed from our renowned conquests and labours.

THERE will already have been understood from the past chapters all that has been reported by me about the benefits and advantages which have been conferred by our renowned and holy exploits and conquests. I will now speak of the gold and silver and precious stones and other riches, from cochineal to sarsaparilla and cowhides, which have gone from New Spain and are going every year to Castile to our King and Lord, both on account of his Royal Fifths, as well as through many other presents which we sent him as soon as we took possession of these lands for him, not counting the great quantity which merchants and passengers took. Since the wise King Solomon built and ordered to be constructed the Holy Temple of Jerusalem with the gold and silver which they brought him from the Islands of Tarsis, Ophir, and Saba, there has never been reported in any ancient writings more gold and silver and riches than what has gone daily to Castile from these lands. I assert this, although already from Peru, as is notorious, innumerable thousands of pesos of gold and silver have been sent. At the time we conquered New Spain the name of Peru was not known, nor was it discovered or subdued until ten years[1] later. Always from the very beginning we sent very rich presents to His Majesty, and for this reason and for others which I will state I place New Spain first, for we well know that in the events which have taken place in Peru the Captains, Governors, and soldiers joined in civil war, and all has been upset in blood and in the

[1] Blotted out in the original: "two three four."

deaths of many soldier bandits, because they have not had the respect and obedience which was due to our Lord and King, and there has been a great decrease [in numbers] of the natives. In this New Spain we all bow down, and will for ever bend our breasts to the ground, as we are bound to do, to our King and Lord, and place our lives and fortunes, whatever may happen, at the service of His Majesty. Besides, let the interested readers take note that the cities, towns, and villages which are peopled by Spaniards in these parts (and they are so numerous that I do not know their names) keep quiet and pay attention to the bishops, who number ten, not counting the Archbishop of the very distinguished City of Mexico. There are three Royal Audiencias, all of which I will speak about further on, and also of those who have governed us, and of the Archbishops and bishops that there have been. Let them observe the holy cathedral churches and the monasteries where there are Dominican Friars, as well as Franciscans, and those of the order of Mercy, and Augustinians, and let them observe the Hospitals and the great indulgence they receive, and the Holy Church of our Lady of Guadalupe which is at Tepeaquilla, where the camp of Gonzalo de Sandoval used to be stationed when we captured Mexico, and let them observe the holy miracles which she has performed and is still doing every day, and let us give many thanks and praise to God and to His Blessed Mother Our Lady, for granting us favour and help so that we could win these lands where there is [now] so much Christianity.

Moreover, let them take note that there is in Mexico a university where grammar and theology, rhetoric, logic and philosophy, with other arts and branches of science, are studied and learned. They have type and craftsmen to print books both in Latin and in the Spanish, and they graduate as licentiates and doctors.

There are many other grandeurs and riches which one might mention, thus the rich silver mines which have been discovered here and are continually being discovered, by which our Castile is made prosperous and favoured and respected. As enough has been said about the advantages which have followed over and over again out of our heroical conquests, I wish to add that wise and learned persons may read this my story from beginning to end and they will see that in no writings which have been written in the world, nor in the records of human exploits, have there been seen men who have conquered more kingdoms or principalities than we the true conquistadores have done for our Lord and King, and among the brave conquistadores, my comrades, (and there were very valiant ones among them) they included me[1] as being the oldest of them all.

I once more assert, and I repeat it so many times, that I am the oldest of them, and have served as a very good soldier of His Majesty, and I say it with sorrow in my heart, for I find myself poor and very old, with a marriageable daughter and my sons young men already grown up with beards, and others to be educated, and I am not able to go to Castile to His Majesty to put before him things which are necessary for his Royal Service, and also that he should grant me favours, for they owe me many debts.

I will leave this talk, for if I dip my pen in it deeper I shall become very odious to jealous persons. I want to ask one question in the way of a dialogue, and in view of the fair and illustrious Fame that resounds in the world regarding our manifold good and noble services which we have rendered to God, His Majesty, and all Christendom. It [Fame] loudly clamours, saying, that it would be just

[1] Blotted out in the original: "as having the reputation of a good soldier."

and reasonable that we should have good incomes and more advantages than other persons have who have not done service in these conquests nor in other parts for His Majesty. So it [Fame] inquires, "Where are our palaces and mansions, and what coats of arms are there on them distinguishing us from the others?" And, "Are our heroic deeds and arms carved on them and placed as a memorial in the manner that gentlemen have them in Spain?" (who I have said in a former chapter, in years past, served the Kings who reigned at that time, for our exploits are not inferior to those they accomplished, on the contrary they are of memorable fame, and may be counted among the most glorious the world has ever seen.) Illustrious Fame furthermore asks on behalf of the Conquistadores who have escaped from the battles, and for the dead, "Where are their tombs and what blazons are there on them?" These can be answered in all truth with, "Oh Excellent and very Illustrious Fame, longed for and revered by the good and virtuous, your illustrious name is neither desired to be seen or heard among the malicious and among persons who have endeavoured to hide our heroic deeds, so that you should not extol our persons as is deserved.—We would have you know, Señora, that of the five hundred and fifty soldiers of Cuba there are alive in all New Spain, out of all of them, in this year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight, when I am writing this my story, only five! Most of them died in the wars already described by me at the hands of the Indians, and were sacrificed to the Idols, and the rest died natural deaths. If you ask me the whereabouts of their tombs, I say they are the bellies of the Indians who ate their legs and thighs, arms and flesh, and feet and hands, and the rest found sepulchre in, and their entrails were thrown to, the tigers and serpents and falcons which at that time they kept for show in strong houses, and

those were their tombs and there are their blazons. It seems to me that their names should be written in letters of gold, for they died that cruel death in the service of God and of His Majesty, and to give light to those who were in darkness, and also to acquire riches, which all of us men usually came to seek."

After having given [this] report to Illustrious Fame, she asks me about those who came over with Narvaez and Garay. I reply that the followers of Narvaez were thirteen hundred, without counting among them the sailors, and not more than ten or eleven of them are alive; all the rest died in the wars and were sacrificed, and their bodies were eaten by Indians just the same as our [comrades] were. Of those who came over with Garay from the Island of Jamaica, according to my calculation, with the three companies which came to San Juan de Ulua before Garay came, and with those whom he brought last when he came himself, in all there would be another twelve hundred soldiers, and nearly all of them were sacrificed to the Idols in the province of Panuco and their bodies eaten by the natives of that province.

In addition to this, Revered Fame asks about those fifteen[1] soldiers who landed in New Spain, belonging to the Company of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, when he was defeated and died in Florida. As to what had become of them, to this I reply that I have not seen one of them, all are dead; "and I would have you know, Excellent Fame, that of all those whom I have counted over and over again [only] five of us companions of Cortés are now living, and we are very old and suffering from infirmities and, worst of all, are very poor and burdened with sons and marriageable daughters and grandchildren, and with very little income, and thus we pass our lives in hardship and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "or twenty."

privations. I have already given a reply to all you have asked me and regarding our palaces and blazons and tombs, and I beg you, Illustrious Fame, from now onwards to raise higher your excellent and most virtuous voice, so that throughout the world our great prowess may be clearly distinguished, so that ill-disposed men with their harsh disseminating and envious tongues may not obscure or undo it, and to so manage that the reward is due to those who gained these lands for His Majesty, and is not to be bestowed on those who do not deserve it, because His Majesty has no account with them, nor they with His Majesty, for services rendered."

To this [question] which I have put to the most Virtuous Fame, she answers and says that she will very willingly do it, and adds that she is astonished that we do not possess the best assignments of Indians in the land, for we have conquered it, and His Majesty orders them to be given in the same way as to the Marquis Cortés, (it is not to be understood that it would be to the same extent, but in moderation). Moreover, Revered Fame says that the affairs of the brave and gallant Cortés are to be always highly esteemed and counted among the deeds of valiant Captains. Moreover Truthful Fame states that there is no mention of any of us in the books and histories which have been written by the Chronicler Francisco López de Gomara, nor in that of the Doctor Yllescas, who wrote the official report, nor in other recent writers. They say in their books that the Marquis Cortés alone discovered it [the land], and conquered it, and the Captains and Soldiers who gained it are left blank, without mention of our persons or conquests, and that now she is greatly rejoiced to know clearly that all that is written in my story is true, and that the writing itself expresses literally what happened, and not flatteries nor vicious words; nor in order to exalt one Captain alone

does it tend to belittle many Captains and brave soldiers, as Francisco López de Gomara has done, and the other recent chroniclers who follow history as presented by him, without adding to or deducting from anything he says. Good Fame promises me besides that, on her part, wherever she may be, she will proclaim it in a clear and ringing voice, and in addition to this, that she will explain so that, as soon as my history (if it is printed) is seen and heard, all will give it true belief and will cast doubt on the flatteries which the former [historians] have written. Apart from what I have stated in the form of a dialogue, a certain Doctor, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala, asked me how it was that Cortés, when he wrote to His Majesty, and when he went the first time to Castile, did not act as advocate for us, because through us, after God, he became Marquis and Governor. To this I answered then, and repeat it now, that as he took for himself in the beginning, when His Majesty granted him the government, all the best of New Spain, believing that he would always be absolute Lord and that by his hand [at will] he could give us Indians or take them away, for this reason it was supposed that he did not [then] do it, nor did he wish to write about it. Also because at that time His Majesty gave him the Marquisate which he holds, and as he was importuning him to give him back the government of New Spain as he had held it before, and he [His Majesty] answered that he had already given him the Marquisate, he did not seek to ask a single thing for us that might have benefited us, only for himself alone. Furthermore, the Factor and Veedor and other Gentlemen from Mexico had informed His Majesty that Cortés had taken for himself the best provinces and pueblos in New Spain, and had given other good pueblos to his friends and relations who had lately come from Castile, and that little was left as royal patrimony. Later on we got to

know that His Majesty ordered that from what he [Cortés] had in excess he should give to those who came with him, and at that time His Majesty embarked in Barcelona to go to Flanders. If Cortés at the time when we conquered New Spain (as I have said before in the Chapter which treats of it) had divided it into five parts, and had allotted the best and richest province and cities as a fifth part to our Lord the King for his Royal Fifth, he would have done well, and if he had taken for himself one part, and had left half a part for Churches and monasteries belonging to the cities, so that His Majesty should have two and a half parts over, for giving away and making grants and dividing among us. We might have kept these in perpetuity, Cortés his share and we ours, for as our Cæsar was a very good Christian and the conquests had cost him nothing at all, he might have granted us these favours. But as we, the true Conquistadores, at that time did not know what demanding justice meant, nor to whom to apply for it concerning our services, or other matters of grievances and violence that took place during the war, (except to Cortés himself as our Captain who should have settled it,) we were left positively denuded, with only the trifling amounts that had been deposited for us, until we saw that when Don Francisco de Montejo went to Castile into the presence of His Majesty, he appointed him Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan, and gave him the Indians he held in Mexico, and bestowed other favours on him; and to Diego de Ordás, who also went before His Majesty, he gave an Encomienda of Señor Santiago and the Indians he held in New Spain; and that Don Pedro de Alvarado, who also went to kiss the feet of His Majesty, was appointed Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala and Chiapa, and Comendador of Santiago, and was given further grants of the Indians; and at last when Cortés went he gave him the Marquisate

and [made him] Captain General of the South Sea. Then, as soon as we Conquistadores saw and understood that for those who did not appear before His Majesty there was no thought of making grants, we sent to beg that he would order any [Indians] who from that time onward should be unallotted, to be given to us in perpetuity. The justice of our claim was recognised when the first Royal Audiencia was sent to Mexico, with Nuño de Guzman as president, and the Licentiate Delgadillo a native of Granada, and Matienzo of Bicaya, as Oidores, and two other Oidores, who died as soon as they arrived in Mexico. For His Majesty then distinctly ordered Nuño de Guzman to treat all the Indians of New Spain as one body, to the end that all the persons who held large Assignments which Cortés had given them should no longer hold so large [a number] but that some should be taken from them, and that we the true Conquistadores should be given the best and most profitable pueblos, and that for the Royal patrimony there should be reserved the chief towns and best cities. His Majesty also ordered that the Vassals of Cortés should be counted and he should retain those which were within the terms of his Marquisate, and as to the remainder, I do not remember what Nuño de Guzman ordered about it, or the reason why he and the Oidores did not make the Assignment, [but] it was on account of evil advisers, and for their honours sake I will not name them here. For they told him that, should he divide up the land, as soon as the Conquistadores and settlers found themselves possessing Indians in perpetuity, they would not hold them [the Audiencia] in such great respect, nor would they [the Audiencia] be such Lords [have such authority] to give them orders, because they would not possess [the power] to give and to take away, nor would they [the settlers] come to them to beg for something to eat. By [following]

the other course they would have [power] to give of what was vacant [i.e., Indians who were unallotted] to whomsoever they wished, and they [themselves] would become rich and would have the greater authority, and to this end they stopped doing anything.

It is true that Nuño de Guzman [and the Oidores], when there were any Indians unallotted, promptly handed them over to Conquistadores and settlers, and were not so bad in what they did for the settlers and inhabitants, for they contented them all and gave them food, and if they [the Oidores] were dismissed from out of the Royal Audiencia it was on account of the disputes which they had with Cortés and on account of the branding of free Indians for slaves.

I want to leave this chapter and go on to another and will speak about the perpetual Assignment.

CHAPTER CCXI.

How in the year IVVI [1550] when the Court was at Valladolid there met together in the Royal Council of the Indies certain prelates and gentlemen who came from New Spain and Peru as Proctors, and other noblemen who were present, in order to give the order that the Assignment [of Indians or pueblos] should be in perpetuity, and what was said and done at the meeting is what I shall relate.

IN the year fifteen hundred and fifty the Licentiate de la Gasca came from Peru and went to the Court, which at that time was in Valladolid, and brought in his company a certain Dominican Friar named Don Fray Martin, the Superior, and at that time His Majesty ordered this same Superior to be appointed to the Bishopric of Las Charcas.[1]

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[1] There is a blank space in the original. The name of the first Bishop of Charcas was Don Fray Tomas de San Martin, of the order of Santo Domingo.—G. G.

Then there came together in [the Court Don] Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, and Don Vasco de [Quiroga, bishop of Michoacan], and other gentlemen who came [as Proctors from New Spain and from Peru], and certain noblemen who came with lawsuits [to bring] before His Majesty. At that time all these were present at Court, and together with them they sent to summon me from New Spain as the oldest Conquistador.

As de la Gasca and all the other Peruvians had brought many thousands of pesos de oro both for His Majesty and for themselves, they sent what they had brought for His Majesty from Seville to Augusta in Germany, where His Majesty was staying at that time, and in his royal Company was his beloved and cherished son our most felicitous and invincible Don Felipe, King of the Spains and our Lord, may God preserve him.

At that time certain gentlemen went in charge of the gold and as Proctors from Peru to beg His Majesty to be pleased to do us the favour of ordering an assignment [of pueblos] to be made in perpetuity.

It appears that this petition had been made at other times, before this, on behalf of New Spain, when one Gonzalo López went, and a certain Alonzo Villanueva went with other gentlemen as proctors from Mexico. On that occasion His Majesty conferred the Bishopric of Palencia on the Licentiate de la Gasca, who was Bishop and Conde de Pernia, for it was his luck that when he arrived in Castile it had become vacant, and it was the gossip of the Court that even in this he had the good fortune I have mentioned, besides what he had in leaving Peru at peace and in recovering the gold and silver which the Coutreras had robbed him of. To go back to my story of what His Majesty decreed about the Assignment in perpetuity of the Indians. He instructed the Marquis de Mondejar, who was President of the Royal Council of

the Indies, and the Licentiate Gutierrez Velásquez and the Licentiate Tello de Sandoval and Doctor Hernan Pérez de la Fuente and the Licentiate Gregorio López and Doctor Rivadeneyra and the Licentiate Birviesca, who were Oidores of this same Royal Council of the Indies, and other gentlemen of the Royal Councils, all to meet together and consider and discuss how and in what manner the Assignment might be made, in such a way that in every respect the service of God and the Royal Patrimony should be carefully considered and in no wise prejudiced. When all those Prelates and gentlemen were met together in the house of Pero González de Leon, where the Royal Council of the Indies was held, what was said and discussed in that most illustrious Meeting [was] that the Indians should be given in perpetuity in New Spain and in Peru (I do not remember clearly whether the New Kingdom of Granada and Bobotan was named, but it seems to me that it also was included with the rest) and the reasons propounded in that affair were holy and good. The first to be discussed was that, being [assigned] in perpetuity, they would be much better treated and instructed in our Holy Faith, and that if some should fall ill they would be attended to like sons and be excused from a part of their tribute, and that owners would persevere much more in bringing the land into cultivation and [planting] vineyards and sowing seeds and raising cattle, and lawsuits and disputes about Indians would cease, and there would be no need for visiting judges in the pueblos, and there would be peace and concord among the soldiers with the knowledge that Presidents and Governors no longer had power when Indians were unassigned to allot them through nepotism, nor in other ways in which they allotted them at that time.

Moreover, the granting them in perpetuity to those who have served His Majesty was a relief to his royal

conscience, and many other good reasons were expressed. Furthermore it was mentioned that it had become necessary in Peru to get rid of those robber men who were found to have disserved His Majesty.

After what I have mentioned had been fully discussed by all those at this Illustrious Meeting, most of the proctors and the other gentlemen gave our opinions and votes that the assignments should be perpetual. But just then most contrary opinions were advanced. The first of these was by the Bishop of Chiapa, and he was supported by his companion Fray Rodrigo of the order of Santo Domingo, also by the Licentiate Gasca who was Bishop of Palencia, and Conde de Pernia, and Bishop Fray Don Martin[1] (for by that time they had given him the Bishopric of Las Charcas,) and by the Marquis de Mondejar, and two Oidores of the Royal Council of His Majesty. What those gentlemen named by me put forward in opposition (except the Marquis de Mondejar who did not wish to show partiality on one side or the other but to observe what they said and who had the most votes) was, how could they [bring themselves] to give Indians in perpetuity or in any other way, on the contrary they ought not to be given but to be taken from those who at that time held them, for there were people among them in Peru drawing a good rent from Indians who deserved to be chopped into pieces, and now as a climax they are to get them in perpetuity, how could they imagine in Peru that peace could be found and the country settled? There would be soldiers who when they saw that there was nothing [more] to be given them would revolt, and there would be even greater discords. Then Don Vasco de Quirova Bishop of Michoacan, who was on our side,

[1] Here again the author leaves a blank space; it must refer, as we point out in a former note, to the Dominican Don Fray Tomás de San Martin.—G. G.

replied and asked the Licentiate de la Gasca why he did not punish the bandits and traitors? for he knew them, and their offences were notorious, yet he himself had given them Indians.

To this de la Gasca answered, and he paused to laugh, and said, will the Señores believe that I performed no small feat in emerging in peace and in safety from among them—some of them I quartered and I executed justice.

Other opinions on the same subject were exchanged and then we and many of the gentlemen who were there present with us said, that they should be given in perpetuity in New Spain to the true Conquistadores who went over with Cortés, and to the followers of Panfilo de Narvaez and those of Garay, for very few of us remained; all the rest had died in the battles fighting in the service of His Majesty, and we had served him very faithfully, and that with the others there could be other arrangements. When we made these statements on our part and took the course which I have mentioned, there were not wanting prelates and lords of His Majesty's Council who said that all should be postponed until Our Lords the Emperor and the Prince, who were daily expected, should come to Castile, so that in a matter of such weight and importance they should be present.

Nevertheless, by the Bishop of Michoacan and certain gentlemen who were from New Spain, and I with them, answer was repeatedly made that, as the votes were already given to that effect, [the Assignments] should be given in perpetuity in New Spain, and that the Proctors from Peru should solicit on their own account, for His Most Christian Majesty had sent a command, and in his royal command showed inclination towards giving them in perpetuity in New Spain. About that matter there was much discussion and argument, and we said that

even if they should not be given in Peru, they should consider the many and great services which we had rendered to His Majesty and all Christendom. However we availed nothing with the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies, and the Bishop Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Fray Rodrigo his companion, and with the Bishop of Las Charcas, Don Fray Martin[1] and they said that as soon as His Majesty came from Augusta it would be adjusted in such a way that the Conquistadores would be very contented, and thus it remained pending.

I will leave this discussion and [say] that we wrote post haste by a ship [going] to New Spain, and when the matters related above, which took place at Court, were known in the City of Mexico, the Conquistadores arranged to send Proctors to His Majesty on their own account alone. Captain Andrés de Tápia and one Pedro Moreno Medrano even wrote to me from Mexico to this city of Guatemala, and Juan de Linpias Carvajal, the deaf, from Puebla—for at that time I had already returned from the court—and what they wrote to me was to give an account and report of the Conquistadores whom they were sending with their power of attorney. In the memorial they included me as one of the oldest of them. I showed the letters in the City of Guatemala to other Conquistadores so that they could help with money to send the Proctors, for it appears their despatch could not be managed for want of pesos de oro. What they next arranged in Mexico was that the Conquistadores together with the whole community should send Proctors to Castile, but such an excellent thing was never effected, and in this manner we proceed, like a lame mule, from bad to worse, and from one Viceroy to another and from Governor to Governor. After this our invincible Lord and King Don Felipe, may God

[1] There is a blank space in the original. See the former note.

guard him, and may he live many years with increase of more kingdoms, commanded, in his Royal Ordinances and Decrees which he has issued for that purpose, that as to the Conquistadores and their children, we are to experience improvement in every sense, and next [in order] that the old married settlers [were to benefit] as will be seen in his Royal Edicts.

CHAPTER CCXII.

About other discussions and stories which are here made known and will be pleasant to hear.[1]

WHEN I had finished the fair copy of this my story, two Licentiates begged me to lend it to them for two days so as to know more clearly what we went through during the conquest of Mexico and New Spain, and to see in what way it differed from what the Chroniclers Gomara and Doctor Yllescas had written about the heroic deeds and exploits we accomplished in company with the valiant Marquis Cortés. So I lent them a rough draft, for it seems to me that wise men always [try to] impress a bit of their wisdom on unlearned fools such as I am, and I told them not to alter a single thing,[2] for all that I write is quite true. When they had seen and read it, one of them who was very eloquent and had a very good opinion of himself, after extolling and praising the good memory I must have not to forget any item of all we went through from the time we came to New Spain in the year seventeen [1517] up to that of sixty-eight [1568], said that, as to the style, it followed the customary speech of Old Castile, and that in these times it is accounted the more agreeable because

[1] See note at end of Chapter.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "neither to add or to subtract."

there are no elaborate arguments nor gilded elegance such as some writers are wont [to display], but all is in plain simple language, and that all really good narration is comprised in this true statement. However, it seemed to him that I praised myself greatly in the accounts of battles and wars in which I was present and the services which I did to His Majesty, and that other persons should make those statements and not I; also that in order to give greater credibility to what I write I should cite witnesses, as the chroniclers are accustomed to insert and quote proofs from other books dealing with past events, for I am not a witness for myself. To this one can answer, [as is done in] a chapter of my story, that in a letter which the Marques del Valle wrote to His Majesty in the year forty, giving him a report of my person and services, he informed him how I came to explore New Spain on two occasions before he did, and how on the third time I returned in his company; and as an eye-witness he saw me fight in the wars like a very brave soldier, and come out of them very badly wounded, as well in the capture of Mexico as in many other conquests; and after we had won New Spain and its provinces how I went in his company to Honduras and the Hibueras (for so it is called in this country), and other particulars which were contained in the letter which, as it is a long story, I will not repeat here. So also Don Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain (of praiseworthy memory for his many virtues), wrote to His Majesty giving him a report of what had been told to him by the Captains in whose company I served as a soldier; and it all tallied with what the Marquis had written. Moreover there were the very sufficient proofs which were presented on my behalf to the Royal Council of the Indies in the year forty, and I offer these letters as evidence—two of them were placed before His Majesty and the originals are preserved. If the Marquis and the Viceroy and the

Captains and my proofs are not good enough witnesses, I wish to call another witness, and there is no better one in the whole world, that is our very great Monarch the most Christian Emperor Don Carlos, our Lord of most renowned and glorious memory, who about this matter sent his letters with the [Royal] Seal, in which he ordered the Viceroys, presidents, and governors to give me preference and advantage in everything as one of his servants. Other recommendations were contained in the Royal Letters, and for this reason I intended to include them in this story, and I wish they were preserved in my own hands.

To return to the question which the Licentiate to whom I had lent my rough draft addressed to me, "Why did I praise myself so much for my conquests?" To this I reply that there are matters about which it is not well that men should brag, for their neighbours generally report the virtues and good qualities which individuals possess. Moreover I say of those who neither know nor see nor understand nor are present in them, especially in such affairs as wars and battles and the capture of cities, how can they praise or write about them unless they be Captains and soldiers who were present in such wars together with us. For this reason I am able to state so often, and even to boast of it, that, if I were to rob other valiant soldiers who were present in these same wars of their honour and rank and attribute them to myself, it would be an evil deed and there would be cause to blame me; but if I tell the truth (and His Majesty and his Viceroy, the Marquis, witnesses, and evidence attest it, and moreover the story gives evidence of it) why should I not say so? for it ought to be written in letters of gold. Would they wish the clouds or the birds which passed above at the time to report it? and did Gomara wish to state it, or Yllescas, or Cortés when he wrote to His Majesty? From what I have seen of these writings and of

their Chronicles, [they wrote] solely in praise of Cortés, and they were silent about and concealed our illustrious and famous exploits by which we raised the Captain himself to a Marquisate, and to the possession of a great revenue and the fame and renown which is his.

These writers are the same who were not present in New Spain and, not hearing a true account, how can they write it down without going wrong only from the flavour of their palates—unless it were through the conversations they held with the Marquis himself? This I assert that when in the beginning Cortés wrote to His Majesty, instead of ink, pearls and gold flowed from his pen, and all in his own praise and not about us valiant soldiers. Let those who wish to see it observe to whom their histories were dedicated, if not to his son and heir to the Marquisate. Although Don Hernando Cortés was in all things a very valiant and spirited Captain, and may be counted among the most famous the world has seen, the chroniclers of these times should have had the consideration to introduce us, and make a report in their histories about our brave soldiers and not leave us entirely ignored, as we should have remained if I had not taken a hand in recording and assigning to each one his [share of] honour and glory, and, if I had not stated exactly what happened, persons who saw what the Chroniclers Yllescas and Gomara had written would believe that their version was the truth.[1]

In addition to what I have recorded it is right that I should again in this place make a statement to ensure noteworthy remembrance of my person, and of the many and distinguished services which I have rendered to God and His Majesty and to all Christendom, in the manner

[1] Blotted out in the original: "just as they wrote it, they being very eloquent."

of the writings and reports of the Dukes, Marquises, Counts and illustrious men who served in wars [in time past]; also in order that my children, grandchildren and descendants can dare to say with truth "my father came to discover and conquer these lands at his own expense and expended what property he possessed in doing it, and was one of the foremost in the conquest." Furthermore I wish here to advance another argument to prove that I do not praise myself as much as I ought, and it is that I was present in many more battles and warlike encounters than those in which the writers say Julius Cæsar was engaged, [that is] in fifty three battles, and to record his exploits he had consummate chroniclers, but he was not satisfied with what they wrote about him, so Julius Cæsar himself with his own hand made a record in his Commentaries of all the wars he was personally engaged in. Therefore it is not unreasonable that I should write down the heroic deeds of the brave Cortés and my own, and those of my comrades who were fighting in [our] company. Moreover I assert that of all those praised and extolled deeds which the Marquis himself accomplished, and of the seven heads of kings which he has on his coat of arms, and of the blazon and inscription which he placed on a cannon called the Phœnix, which was cast in Mexico to send to His Majesty, and was made of gold and silver and copper, and the words on it said

"Esta ave nació sin par	This bird born without an equal,
Yo en serviros sin segundo	I second to none in serving you,
Y Vos sin ygual en el mundo	Your Highness without equal in the world."

I am entitled to a share of the seven kings' heads, and of what is written on the culverin "I second to none in serving you," for I assisted him in all the conquests and

in winning that honour and glory which is well exemplified in his very valiant person.

Returning to my statement—when I said that I was present in more battles than Julius Cæsar, I again assert it, and interested readers may find and note in this my narrative in the chapters that treat about it, how and in what manner they took place. So that nothing should be concealed which is not stated and made manifest there, and so that it should be more clearly seen, I wish to quote them here as a record, so that it shall not be said that I speak with reserve about myself, for if so many of the Conquistadores had not witnessed them, and if they had not obtained so much fame in this New Spain, malicious slanderers [who are never wanting] might possibly have referred to me in regard to them as an obscure person.

Record of the Battles and Encounters in which I was Present.

At Cape Catoche when I came with Francisco Hernández de Córdova the first discoverer — in one battle.

In another battle in the affair of Chanpoton, when they killed fifty-seven of our soldiers and we all came out wounded, in company with the said Francisco Hernández de Córdova.

In another battle when we went to get water in Florida, in company with the said Francisco Hernández de Córdova.

In another when I was with Juan de Grijalva on the same errand in Chanpoton.

When the very valiant and courageous Captain Hernando Cortés came, in two battles—in the affair of

Tabasco with the said Cortés, the other in the affair of Cingapacinga with the said Cortés.

Also in three battles which we fought in the affair of Tlaxcala, under the said Cortés.

In the affair of Cholula when they wanted to kill us and eat our bodies—I do not count this as a battle.

Another when Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez came from the Island of Cuba with fourteen hundred soldiers, horsemen as well as musketeers and crossbowmen, and much artillery. They came to seize us and take the country in the name of Diego Velásquez, and with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers we defeated him and captured Narvaez himself and his Captains. I am one of the sixty soldiers whom Cortés ordered to attack and capture the artillery, which was a deed of the greatest danger, which is described in the chapter that treats of it.

Also in three very perilous battles which they fought against us in Mexico as we marched along the bridges and causeways, when we went to the aid of Pedro de Alvarado, and took to flight; for of the thirteen hundred soldiers, including the men of Pánfilo de Narvaez, who went with Cortés to the rescue, as I have already said, the greater number died at these same bridges, and were sacrificed and eaten by the Indians.

Another very hazardous battle which is called that of Otumba, with the said Cortés.

Another when we attacked Tepeaca, with the said Cortés.

Another when we went to scour the neighbourhood of Cachula.

Another with the said Cortés, when we went to Texcoco and the Mexicans and Texcocans came out to attack us.

Another when we went with Cortés to Iztapalapa, and they tried to drown us.

Three other battles when we went with Cortés to make a circuit of all the great pueblos round about the lake, and I was present at Xochimilco in three very perilous battles which I have mentioned, when the Mexicans pulled Cortés off of his horse and wounded him, and he was much exhausted.

Also two other battles at the rocky hills which are named after Cortés, when nine soldiers were killed and all came out of them wounded owing to Cortés's want of forethought.

Another when Cortés sent me with many soldiers to defend the corn fields which the Mexicans were taking from the pueblos friendly to us.

Besides all of these, when we invested Mexico and during the ninety-three days we besieged it, I was present in more than eighty battles, for a great multitude of Mexicans attacked us every day; we estimate that they [the combats] numbered eighty.

After the conquest of Mexico in company with Captain Luis Marin, I was present at two battles in the province of Cimatan, which is in the land of Coatzacoalcos; I came out of one of them with three wounds.

In the Sierras of the Zapotecs and Mijes, with Captain Luis Marin, I was present in two battles.

In the affair of Chiapa in two battles against the Chiapanecs with Luis Marin.

Another with Luis Marin in the affair of Chamula.

Another when we went to the Hibueras with Cortés—a battle we fought in a pueblo named Zulaco where they killed my horse.

After returning to New Spain from the expedition to Honduras and Hibueras, (for so it is called) I went to assist in bringing to peace the province of the Zapotecs and Mijes and other lands. I do not count the battles and skirmishes which we had with them, although it

would be well to mention them, nor the skirmishes at which I was present in this province of Guatemala, for they certainly are not warriors but only shout and yell and make a noise and dig pits[1] in very deep ravines; but notwithstanding all this they gave me an arrow wound at a ravine between Petapa and Joanagasapa,[2] for there they waited for us. In all these battles in which I have recorded that I was present, there were also present the valiant Captain Cortés and all his Captains and brave soldiers, and most of them died there. Others died in the affair of Panuco, at which I was not present, and at Colima and Zacatula. I was not present in the affair of Michoacan, [when] all those provinces were made peaceable, nor in the affair of Tututepeque, nor in that of Jalisco, which they call New Galicia, which also became peaceable; nor was I present in all the south coast, for we had plenty to do in other parts, for New Spain is so large that we soldiers were not able to go all together to one part or the other, but Cortés sent to conquer the districts that were at war.

So that it may be clearly understood when the greater number of Spaniards were killed, I will state it step by step. In the battles and skirmishes[3]: at Cape Catoche and in the affair of Chanpoton, when I came with Francisco Hernández the first discoverer, they killed fifty-eight soldiers in two battles, which was more than half of those who came.

In another battle in Florida, when we went to get water, they carried off one soldier alive, and we were all wounded.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "hidden."
[2] Cuajiniquilapa?
[3] Blotted out in the original: "when I was present."

In another when we went with Juan de Grijalva to this same Chanpoton, ten soldiers [were killed] and the Captain was badly wounded and his teeth were broken.

When we came with the very brave and spirited Captain Hernando Cortés, six or seven soldiers died in two battles in the affair of Tabasco.

In the three very hazardous and perilous battles we fought in Tlaxcala four soldiers died.

Again when Captain Narvaez came from the Island of Cuba with fourteen hundred soldiers, cavalry, musketeers, and crossbowmen, we defeated them and captured Narvaez and his Captains; with the artillery which Narvaez had posted against us, he killed four soldiers.

In three very hazardous battles which they fought against us in Mexico at the bridges and causeways, and in that of Otumba, when we went to rescue Pedro de Alvarado and we fled from Mexico, of the thirteen hundred soldiers, counting those of Narvaez who went with Cortés, after nine days fighting there remained alive only four hundred and sixty-eight, all the others died at the bridges and were sacrificed and eaten by the Indians, and nearly all the rest of us were wounded; may God have compassion [on us].

In another battle when we went with Cortés against Tepeaca they killed two soldiers.

In another, when we went to scour the neighbourhood of Cachula and Tecamachalco, two more Spaniards died.

In another, when we went with Cortés to Texcoco and the Mexicans and Texcocans sallied out to meet us, they killed one soldier.

In another, when we went with Cortés to Iztapalapa, and they tried to drown us, two or three died of their wounds, but I do not remember clearly how many they were.

In three other battles when we went with Cortés to

all the great pueblos round about the lake—and these battles were very dangerous, for the Mexicans pulled Cortés off of his horse and wounded him and he was very much exhausted (this was at Xochimilco)—eight Spaniards died.

In two other battles on the rocky hills named after Cortés, they killed nine soldiers and we all were wounded through the carelessness of Cortés.

In another, when Cortés sent me with many soldiers to defend the cornfields which the Mexicans were seizing, which [fields] belonged to our friends at Texcoco, one Spaniard died of his wounds within nine days.

Besides all this that I have recorded above when we invested Mexico during the ninety-three days of the siege, I was present in more than eighty battles, for every day from dawn until dusk we had against us a great host of Mexican warriors who attacked us, and of all the soldiers who were present in those battles there died sixty-three of the company of Cortés, nine in that of Pedro de Alvarado, six in that of Sandoval—we calculate that they fought eighty battles against us in ninety-three days.

After the Conquest of Mexico I was present in two battles in company with Captain Luis Marin in the province of Cimatan, which is in the land of Coatzacoalcos, in which three soldiers were killed.

In two other battles, in company with Luis Marin in the Sierras of the Zapotecs and Mijes, which are very lofty, and where there are no roads, they killed two soldiers.

In the Province of Chiapa, when in company with Luis Marin, in two very perilous battles with the Chiapanecs two soldiers were killed.

In another battle, when in company with Luis Marin, in the affair of Chamula, one soldier died of his wounds.

Again when we went to Hibueras and Honduras with Cortés, in a battle with a pueblo named Zulaco they killed one soldier.

I have already recounted [the names of] those who died in the battles at which I was present. I do not include the battles at Panuco because I was not present, but there is trustworthy report that they killed more than three hundred soldiers of the company of Garay, and others who had lately come from Castile, [including those] whom Cortés took with him to pacify that province, and those taken by Sandoval when the province again rose in rebellion.

I was not present at what we call the affair of Almeria, but I know for certain that they killed the Captain Juan de Escalante and seven soldiers. I also state that in the affairs of Colima, Zacatula, Michoacan, Jalisco and Tututepeque certain soldiers were killed.

I have forgotten to mention sixty-six soldiers and three Castilian women, whom the Mexicans killed in a pueblo named Tustepeque[1]; they stayed in that pueblo in the belief that they would be provided with food, for they belonged to the company of Narvaez and they were invalids. So that the names of the pueblos may be clearly understood one is Tustepeque . . . . north, and the other is Tututepeque on the south coast; so that it may not be argued that I make a mistake and give one pueblo two names. It will also now be said that there is great prolixity in what I write about, placing in one section the battles at which I was present, and then again reporting [the names of] those who died in each battle, which I might have given at the same time. Interested readers will also ask, how was I able to know [the names of] those who died in the battles which took

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[1] Tuxtepec.

place in each part [of the country]. To this I reply that it is very easily understood. Let us make a comparison. Let us say that a valiant Captain leaves Castile to make war on the Moors and Turks and fight battles against other enemies, and takes with him more than twenty thousand soldiers. When he has fixed his camp he sends off one Captain in one direction and another in another direction and goes with them as Commander, and after the battles and skirmishes he returns with his men to camp, then they render an account [to him] of those who were wounded or died in the battle or were taken prisoners. So we that accompanied the valiant Cortés into battle knew who had fallen and who had returned wounded, and in a like manner about the others who were sent to other provinces, and thus it is no great thing that I have a remembrance of all that I have stated, and write it so clearly. Let us leave this part.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo.
[rúbrica.][1]

This history was finished in Guatemala on the 14th November, 1605.[2]

NOTE TO CHAPTER CCXII.

The following rough draft of this Chapter is added to the original.—G. G.

CHAPTER CCXII.

About other discussions and stories which are here made known and will be pleasant to hear.

WHEN I had finished the fair copy of this my story, two Licentiates begged me to lend it to them, so as to know more completely what happened in the Conquest of Mexico and New Spain, and to see in

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[1] Rúbrica = the flourish which is an essential part of a Spanish signature.

[2] One can read the same statement written in modern script a little lower down.

what [points] the writings of the Chroniclers Francisco López de Gomara and Doctor Yllescas on the heroic exploits achieved by the Marquis del Valle differs from what I write in this narrative. So I lent it to them, for it seems to me that some of the sense of wise men may adhere to unlearned fools such as I am. I told them not to touch, in way of emendation, anything about the conquests, nor to add or delete, for all that I write is quite true. When the two Licentiates to whom I lent it had seen and read it, one of them, who was very eloquent, and has a very good opinion of himself, after extolling and praising the good memory I must have not to forget a single item of all we went through from the time when we twice came to discover before Cortés came, and the last time when I came with Cortés himself. (The first time was in the year seventeen [1517] with Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and in the year eighteen with one Juan de Grijalva already often mentioned by me, and in the year nineteen I came with the good Captain Hernando Cortés who afterwards as time went on became Marques del Valle.)

To return to my story, the Licentiates told me that, as to the style, it followed the customary speech of Old Castile which in these times is accounted the more agreeable because there were no flowery arguments nor ornamental phrases such as the Chroniclers who have written of wars and battles are wont to employ, but all is written in a straightforward way and by speaking truthfully the best arguments are included. Moreover they also told me that it appears to them that I praise myself a great deal [when speaking] of the battles and warlike skirmishes at which I was present, and about the great services I have rendered to his Majesty, and that other persons ought to say that and write about it first, and not I.

Also that in order to give more credit to what I have stated I should cite witnesses and quote the accounts of such Chroniclers as may have written about it, as those who write and prove by other books about past events are accustomed to insert and quote, and not to say so curtly as I do, "I did this," and "such a thing happened to me," for I am not a witness for myself. To this I answered and now repeat [what I said] in the first Chapter of my Narrative, that in a letter which the Marques del Valle wrote from the great city of Mexico to His Majesty in Castile in the year fifteen hundred and forty giving him an account of my person and my services, he told him how I came to explore New Spain twice before he did, and the third time returned in his company, and as an eye-witness he very often saw me fighting in the Mexican wars, and at the capture of other cities, like a brave soldier doing many notable deeds, and often coming out of the battles badly wounded, and how I went in his company to Honduras and Hibueras (for so they call it in this country),

and other things were contained in the letter which to avoid prolixity I will not quote here.

In the same way the Most Illustrious Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza wrote to His Majesty reporting to him what he had been told by the Captains in whose company I had at that time served as a soldier, and it agreed with all that the Marques del Valle had written. Moreover very sufficient proofs were presented on my behalf in the Royal Council of the Indies in the year five hundred and forty [1540]. So the Señores Licenciados can see whether the Marques del Valle and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and my proofs are sufficient evidence. If this is not enough I wish to call another witness, and there is none better in the world, which is the Most Christian Emperor our Lord of Glorious Memory, Don Carlos the fifth, who by his Royal letter, closed and sealed with his Royal Seal, orders the Viceroys and Presidents to have respect for the many good and loyal services which it is clear to him that I have rendered, that I and my children should have preference and advantage; which said Royal letter he sent to me, and I have all the originals of these letters preserved, and the copies remain at the Court in the archive of the Secretary Ochoa Luyando. I say this as an excuse and a witness of what the Licentiates represent to me.

To return to my argument, by chance the Chronicler Francisco de Gomara wished [so] to write it, [but neither he] nor the Doctor Yllescas in what they wrote about the heroic deeds of . . . . we should remain unmentioned if I had not told this true story. As to what they say that I praise myself too much and that others should do that, I answer there are occasions when certain neighbours are wont to praise the virtues and goodness of others and not their own, but for one who is not present in a war, and does not see it or understand it, how is he able to do it? Are the clouds to utter praise or the birds that flew over us when we were fighting our battles? Only the Captains and soldiers who were present [could do so.] If in my story I had taken the honour and glory from some of the valiant Captains and brave soldiers who were my companions and were present at the Conquest and given it to myself, it [the allegation] would be right, and would take away my standing ground, but I have not even praised myself as well as I ought.

The Marquis Cortés says, and an inscription which he placed on the Culverin of the bird Phœnix, which was a cannon cast in Mexico of gold, silver and copper, which we sent to His Majesty: the letters of the inscription said

Esta ave nació sin par	This bird born without an equal,
Y yo en serviros sin segundo	I second to none in serving you,
Y Vos sin igual en el Mundo.	Your Highness without equal in the world.

I am clearly able to say that I am entitled to part in this praise and inscription, for I helped Cortés to accomplish those loyal services. In addition to this, when Cortés went the first time to Castile to kiss the royal feet of His Majesty, he reported to him that he had such valiant and brave Captains and comrades that he believed none more spirited had been heard of in past history than those with whom he conquered New Spain and the great City of Mexico. I am also entitled to a share of this praise. When he went to serve His Majesty in the affair of Algiers, and certain things happened about striking camp on account to the great tempests which occurred, it is said that he spoke many praises of his valiant companions. So I also claim a share of that.

It is for this reason I write and wish to place here a comparison, although it is a comparison between a very distinguished man and a soldier like myself. I assert that I was present in New Spain fighting in more battles than the great Emperor Julius Cæsar was present in, and his historians say of him that he was very ready with his arms and very valiant in giving battle—and when he had time he wrote down his heroic exploits, for although he had many and great chroniclers he was not satisfied with these, so himself wrote them with his own hand. It is not unreasonable that now in this story I mention the battles myself, for I was present at all the battles in which the Marquis Cortés took part, and many others, when he sent me with other Captains to conquer other provinces and cities, which will be found noted in this my chronicle and narrative, when and where, and in what provinces I was fighting, and at what times. Moreover I say that if [in addition to] all the praises and eulogy which Francisco de Gomara and Doctor Yllescas repeat in their books, they wish for further evidence, let them look at New Spain which is four times as large as our Castile! and let them observe the many cities and towns that are inhabited and . . . .

CHAPTER CCXIII.

Why many Indian men and women were branded as slaves in New Spain, and the story I tell about it.

CERTAIN monks have asked me to tell them and explain why so many Indian men and women were branded for slaves throughout New Spain, and whether we branded them without reporting it to His Majesty. To this I replied, and repeat it now, that His Majesty sent twice

to order it, and, that this may be clearly understood, interested readers should know that this was the way of it:—Diego Velásquez, Governor of the Island of Cuba, sent a fleet against us, and as Captain of it one Pánfilo de Narvaez, who brought with him thirteen hundred soldiers, among them ninety horsemen, and ninety small cannon (they were called Espingardas at that time), and eighty crossbowmen. He came to capture us and take the country for Diego Velásquez, as I have already stated in my narrative in the chapter that treats of it, and it is necessary that I should now refer to it again so that it may be clearly understood.

To go back to my subject: as soon as our Captain and all of us soldiers knew how Narvaez came in a fury, and about the insolent speeches he was uttering against us, we decided to set out from Mexico and meet him with two hundred and sixty soldiers, and endeavour to defeat him before he could capture us. And because at that time we held the great Montezuma, the Lord of Mexico, prisoner, we left him in charge of a Captain often mentioned by me before, named Pedro de Alvarado, and we left in his company eighty soldiers, for it seemed to us that some of them were suspected of not being willing to help us, as they had been friends of Diego Velásquez, and would be hostile to us.

While we were going against Narvaez the City of Mexico and its subjects rose in revolt, and I wish to recount the cause and reason given by the great Montezuma why they rebelled, and what he said was true. It appears the Mexicans were accustomed at that time to hold a great festival to [in honour of] their Idols called Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, with rejoicings and dances, and to come out with their treasures of jewels and gold and plumes. The great Montezuma asked permission of Pedro de Alvarado, and he gave it with evidence of

goodwill, but as soon as he saw that nearly all the Caciques of that city were dancing, and other chieftains who had come from other parts to see the dances, Pedro de Alvarado came out suddenly from his quarters with all his eighty well-armed soldiers, and fell on the Caciques who were dancing in the principal court of the great Cue, and killed and wounded some of them [although] they had asked his permission to dance. As soon as the great Montezuma and his chieftains saw this, they were very greatly angered at such a breach of faith, and at once at that very moment[1] they attacked him [Pedro de Alvarado].

The first day they killed eight of his soldiers and wounded nearly all the rest, and burned their quarters, and surrounded him in such a way that he found himself in great straits. They certainly would have succeeded in killing them [all] if they had pressed the attack one day longer. At that moment the great Montezuma commanded his chieftains and Captains to cease the attack, because at that time Pedro de Alvarado threatened to kill Montezuma there where he was in prison, if the attack were continued. Moreover they stopped the attack because his [Montezuma's] spies and chieftains (whom he always sent after us, from the time we left Mexico to go against Narvaez, to ascertain how things turned out) came post haste to tell him how we had defeated him [Narvaez], which he and all his chieftains considered to be most important, for they looked upon it as certain that as we who were with Cortés were few in number, and the followers of Narvaez four times as numerous as we were, they would take us prisoners as scoundrels.

To return to my story: I will state that after we had

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "they rose in rebellion in Mexico."

captured Narvaez we returned to Mexico to rescue Alvarado, and Cortés knew that the great Montezuma had asked permission of Pedro de Alvarado to hold that display[1] and festival; and as soon as he saw that . . . . he reprimanded him very severely with very sharp words, and a Captain named Alonzo de Ávila often mentioned by me, who was on bad terms with Pedro de Alvarado, also told him that there would remain in New Spain an evil memory of having done such an unjust deed. To this Pedro de Alvarado made the excuse, taking his oath to it, that he knew for certain from three priests and Caciques,[2] and from other Caciques who were in the company of the great Montezuma, that the festival they were celebrating to their Huichilobos, who was the God of War, was in order that he might give them victory against him and his soldiers and free Montezuma from prison, and afterwards they would make war on those who were coming with Narvaez and those belonging to Cortés who might still be living, and as he [Alvarado] knew for certain that they were going to attack him the next day he got ahead by attacking them first, so that they should be cowed and have to attend to the wounds inflicted on them.

I want to get back to my story: when we came to know how they had him hemmed in and [reduced him to] such straits, we decided to go in haste and rescue him, and we made friendship between the followers of Cortés and those of Narvaez, and went to his [Alvarado's] rescue with more than thirteen hundred soldiers, ninety horsemen and more than a hundred gunners and ninety crossbowmen, and nearly all those I now mention were of the company of Narvaez, for we of Cortés's company did not number more than three hundred and fifty; and

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[1] Areyte.
[2] Blotted out in the original: "whom they captured when ."

it must be remembered that the eighty with Pedro de Alvarado are included in the count. There were also with us two thousand friendly Tlaxcalans, and with this force we entered Mexico with Cortés, who was greatly elated with his victory over Narvaez.

The day after we arrived the Mexicans made so many attacks . . . . on us and wars, that of the thirteen hundred soldiers who came in [with us], within eight days they had killed, sacrificed and eaten over eight hundred and sixty-two Spaniards, both those who had come with Cortés and those whom Narvaez brought, and they also sacrificed and ate over a thousand Tlaxcalans. This took place in the city and on the causeways and bridges and in a pitched battle which in this country we call [the battle of] Otumba.

From that rout [only] four hundred and forty soldiers and twenty-two horses escaped, and if we had not taken to flight in the middle of the night we should all have been left there [dead]. We who escaped were [all] badly wounded, but, with the help of God who favoured us, we went to [seek] aid at Tlaxcala, which received us like good and loyal friends.

Within five months we got certain reinforcement of soldiers, which came in three vessels with Captains sent by Don Francisco de Garay from the Island of Jamaica to the Rio Panuco, to assist his fleet. Three months later we received other reinforcement from two other ships which came from Cuba, and in them came twenty and odd horses which Diego Velásquez sent for the use of his Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez, he thinking that he had already defeated and taken us prisoners. When we possessed the reinforcements and ships already mentioned, and with the gold saved in the flight from Mexico, Cortés decided, with the consent of all of us Captains and soldiers, that we should send a report of

all our conquests to the Royal Audiencia and Geronimite Friars who were the Governors in the Island of Santo Domingo. For this purpose we sent two ambassadors, persons of quality, named Captain Alonzo de Ávila and one Francisco Álvarez Chico, who was a man of business. We sent them to beg consideration of the reports already mentioned, and of the attacks made on us, and that they should grant us permission to make slaves of the Mexican Indians and natives of the pueblos who had risen in revolt and killed Spaniards[1] (and who after we had summoned them three times to make peace, would not come in, but [continued to] make war,) and to brand them in the face [with a mark] like this . What the Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars decreed about this was to grant us permission (subject to a warrant with certain chapters of the order which were to be obeyed) to brand slaves; and according to the directions laid down in the warrant slaves were branded in New Spain. In addition to this which I have stated, the Royal Audiencia and Geronimite Friars informed His Majesty, who was in Flanders, what had been done, and he approved of it, and the members of his Royal Council of the Indies sent another decree on the subject.

I wish here also to call to mind how within about a year we sent our Ambassadors from Mexico to Castile, and report was made to His Majesty how before we came to New Spain with Cortés, and also at that very time, the Indians and Caciques commonly held a number of Indian men and women as slaves, and sold them and traded with them as one trades with any merchandise, and Indian merchants went from place to place and from market to market selling them and bartering them for gold and cloths and cacao, and brought batches of fifteen

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "and made war."

to twenty or more for sale[1] tied together with collars and ropes [in a] much worse [way] than the Portuguese bring the Negroes from Guinea. Our Ambassadors took proofs of good faith and credit for all this, and took certain Mexican Indians as witnesses, and with these preparations we sent to beg His Majesty that he would do us the favour to grant us permission to pay them as tribute, and to buy them by barter in the same way as the Indians bought and sold them, and His Majesty was pleased to grant it, and ordered honest and competent persons to be appointed to take charge of the iron with which the branding was done. After the royal decree which His Majesty had ordered about this had been brought to New Spain or Mexico, it was arranged, so that there should be no misunderstanding[2] about the branding, that an Alcalde and the senior Regidor and a Priest should have charge of the branding iron in each city or town, and that they should be persons of good repute. The iron which they then used for branding the slaves which they received in barter was like this .

I also wish to write down here, that it would have been more profitable . . . . . . we should send to beg His Majesty to grant us favour, for if . . . . as was most Christian, or the Lords who at that time directed the Council of the Indies could know what afterwards happened about it, and as in all that they decreed they desired to do right, His Majesty would never have given such permission nor would it have been agreed to by the Royal Council of the Indies, for certainly great frauds were perpetrated over the branding of the Indians.

Men are not always very just, on the contrary there

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "Some merchants more and others less."

[2] Scratched out in the original: "and that there should be exactitude."

are many of evil disposition, and at that time there came from Spain and from the Islands many poor Spaniards, greatly covetous and insatiable and ravenous to acquire riches and slaves, who took such measures that they branded the free.

So that this matter may be more clearly understood, at the time that Cortés was governing, before we went with him to the Hibueras, there was justice about the branding of slaves, for they were not branded without ascertaining quite clearly whether they were free [or not]. After we set out from Mexico and went with Cortés to Honduras (for so they call it in this country), and were delayed in going and returning to Mexico two years and three months while we were conquering those provinces and bringing them to peace, during the time we were absent there took place in New Spain so many injustices, and revolts, and scandals among those whom Cortés had left as his Lieutenant-Governors that they took no care whether Indians were branded with good or bad title, but only looked after their own parties and interests. The persons who then governed did not look to see whether those who at that time had charge of the branding were of evil repute and covetous, and they gave the office to their friends to make profit for themselves, and these branded many free Indians who were not slaves.

In addition to this there were other evils among the Caciques, who, in paying tribute to their encomenderos, took poor Indian boys and girls and orphans and gave them as slaves. So great was the disillusion that resulted from this that the first to break away from the branding for barter was the town of Coatzacoalcos, where at that time I was a settler, for when this happened more than a year had elapsed since we had returned to that town from the journey we had made with Cortés.[1]

[1] Scratched out in the original: "to the Hibueras."

As the Senior Regidor and a person of trust, they had handed over the branding iron to me, and to a Curate of that town named Benito López, so that I should have charge of it. When we saw how the [natives of] the province were decreasing and the cunning which the Caciques and some encomenderos were practising to induce us to brand Indians as slaves (and they were not doing it very secretly), we broke the branding iron, without informing the Chief Alcalde or the Cabildo, and sent a messenger post haste to the President Don Sebastian Ramírez, then Bishop of Santo Domingo, who was a good President and an upright man of cleanly life, and informed him how we had broken the branding iron, and implored him, as a matter of sound counsel, at once to order distinctly that no more slaves should be branded in any part of New Spain. When he had seen our letters, he wrote to us to say that we had acted as very trustworthy servants of His Majesty and, sincerely thanking us, made offers to assist us.

In agreement with the Royal Audiencia he promptly ordered that no more Indians should be branded in any part of New Spain, nor in Jalisco, Tabasco, Yucatan or Guatemala, and this which he decreed was good and holy.

As there are men who do not possess that zeal which they ought to have for the service of God and of His Majesty, and who would not consider the wrong which was being done in branding free Indians as slaves, when they got to know in our town of Coatzacoalcos that I and my companion the Curate Benito López had broken the branding iron, they asked why we prevented them enjoying the favours which His Majesty had vouchsafed us, and they went on to say that we were bad citizens and did no benefits to the town[1] and that we ought to

[1] Blotted out in the original: "and commonwealth."

be stoned. We laughed at all they said and took no notice of it, and took pride in having done such a good deed. Then the same President, together with the Royal Audiencia, sent a commission to me and to the Curate already named by me, as Inspectors-General of two towns, namely Coatzacoalcos and Tabasco, and sent us instructions as to the manner of our inspections and how many pesos we were authorized to inflict [as fines] in the judgments we should give, which amounted to fifty thousand maravedis, and that we should refer crimes and murders and other atrocious acts to the said Royal Audiencia. They also sent us a commission to prepare a description of all the lands and pueblos of the two towns which we visited, as well as we were able, and to send them a copy of the judicial records and the description of the provinces and a report of all we had done. In reply he [the President?] stated that he was very well satisfied and that he would inform His Majesty of it [what we had done], so that he might grant us favours, and that if anything occurred to me he would report it, because he always had a strong desire to assist me. At that time His Majesty sent to summon him [the President, to Castile], and he went there.[1] When I was in Mexico as Proctor-Syndic of the town of Coatzacoalcos talking to him [the President] about the business of the conquest of New Spain, [going] from one subject to the other, he told me that before he became Bishop of Santo Domingo he had been Inquisitor in Seville.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "So when he arrived in Castile they gave him the bishopric of . . . Tuy, and he was President of the Royal Audiencia of Granada, and at that time the bishopric of Leon fell vacant and they promoted him, and then the bishopric of Cuenca was vacant, so that the mails met which brought him the Bulls of the bishoprics one with the other, and then they passed him on to the Royal Audiencia of Valladolid, and at that time and season our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to take him to His holy Glory."

I wish to leave this subject which has been very long and prolix, but in it can be seen the permission we had from His Majesty and the Lords of his Royal Council to brand slaves.

Let us leave this and I will speak of the Governors who ruled New Spain.[1]

CHAPTER CCXIV.

About the Governors who have been in New Spain up to the year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight.

THE first Captain and Governor was the valorous and good Captain Hernando Cortés, who as time went on became Marques del Valle and held other titles, and all three were well deserved. He governed very well and peaceably for more than three years, [and then he went to the] Hibueras and Cape of Honduras [and left behind as Governors] and lieutenants to carry on the Government the Treasurer Alonzo de [Estrada, a native] of Ciudad Real, in company with the Accountant Rodrigo de Albornoz . . . . or of Ramaga, and they ruled for a matter of three months. Then the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar, a native of Granada, in company with the Veedor Peralmirez Chirinos[2] of Ubeda, assumed the Government, and the way in which they ruled I have already described in the chapter which tells about it, and the scandals that arose in Mexico over the question whether or no they should govern; they remained Governors for more than a year and a half.

When Cortés came to know about the strife that had

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[1] Immediately after this last line there is a note which says "this is not to be written below," it is the beginning of the following chapter.

[2] Scratched out in the original: "Native."

arisen in Mexico through their bad government, he sent from the province of Honduras to revoke the authority [he had given] them, and the Treasurer and Accountant returned to govern again, according to the authority which Cortés had left with them. Then these said Governors imprisoned the Factor and Veedor in some cages of stout beams, and within about a year and a half Cortés returned to Mexico from Honduras, and when he arrived he took over the Government himself.

Before fifteen days had passed, during which he was occupied over necessary matters[1] touching the past squabbles, at that moment there arrived from Castile as Governor, a certain Licentiate .... named Louis Ponce de Leon, a native of Córdova, who brought a commission to take the Residencia of Cortés and of the Captains and Magistrates who were in New Spain at the time. While he was taking the Residencia, he died of sleeping sickness, and left his powers, by will, to the Licentiate named Marcos de Aguilar, whom the said Luis Ponce had brought in his company when he came from the Island of Santo Domingo. Other persons whom Luis Ponce brought with him called him the Bachelor Aguilar, and the powers which he [Luis Ponce] left him by his will [stated] that he was to make no change whatever in the Government, and should not take away Indians from any Encomendero, nor should he release the Factor and Veedor from prison, but that they should remain prisoners in the way he had found them. Moreover he charged him at once to report the matter to His Majesty so that he could send and order what would be best for his service. In this way Marcos de Aguilar ruled more than ten months, and he died of consumption and from a boil

[1] Blotted out in the original: "for the service of God and of His Majesty."

disease, and left authority by his will for the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada to assume the government. So the Treasurer governed for the third time, and when he was given the government, he arranged with the Proctors of New Spain, in order that he should exercise more authority in the Government, that he should rule, jointly with Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was Chief Alguazil and had been a Captain — a very distinguished person. Some persons said the Treasurer did this because he wished to marry his daughter to him [Sandoval]. When the two had been governing jointly about ten months, an order came from His Majesty that the Treasurer should govern alone, and they removed Sandoval from the Government. A royal Cedula also came [to the effect] that the Factor and Veedor should be released from prison and their property which had been sequestrated should be returned to them.

Within a few days His Majesty appointed a Royal Audiencia, and as President of it came one Nuño de Guzman, a native of Guadalajara, who was at that time Governor of the Province of [Panuco]. There also came as Oidores four Licentiates, named [Delgadillo, a native] of Granada, and Matienzo, whom they say came from the neighbourhood of Biscay, and a Licentiate [Parada] . . . . to be in the Island of Cuba, and one Maldonado of Salamanca (I do not speak of the Licentiate Maldonado the Good, for so we called him, who was Governor of Guatemala and Adelantado of Yucatan). To return to my story : when the Licentiates whom I have mentioned, who came as Oidores, arrived in Mexico, Parada and Maldonado died, and the Royal Audiencia held session with the President, whom I have already mentioned, and the two Oidores, for more than two years. Because His Majesty was informed that they did not do their duty, he distinctly ordered them to resign, and there promptly

came as President Don Sebastian Ramíres of Villa Escusa, who at that time was Bishop of the Island of Santo Domingo, and four Oidores named the Licentiate Salmeron, from Madrid, Alonzo Maldonado of Salamanca, and the Licentiate Ceynos of Zamora, and the Licentiate Bernaldo de Quirova of Madrigal, and they were very good and upright judges. After some years His Majesty sent for the President Don Sebastian Ramíres to give him information about the affairs of New Spain, and as soon as he arrived they gave him the Bishopric of Tuy, and appointed him President of the Royal Audiencia of Granada, and at that time the Bishopric of Leon became vacant, and they promoted him and transferred him to the Chancery of Valladolid Then the Bishopric of Cuenca became vacant, and it was given to him, and at that moment it pleased God to take him to His holy glory.

Let us speak now of the Licentiate Salmeron, who remained in New Spain, as Oidor, for more than four years, and became rich; he sent to ask leave to return to Castile, and after he had rendered his accounts with satisfaction, he departed and was appointed to the Royal Council of the Indies; and when he was old His Majesty ordered him to be pensioned. To the Licentiate Bernaldo de Quirova was given the Bishopric of Michoacan, and the Licentiate Maldonado because he was a very good and upright judge, came as President and Governor to this province of Guatemala and Honduras, and served His Majesty very efficiently in the offices he held.

I must go back to say that at this time,[1] His Majesty ordered Don Antonio de Mendoza, brother of the Marquis of Mondejar, to come as Viceroy and President of New

[1] Scratched out in the original: "when the President Don Sebastian Ramíres arrived in Castile."

Spain, and [sent] as Oidores four Licentiates, named Tejada of Logroño, and an elderly Licentiate Loayza of Ciudad Real, and the Licentiate Santillan, a native of Seville, who was afterwards a Doctor, and the Doctor Quezada Ledesma, and a few days later came the Licentiate Mexia, a native of San Martin de Valde Yglesias, who was afterwards a Doctor, and the Doctor Herrera, said to be native of the neighbourhood of Guadalajara. I do not remember how long they remained as Oidores, for some went to Castile and some came and others remained—as it makes little difference to my story, I do not record it.

At that time there came as Inspector of the whole of New Spain, and as Guardian of the Royal Decrees, the Licentiate Tello de Sandoval, a native of Seville, and he took the Residencia of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, and of the Oidores, and found that they were upright judges, although he raised some punctilios and slight suspicions against the Viceroy. After he had finished the examination he returned to Castile to become an Oidor, and, a short time afterwards, President of the Royal Council of the Indies, and later on Bishop of Osuna or of[1]

Then there came to Mexico as Judge [of the Residencia] of Nuño de Guzman, and to make certain investigations into the . . . . Jalisco, a Licentiate named De la Torre, a native of Badajos, ... Licentiate as he came with great desire to do justice in the matters which he had [to investigate]; this was he in the sleeves of whose gown they placed the playing cards, as I have related in the chapter that treats of it, of the annoyance from which he died.

There also came from Castile at that time a Licentiate

[1] A blank space is left here in the original.—G. G.

named Vena, who made the Viceroy and all the Royal Andiencia believe that His Majesty was sending him to take the Residencia of the Licentiate Tejada, and to remain as Inspector of New Spain. About this he practiced such frauds that the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia believed it, and one day they ordered him to take his seat together with them in the Law Court. When, however, they observed that he could show no commission, but only some fraudulent papers which he brought sealed up, which said on them and on their dockets "Titles and Decrees which His Majesty had given him as Inspector and to take the Residencia of Tejada," and they saw that all the enclosure was blank, and [thus] understood his frauds, they ordered him to be given two hundred lashes well laid on. In addition to this he had another way of cheating, in that certain persons who had lawsuits gave him money, and for all this they banished him from Mexico after he had been flogged.

At this time His Majesty ordered the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza to go to Peru and pacify that kingdom, which was disturbed, and when he arrived there and began to do justice, it pleased God to take him to His holy glory. Great grief was felt at his death, and there was much reason for it, for from what we could see, when he was Viceroy of New Spain, he governed very well, and is worthy of very meritorious regard for his many virtues.

There promptly came in his place, as Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, a native of Palencia of Tierra de Campos.[1] I never communicated with him except by letters which I wrote to him, which he answered, about

[1] Scratched out in the original: "He had the reputation of being very just in all that he did."

a son of mine who lived in his house. It is said that he occupied the post of Viceroy and Governor for sixteen years, at the end of which he died.

A few months before God took him from this life, His Majesty had sent to Mexico a Licentiate or Doctor named[1] de Valderrama, a native of Talavera. It is said that he came as Inspector of New Spain, and, from what I have heard, after the death of the Viceroy Don Luis Velasco, he wished to be in supreme command, but the Señores Oidores of the Royal Audiencia would not consent to it, and reported it to His Majesty, who sent to order him back to Castile to be Oidor, as before, in the Royal Council of the Indies; and as soon as he arrived [in Castile] he died. Also about that time, or half a year earlier, the Licentiate Zaynos returned to Castile to be an Oidor [of the Royal Council] as he had been before of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

To return to my story: when it was known in Castile that Don Luis Velasco had died, His Majesty appointed as Viceroy and Governor a gentleman named Don Gaston de Peralta, Marques de Falces, Conde de Santistevan, and chief Mayordomo of His Majesty of the Kingdom of Navarre, who remained for a certain time in the City of Mexico. They say[2] he was amiable and had good manners, and during the time he remained in Mexico there did not occur so many disturbances[3] about the affairs of the Marquis Don Martin Cortés, and of one Alonzo de Ávila, and his brother named Gil Gonzáles de Benavides who were sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides the elder, and nephew of a Captain named Alonzo de

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[1] A blank space is left in the original. The Licentiate Valderrama was named Jerónimo, according to León Pinelo.—G. G.

[2] Blotted out in the original: "that he governed very well."

[3] Blotted out in the original: "as after His Majesty had sent to summon him to come to Castile to report to him."

Ávila, already often mentioned by me, who came among the first with Cortés to New Spain. Returning to my subject: these two nephews of his [Alonzo de Ávila] were those whom they beheaded, and much other justice was done over the disturbances and rebellions.

So that it should be more clearly understood who these were, it is as I now state:—The Captain Alonzo de Ávila, uncle of the two nephews on whom justice was executed, held entrusted to him under the Law of Assignment a good pueblo of Indians near Mexico, named Guautitlan, which the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés had given him; and when Alonzo de Ávila, to whom the pueblo first belonged, died, the Fiscal claimed it for His Majesty as being vacant and belonging to the Royal Crown, because Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, the brother of Alonzo de Ávila, had neither title nor charter of assignment of the pueblo, but exploited it on the strength of a Power of Attorney which his brother the Captain Alonzo de Ávila had given him. Moreover Gil Gonzáles de Ávila de Benavides, the father of those who were beheaded, was never a Conquistador of Mexico (when he came to Mexico New Spain was already conquered) except that he went in company with Cortés when we went to the Hibueras. However, as other persons know much more fully how to relate the dangers that arose in Mexico over this [than I do], it is better that I should not refer to what has been written on the subject. Moreover I live in the city of Santiago de Guatemala, where I am Regidor, and do not go to Mexico, nor have anything to do with Viceroys there, nor the Royal Audiencia, so we will not touch on these points.

Let us turn now to the Province of Jalisco. The first Captain who was [sent] there was called Nuño de Guzman . . . that province was subject to the Royal Audiencia of . . . . years, His Majesty ordered that there should be a

Royal Audiencia in it without .... things which were suitable, had supreme command ...... Now they have told me at this time that it is independent and with .... provinces, I have no further news of them, of what I here state .... of Yucatan which is on the North Coast, that the first Captains named the Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo, and his son .... Montejo, natives of Salamanca, and he was for some years .... and in the year fifteen hundred and fifty His Majesty ordered that it [was to be subject] to Guatemala, and after it had been in the way I have said for four or five years, His Majesty ordered that it should return to be subject to Mexico.

At that time the Licentiate named Quijada, a native of Seville, who was afterwards a doctor, went to Castile, he used to be a settler in Guatemala, and held pueblos of Indians in assignment who gave him a revenue of seven hundred pesos, and through desire of being a Governor he begged His Majesty to grant him the Government of Yucatan, with the result that he left his Indians and they reverted to the authority of His Majesty. He held the Government [of Yucatan] for some years, and when his Residencia was taken it appears that as he had not governed as he should have done they deprived him of the Government; so that in his anxiety to hold rule he lost the Indians which he held for certain, and was condemned in costs, and went to Castile on this account and died there.

There came in his place as Governor of Yucatan one Luis de Cespedes, a native of Ciudad Real, who held the Government for four years, and, as I understand, he did not govern well and they dismissed him, and they say that he fled to Castile.

Let us leave the affairs of Yucatan, which from the beginning had gone from bad to worse through bad government, and turn to the Government of Guatemala.

The first Governor who was appointed was named Pedro de Alvarado, a native of Badajos, and in the year twenty-six [1526] he went to Castile to beg His Majesty to grant him the Government of these Kingdoms, and while he was gone he left as his lieutenant his brother, named Jorge de Alvarado, who at that time had married a daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada (and the Treasurer was at that time Governor of Mexico). Within about a year from the time he was governing Guatemala His Majesty sent the first Royal Audiencia that was appointed to Mexico (as I have noted and stated), and when they arrived in Mexico they sent to take [the Residencia] of Jorge de Alvarado, and he who came to take it was named Francisco Orduña, an old man, who was a native of Tordesillas. I do not know what took place in the Residencia except that they have told me that he ruled as a Governor [should rule]. Within three months of the time that Orduña was taking the Residencia, Don Pedro de Alvarado returned from Castile with the title of Governor, and he brought a Commandry of the order of Santiago. He came married to a lady named Doña Francisco de la Cueva, who died on arriving at Vera Cruz.

To return to my story: when the Adelantado arrived in Guatemala he at once in great haste fitted out a good fleet, with which he went to Peru, and while he was away he left his own brother Jorge de Alvarado as Lieutenant-Governor. After some years the Adelantado returned from Peru a very rich man; and about that time the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent again to take a Residencia, and, as judge of complaints, sent the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado, a native of Salamanca, who was an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico. It appears that concerning the Residencia and the things of which the Adelantado had been accused he found it necessary

to return to Castile [and to appear] before His Majesty, and as our Lord and King was most Christian, and had received reports of the services which he [the Adelantado] had rendered, he acquitted him of the complaints and claims payable to His Majesty which they had brought against him in the affairs in question.

At that time he [the Adelantado] married another lady, the sister of his first wife, named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva, and as the Duque de Alburquerque, Don Pedro de la Cueva, the Comendador Mayor de Alcántara and Don Alonzo de la Cueva, his wife's relations, supported him, His Majesty granted him the Government [of Guatemala], as before, for some years. When he came to Guatemala he prepared a very large fleet to go to the West, to China and the Spice Islands, all of which I have reported in the [chapter that treats of it] . . . . . . fleets, and while he was away with the fleet he left as lieutenant Governor [Francisco de la Cue]va who was a Licentiate and a cousin of his wife, and I have even been told that . . . . . . know something certain of the Government, if it was not with appearance and consent . . . . . . Don Francisco Marroquin, and the Adelantado having already set out with thirteen ships and over six hundred soldiers, arrived with all his fleet at the province of Jalisco.

Just as he was ready to set sail and follow on his course, they brought letters to him, sent by a Captain named Cristóbal Doñate, to beg him with great entreaty and prayers, in the name of His Majesty, to come to his rescue, as he and his army of Spaniards were on the point of disaster at some pueblos or fortresses named Nochiztlan, and that both by day and night they [the Indians] wounded and killed many Spaniards and he could not hold out, and that he was in the greatest exigency and need, for if the Indians of Nochiztlan were victorious the whole of New Spain would run a risk.

As soon as Don Pedro de Alvarado heard and understood the news, which was beyond all question, he ordered his Captains and soldiers with all despatch to go with him to the rescue, and in great haste he went to the rocky hills, and with his help the attack which the Indians of that province were making on the Spaniards slackened somewhat, but not so much that it stopped them attacking with great valour, like brave warriors, and in spite of the assistance [rendered] the Spaniards were in great danger, for many of their soldiers were killed. Then, from the time their ill-fortune began, one disaster followed on another, for, while Don Pedro de Alvarado was fighting against the squadrons of Indian Warriors, it seems that while a soldier was fighting, a horse stumbled with him, and came rolling down the hill with great impetus to where the Adelantado was standing, so that he was not able to move aside at all, and the horse carried him down so that his body was mangled in such a way that he felt very ill from it. So as to take care of him and cure him they carried him away in a litter to a town named La Purificacion, which was the nearest to those rocky hills. As they went on their way he began to faint, and when they reached the town, after he had confessed and received the sacrament, he gave up his soul to God who created him. Some persons say that he made a will.[1]

When the Adelantado died the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent as Governor the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado, already mentioned by me, and about a year's time after this happened, His Majesty ordered a Royal Audiencia to come to this province of Guatemala, and the said Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado came as its President, and they settled in a town called

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "May God pardon him, Amen. To return to my story."

Gracias a Dios. Three Oidores came named the Licentiate Rogel de Olmedo, and the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones, a native of Leon, and Doctor Herrera of Toledo, and some time later His Majesty ordered the same Audiencia to move to this City of Santiago de Guatemala.

Because the Licentiate Alonzo de Maldonado had been for many years Oidor in Mexico and President in these provinces he felt it necessary to go and plead with His Majesty to grant him [the office] of Adelantado of Yucatan, and the pueblos of Indians which had belonged to his father-in-law, the Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo, who died at that time. He sent to beg His Majesty to give him leave to go to Castile, and leave was given him, on the condition that he should first undergo his Residencia, by which they established the fact that he was a very good Judge.

His Majesty sent as President in his place the Licentiate named Alonzo López Çerrato, a native of Estremadura, and as Oidores, the Licentiate Tomas López, a native of Tendilla, and the Licentiate Çorita of Granada, and as I have already stated the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones was already Oidor. When the President Çerrato had remained four years and was .... old, and a Churchman, he sent to beg .... was well instructed in the Royal Council .... another earnest prayer that he might .... on condition that he should undergo his Residencia, and to undertake it .... Quesada a native of Ledesma and being .... God was pleased to take him from this life and .... Doctor Quesada who was undertaking it, and there remained as President the Senior Oidor who was the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez.

A short time afterwards His Majesty ordered the Licentiate Juan Martinez de Landecho, a native of Biscay, to come as President. At that time or a few months

earlier the Licentiate Loaysa, a native of Talavera, came as Oidor, and at the same time the Doctor Antonio Mexia, a native of San Martin de Val de Yglesias, came as Oidor, who used to hold the same office in the Royal Audiencia of Mexico. Because Doctor Mexia and another Doctor named Herrera, who was also an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, had some differences of opinion or squabbles, in order to make peace between them, His Majesty ordered Doctor Mexia to come to this province as Oidor, and the Doctor [Herrera ?] went to Castile. It appears that some time later His Majesty ordered Doctor Mexia's Residencia to be taken, and the President Landecho undertook it, and on account of certain charges which were brought against him he deprived him of the Royal office for some years. About this he [Mexia] went to Castile and was acquitted of the charges so clearly that they appointed him to another Royal office, as Corregidor of Talavera, and afterwards he was appointed President of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, when he died holding the office of President. In place of Doctor Mexia, Doctor Barros de Sanmillan, a native of Segovia, came as Oidor of this Royal Audiencia, and if he had had as much beard[1] as it was said he had learning it would have added dignity to his presence.

After the Licentiate Landecho had been President for a few years, His Majesty ordered the said Royal Audiencia which was established in this City of Santiago to move to Panama, because it is said information had been received that it would be more convenient there, and for other reasons which I could not clearly understand. In addition to this, His Majesty ordered the Residencia of the Licentiate Landecho to be taken, and of all the other Oidores who resided in it [the city], and

[1] An allusion to his youthful appearance.

if they were found to be culpable that they should be dismissed.

The Licentiate Francisco Briseño, a native of Corral de Almaguer, who had formerly been Oidor in the kingdom of New Granada, came by appointment to take the Residencia, and he brought a commission to take this Residencia and to transfer the Royal Seal to Panama, and to appoint the Oidor who should be least occupied, and whom he should consider best qualified, to take charge of it. He also brought a commission to examine the officers of the Royal Treasury, and of the property of defunct persons, and to bring to an end and conclude the lawsuits which had been begun by the late Royal Audiencia.

To go back to my story: He took the Residencia of the Licentiate Landecho, who was President, and of the Oidor the Licentiate Loayza, and of Doctor Barros, and after reviewing the charges and replies, he deprived the President Landecho and Loayza of Royal office for some years, and fined them a certain sum of money, but he acquitted Doctor Barros. On this account they had to go to Castile, and His Majesty ordered the Licentiate Landecho to go with the appointment of Oidor to Peru (I do not know about the other office he is said to have held), and when he reached Panama he died. The Licentiate Loayza came to this city as Oidor, and from here His Majesty sent him as Oidor to Chili. His Majesty appointed Doctor Barros to go with the Royal Seal to Panama, and to remain there as President of the Royal Audiencia, until he should order otherwise. The reason why he sent him with the Royal Seal was, because they found that he had the least official work to do.

After the Licentiate Briseño had sent off the Royal Seal (and he set out with the illustrious Cabildo of this

city and other gentlemen), he went to the town of Trinidad to decide certain boundaries and jurisdictions, and then he went to see some lands sown with wheat, which had been taken from certain pueblos, and he had them restored to their owners, and he visited the whole of his province, and this he did without taking payment from any place whatever. If one were to relate all the good he did during the time he was Governor it would be a long story, and I must be silent about it. Moreover, what to me . . . that he should have patience and with the merchants . . . he was a good Judge, but he obliterated it all with his . . . which appeared to him to be well said.

In the year fifteen hundred and sixty-six being . . . . the month of May, between one and two o'clock in the day, the ground began to shake in such a way that it lifted the houses and walls and even the roofs so that many of them fell to the ground, and others remained roofless lying over on one side, and we thought the earth would open and swallow us up. Although we all went out into the open we were not safe nor did we dare to sleep in our houses, but we set up our ranchos in the fields, and in the courtyards, and the plaza of this city. Much could be said about these violent earthquakes which lasted nine days, and the whole city with the clergy and the monks and all the ladies [set out] in great processions, most of us doing penance and praying to God for pity, and they set about making peace and friendship and other holy and pious work. It was wonderful to see how when we went in these pious processions groaning and weeping, with blood running down our backs, we were not able to advance nor keep on our feet, for as it was midnight the houses with tiled roofs fell with the great noise which the earth made when it shook, and the walls fell upon us, although we walked in the middle of the streets, and we

thought that our last days had come. With prayers, contrite confessions, and penances, which we made throughout this time, it pleased God that [when] we cast lots to many saints, and among them to Señor San Sebastian, to beg our Lord God's pity for us, that the lot fell to our advocate the fortunate martyr Saint Sebastian, and from this time the extreme earthquake began to slacken, and we promised to go every year in procession to a church which we built in the field of San Sebastian, and to celebrate his festival on the eve and day. Much could be said about these severe earthquakes and how there came suddenly a great flood of water which came out from a watercourse and threatened to swamp the city, and after that time we made a very good bridge.

Let us leave this talk, and speak of the rebellion and revolts which took place in Mexico City, at this time, over the affair of the Marquis Don Martin Cortés, and the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, whom they beheaded. As in this city we are very good and loyal vassals and servants of His Majesty, the illustrious Cabildo, together with all the other gentlemen, offered all our property and persons, if necessary, to go against those in rebellion, and we placed guards and ambushes and a goodly company of soldiers on the roads, so that if any of the enemies of His Majesty should happen to come there we might seize them. In addition to this we held a Royal camp muster to see and ascertain what musketeers and horsemen with all their arms there were; and certainly it was a wonderful thing to see the rich arms with which they turned out, and moreover the willingness which we all showed to go to Mexico if it was necessary, in the service of His Majesty, and it seems to me that this city is so loyal through nurturing the sons of the Conquistadores, who have inscribed on their breasts and hearts the loyalty they ought to bear to our Lord the King.

When we were already fully prepared, as I have stated, trustworthy letters came from Mexico [to say] that the two brothers named Alonzo de Ávila and Benavides had been beheaded, and that the others concerned in the rebellion had been banished and punished, and that everything was more or less safe, but not very peaceable. When the illustrious Cabildo of this city knew of this, although as Christians we grieved . . . . point our hearts were at rest . . . . few days there came to us other letters . . . . advice persons of quality . . . . how much and for what reason . . . . found them guilty, should be acquitted . . . . very upright justified Oidores . . . . to do justice to the Judges . . . . who was Oidor in Castile and . . . . punished certain men . . . . declared on his honour that he had . . . . service which he owed to His Majesty . . . . and was bound to it . . . . always endeavoured to be . . . . did not remain with a good reputation, may God remedy it, both the one and the other. These lawsuits took place in Castile, and they will know more about it there, than what I write.

I have delayed greatly in calling to mind what happened during the five years that the Licentiate Briseño governed this province. Let us leave it here and I will go on to tell of the governors of the province of Honduras sent by the Geronimite Friars who were Governors of the Island of Santo Domingo—and pray God they will never send such men [again]—for they were very bad and never did any justice at all; for besides illtreating the Indians of that province, they branded many of them as slaves, and sent them to be sold to Hispaniola and Cuba, and to the Island of San Juan de Baruquen.

These evil governors were named:—the first Fulano de Arbitez, and the second Cereceda, a native of Seville, and the third Diego Días de Herrera, who was also from Seville, and these three commenced the ruin of that

province, and what I here state I know, for when I came with Cortés on the expedition to Honduras I was present in Trujillo, which was called by the Indian name of Guaimura, and I was at Naco and the Rio de Pichin, and that of Balama, and that of Ulua, and in nearly all the pueblos of that neighbourhood, and it was thickly peopled and at peace [and the people were living] in their houses with their wives and children; but as soon as those bad governors came they destroyed them to such an extent, that in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-one, when I passed through there on my return from Castile, two Caciques who had known me in the old days told me with tears in their eyes of all their misfortunes and the treatment [they had received], and I was shocked to see the country in such a condition.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty a gentleman named Juan Perez de Cabrera had been governor; he died within two years, and he did neither good nor evil, and that province again became subject to Guatemala, and the Presidents and Governors of Guatemala did all they could to help and protect it. At that time there came as its governor a Licentiate named Alonzo Ortiz de Argueta, a native of Almendralejo, who governed for some years and left a good reputation at the Residencia which they took of him. Afterwards came another Governor, named Juan de Vargas Carvajal; from what they say he did worse than his predecessors, and had he not died before they took his Residencia he would have come out of it very badly.

Let us turn to the province of Soconusco which lies between Guatemala and Oaxaca. I say that in the year twenty-five [1525] I was travelling through it for eight or ten days, and it used to be peopled by more than fifteen thousand inhabitants[1] and they had their houses

[1] Vecinos; probably here meaning households.

and very good orchards of Cacao trees, and the whole province was a garden of Cacao trees, and was very pleasant, and now in the year [one thousand] five hündred and seventy-eight it is so desolate and abandoned that there are not more than twelve hundred inhabitants in it. They tell me that some died of a pestilence, and the others were allowed no rest by the principal Alcaldes, Corregidors, and Alguacils, and by the numerous clergy and Curas imposed on them by the prelates, and certainly there are too many, where the half would more than suffice.

Would that for my sins they were not as covetous as they are. On account of the trade in a kind of almond which is called Cacao, from which they make a sort of beverage which they drink and is very good, wholesome and strengthening, and as it is very good in that province, many traders go among the . . . . to buy it from them, and so the Curas, priests and alcaldes . . . . alguacils to this effect, nor do they give them any rest and it is . . . . so destroyed . . . . to the Lords who give orders in the Royal . . . . and as I was not present in the . . . . and every day they go from bad . . . . of the Governor . . . . Oñez de Villa Quixan a native . . . . punishment and stop the trade of . . . . the clergy and Alguacils did so . . . . said that it was he who . . . . wine and many other articles of merchandise at very high prices, and committed some atrocities and ill treatments which the Indians could not endure from them, because it was all the more demanded that he would secure justice for them. Thus when the Illustrious Marques de Falces etc. arrived in New Spain as Viceroy, he heard of what they said about that Pero Hernández who was the Governor, and he sent to take his Residencia, and while it was being taken he [Hernández] fled to where they could not quickly find him,

for he had committed many crimes which were fully proved, and I have been told that he took flight to Castile.

After this one Pedro de Pacheco, a native of Ciudad Real, came as Governor of the said province, and he had the reputation of being a good Governor. The Royal Audiencia of this city sent to take his Residencia on certain matters, and on account of traffic which they say he had with the Indians they ordered him to come as a prisoner to this city, and they say that he died of the dishonour and annoyance. In the way I have described things happened in this province and government.

Let us go on to the province of Nicaragua. The first to commence peopling it and conquering it was a Captain whom Pedrarias Davila sent there at the time he was Governor of Tierrafirme. This Captain was named Francisco Hernández, a man of distinction. It must be understood that I am not speaking of the first discoverer of Yucatan, who was also named Francisco Hernández de Córdova, but of him sent by Pedrarias Davila, who ordered him to be beheaded in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four, because he received trustworthy information that he was rising in rebellion with that province, on account of support promised him by Cortés, when we were on the Honduras expedition, as I have stated in the chapter that speaks of it. Thus Pedrarias Davila had already beheaded two Captains; the first was named Vasco Nuñez de Balboa who was married to his daughter, and the second was this Francisco Hernández of whom we have made mention, and after he had ordered him to be punished he sent to beg His Majesty the grant of that Government of Nicaragua for his son-in-law, named Rodrigo de Contreras, a native of Segovia, to whom a short time previously he had married his daughter named Doña Maria Arias de Peñalosa.

After Rodrigo de Contreras had ruled for some years, an order came from His Majesty depriving him of the Government, and it remained for some time subject to the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala. Some years later His Majesty granted the Government of it, and of the province of Costa Rica, which was not yet conquered, to a gentleman named Juan Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, and on his way by sea the ship in which he sailed was lost, and he was drowned—May God pardon him. Since then there have been other Governors whom I will not mention here, because as that province contained very few Indians and they decrease every day, it would have been better if it had not had so many Governors.[1] I will omit relating the many things that happened in that province, nor [will I speak] of its volcanoes, which emit great flames of fire, nor will I call to mind the expedition which Francisco Vasquez Coronado made from Mexico to the cities which they call Cibola, for as I did not go with him I have no right to speak of it. The soldiers who went on that journey will be better able to report it. However it is said that in that great city months before . . . . and beautiful . . . . carried to the province . . . . with which he found to . . . . persons they say that . . . . fell ill of this in . . . . there are not wanting those who say . . . . the Trojan war and . . . . on that expedition that . . . . pesos de oro of . . . . of the other fleet . . . . deaths and hardships of hunger and other bad fortune . . . . property of His Majesty and theirs, and they returned to Mexico lost. I have related the best that I am able of all the Governors that have been in this province of New Spain, and it will be well to speak in another chapter about the Archbishops and Bishops that have been here.

[*Here the manuscript ends.*]

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "as came to it."

HERNÁN CORTÉS

The First Letter

Sent to the Queen Doña Juana and to the Emperor, Charles V, Her Son, by the Justiciary and Municipal Council of the Muy Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz on the Tenth Day of July, 1519.

MOST HIGH, MIGHTY AND EXCELLENT PRINCES, MOST CATHOLIC AND POWERFUL KINGS AND SOVEREIGNS:

We have reason to believe that Your Royal Highnesses have been informed, by letters of Diego Velázquez, the admiral's[1] lieutenant in the island of Fernandina (Cuba), of a new land that was discovered in these parts some two years ago more or less, and which was first called Cozumel and later Yucatan,[2] without it being either the one or the other as Your Royal Highnesses shall see from our report. For the accounts previously made of this land to Your Majesties, as to its wealth, and the way in which it was discovered and other details which have been described, were not, nor could have been true, as in this report we are sending Your Majesties, because until now no one has known any of these things. Here we will treat of the beginning, when it was first discovered, up until its present state, so that Your Highnesses may know what land it is, what people live in it, the way in which they live, their rites and ceremonies, religions and customs and what profit Your Highnesses may gain

from it, or have already gained; and by whom Your Majesties have been served, so that Your Highnesses may in all things do as You see fit. This very true and trustworthy account is as follows.

It was some two years ago, more or less, that in the city of Santiago,[3] which is on the island of Fernandina where we then lived, three citizens of that same island met together. Their names were Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, Lope Ochoa de Caycedo and Cristóbal Morante; and, as it is customary in these islands which have been settled by Spaniards in Your Highnesses' name to bring Indian slaves from the other islands where Spaniards have settled, these men sent two ships and a brigantine for this purpose.[4] We believe, although we do not know for certain as yet, that Diego Velázquez owned a fourth share of this fleet. One of the owners, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, went as captain and took with him Antón de Alaminos,[5] of the town of Palos, as pilot; and we ourselves have taken on this Antón de Alaminos as our pilot and now send him to Your Highnesses so that he may further inform Your Majesties.

They continued their journey and landed on the aforementioned land, named Yucatán, which is situated some sixty or seventy leagues from the island of Fernandina and from this land of the Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz, where we, in Your Highnesses' Royal name now are. There they landed at a village named Campoche,[6] to whose lord they gave the name Lázaro, and gave him two spindles with a cloth of gold for a bed, and other gold articles. As the natives, however, would not permit them to remain on their land, they then sailed some ten leagues down the coast, where they landed near another town, called Mochocobon, whose chief was called Champoton.[7] There the Spaniards were well received by the natives, although they did not allow them to enter their town. That night the Spaniards left the ships and slept on shore. When the natives saw this, they attacked them on the following morning, killing twenty-six Spaniards and wounding all the others. When Francisco

Fernández de Córdoba saw this he fled with those who remained to take refuge in the ships.

When this same captain discovered that more than a quarter of his men had been killed, that all the rest were wounded and that he himself had received more than thirty wounds and was lucky to be alive, he returned with his ships to the island of Fernandina, where he informed the above-mentioned Diego Velázquez that they had discovered a land rich in gold; for he had seen that all the natives wore gold rings, some in their nostrils and some in their ears and in other parts; and likewise that there were buildings of stone and mortar. He spoke also of a host of other things for which that land was renowned, and told Velázquez, if he could, to send ships in order to barter for gold, because there was much to be had.

On hearing this, Diego Velázquez, moved more by cupidity than any other passion, dispatched his representative to Hispaniola with a request made to the Reverend Fathers of St. Jerome,[8] who acted as governors of the Indies, asking that they, with the powers invested in them by Your Highnesses, should grant him license to explore that coast. He added that he would be doing a great service to Your Majesties, if they permitted him to trade with the natives for gold, pearls, precious stones and other things which, save for the Royal fifth,[9] would all become his. The Fathers granted him his license because he knew the whereabouts of this land and claimed to have discovered it at his own expense; also because such an undertaking would further Your Highnesses' interests. At the same time, without informing the Fathers, he sent Gonzalo de Guzmán[10] as his representative with the same account to Your Royal Highnesses, adding that he wished to conquer the land at his own expense and begging Your Majesties to make him *adelantado* and governor of it, in addition to requesting certain other privileges which Your Majesties will have already seen from his account.

In the meantime, as he had received permission in Your Majesties' name from the Reverend Fathers of St. Jerome, he made

haste to equip three ships and a brigantine so that if it should not have pleased Your Majesties to grant the requests conveyed by Gonzalo de Guzmán, the fleet would already have set sail with the other permission. Once they were ready, he appointed Juan de Grijalba,[11] a relation of his, as their captain, and with him went 170 men from that same island; and some of us were among them as captains, in Your Highnesses' service. Not only did we and those others go and risk our lives, but we supplied almost all the provisions of the fleet from our own stocks, spending a large part of our fortunes. Antón de Alaminos went as pilot, for he had first discovered the land with Francisco Fernández de Córdoba.

On this journey they followed the same route as previously, but, before reaching that land, they discovered a small island to the south of it, some thirty leagues round the coast: this island is called Cozumel.[12] On it they came to a village which they called San Juan de Portalatina; and they renamed the island Santa Cruz. The day they arrived, some 150 Indians came out to watch them, but on the following day, as it later appeared, they all left their villages and fled into the forest. As the captain was in need of water, he had sailed off that same day, but while pursuing his journey decided to return to the island. When he landed, the villages were totally deserted, and once he had taken his water he returned to the ships without exploring the island or learning anything about it as he ought to have done, so as to render a true account of it to Your Royal Highnesses. He then set sail and continued on his way until he reached the land which Francisco Fernández de Córdoba had discovered; afterwards they followed the coast in a southwesterly direction until they reached a bay to which Grijalba and Alaminos gave the name of the Bahía de la Ascensión.[13] The pilots thought that bay was very close to the Punta de las Veras, which is the land that Vicente Yáñez[14] discovered and marked down, and which runs into the middle of that bay. And so large is the bay itself that it is thought to reach to the Northern Sea.

Thence they returned back along the same coast until they

rounded the point of that land, and sailed along the north coast, reaching the port of Campoche, whose lord is called Lázaro, to trade on behalf of Diego Velázquez, who had ordered them to do so, and also because they had much need of water. When the natives saw them approach they lined themselves in battle order to bar their way into the village. The captain then called to them through an interpreter he had with him,[15] and made the Indians who came forward understand that he came only to trade with them and to take water; and so he went with them to a spring which was close to the village. While taking the water he began to tell them through the interpreter how he would give them the ornaments he was carrying in exchange for gold. When the Indians understood they told him to go away, as they had no gold; but he asked them to let him take the water, after which he would go. Despite his requests, however, the following morning at the hour of Mass he was attacked by the Indians armed with bows and arrows, spears and shields. One Spaniard was killed in the fighting and the captain Grijalba and many others were wounded; that evening they embarked in the caravels without having entered the Indian village or learnt anything to report to Your Royal Majesties.

From there they traveled along the coast until they reached a river which they called the Grijalba[16] and which they entered about the hour of vespers. On the following morning a great number of Indian warriors lined up on both sides of the river to defend their land; and some of us believed that there were as many as five thousand. When the captain saw this, he ordered that no one should go ashore but spoke from the ships to the Indians through his interpreters, asking them to come closer so that he might explain the reason for his coming; twenty natives then boarded a canoe and very cautiously approached the ships. The captain told them that he had come only to trade and that he wished to be their friend. He asked them to bring gold, which he would exchange for the ornaments he was carrying.

So, on the following morning they brought some ornaments

of fine gold, and the captain gave them, in exchange, what he thought appropriate. He remained there that day and sailed away on the next without learning anything more about the land. He continued along the coast until he reached a bay which they called San Juan, and the captain landed with certain of his men on some deserted beaches. As the natives had seen the ships coming along the coast, they gathered there, and the captain spoke to them through his interpreters, and had a table brought on which he laid his goods, giving them to understand that he came to trade and to be their friend. When they saw and understood this, the Indians began to bring strips of cloth and some gold ornaments which they traded with the captain. The captain then sent one of the caravels back to Diego Velázquez with all they had obtained.[17] The captain himself sailed on down the coast with the remaining ships; and he went some forty-five leagues without landing or seeing anything, save what was visible from the sea. He then turned back for the island of Fernandina without seeing any other thing on that land worthy of note, from which Your Royal Highnesses may see that none of the other accounts of this land can have been true, for they learnt nothing of its secrets, but have written according to their fancies.

When the ship which Grijalba had dispatched from the bay of San Juan reached the island of Fernandina, and Diego Velázquez saw the gold it carried, and learnt from Grijalba's letters of the cloth and ornaments which he had been given in exchange, it seemed to him that the profit was small, in view of the stories he had heard from the people who returned in the caravel, and in relation to his own lust for gold. He forthwith put it about that he had not covered the cost of equipping the fleet, which distressed him, and that he was ill-pleased to see how little Grijalba had achieved. But Diego Velázquez had in fact little cause for complaint, because he covered the cost of the fleet with some skins and barrels of wine and some boxes of linen shirts and barter beads and other goods which he sent with it, which he sold to us here at four *pesos de oro* for the wine, which is two thousand *maravedís* the *arroba*, and the

linen shirts he sold for two *pesos de oro* and the bags of green beads at two *pesos*.[18] With this he covered the cost of his fleet and even made some money. We make such a detailed account of this to Your Majesties so that You may know that the fleets which have been sent by Diego Velázquez up to now have been equipped by him as much by ordinary trade as by proper outfitting; and that we have, although we suffered many hardships, served Your Royal Highnesses with our persons and the wealth of our estates, and shall continue to serve as long as our lives permit.

While Diego Velázquez was thus vexed on account of the little gold he had been brought, and eager to acquire more, he decided, without even informing the Hieronymite Fathers, to gather a fleet and to send it to look for his relative Juan de Grijalba. So as to do it at somewhat less cost to himself, he spoke with Fernando Cortés,[19] citizen and *alcalde* of the city of Santiago on Your Majesties' behalf, and suggested that between them they should fit out some eight or ten ships, for at that time Fernando Cortés was better equipped than anyone else on the island, having three ships of his own, and ready cash and being well thought of on the island. It was thought that many more people would follow him than anyone else, as in fact occurred. When Fernando Cortés heard what Diego Velázquez proposed, he, being most eager to serve Your Royal Highnesses, decided to spend his entire fortune in equipping the fleet and paid for nearly two-thirds of it, providing not only ships and supplies but also giving money to those who were to sail in the fleet but were unable to equip themselves with all they required for the journey.[20]

Once the fleet had been made ready, Diego Velázquez appointed Fernando Cortés captain of it in Your Majesties' name, in order to explore the land and trade for gold and do all that Grijalba had not done. The fleet, however, was disposed according to Velázquez's orders, although he contributed but a third of the cost, as Your Royal Highnesses may see from the instructions and authority which Fernando Cortés received in Your Majesties' name,

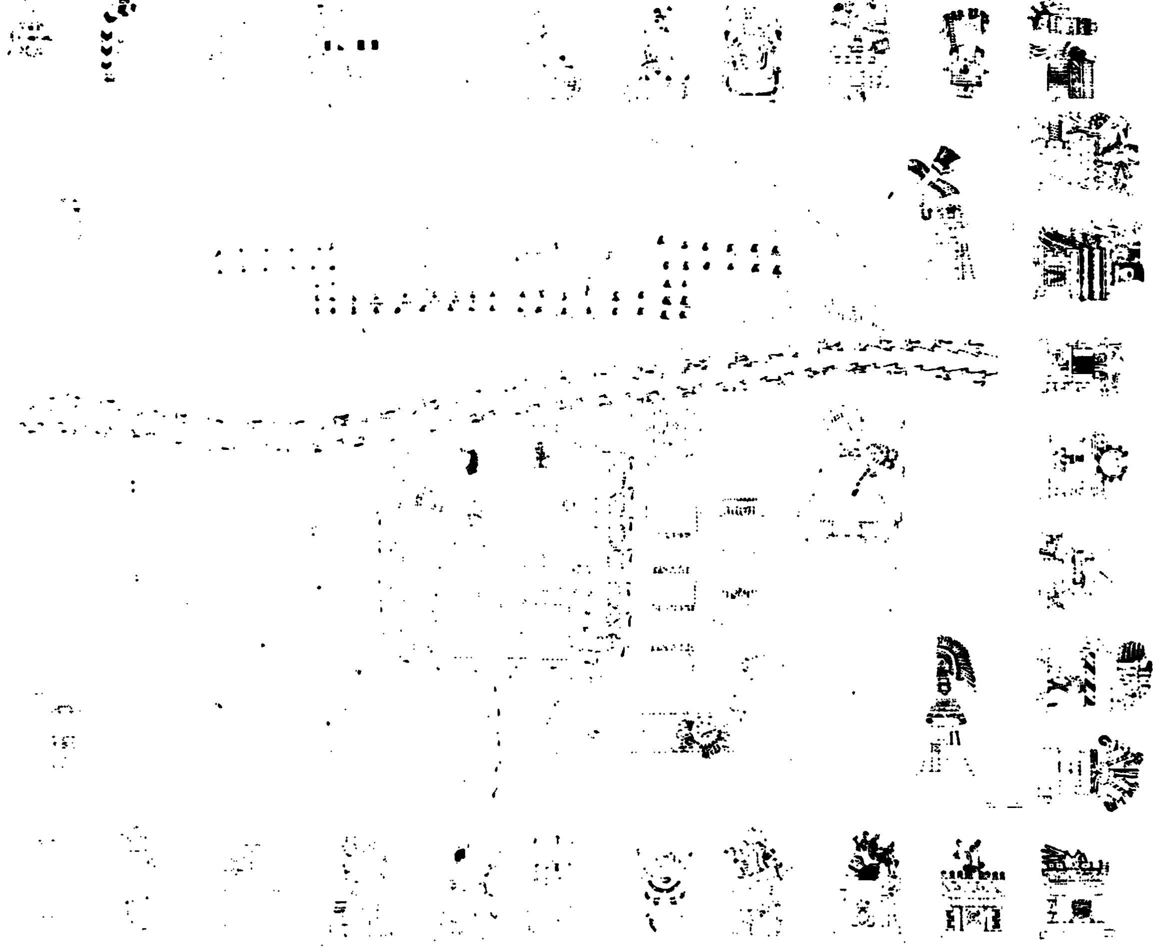
and which we now send by our deputies.[21] And Your Majesties should also know that the third part contributed by Velázquez consisted in the main of wine and cloth and other things of no great value, to be sold to us later at a much higher price than he paid for them, so that we might say that it is with us Spaniards, Your Royal Highnesses' subjects, that he has traded, and has invested his funds very profitably.

And when the above-mentioned fleet was ready Your Royal Highnesses' captain Fernando Cortés left the island of Fernandina with ten caravels and four hundred soldiers, among whom were many gentlemen and knights, sixteen of them with horses. The first land they reached was the island of Cozume[l], which is now called Santa Cruz—as we said above; and when they landed in the port of San Juan de Portalatina they found the village deserted as though it had never been occupied by a living soul. And Fernando Cortés, wishing to know why that place was so deserted, ordered his men to leave their ships and quarter themselves in the village. While he was there he learnt from three Indians, whom they had captured in a canoe fleeing to the land of Yucatán, that the chieftains of Cozume[l], when they saw the Spaniards land, had left their villages and fled into the forest with all their people, for fear of the Spaniards, not knowing with what intentions they were coming. Cortés then spoke to them through his interpreter and told them that he had not come to do them harm but to instruct and bring them to the knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith, so they might become Your Majesties' vassals and serve and obey You, as do all the other Indians in these parts which are inhabited by Spaniards. On being reassured in this fashion by the captain, they lost much of their fear and said they would go and call their chieftains who were in the forests in the interior. The captain then gave them a letter of safe-conduct for their chieftains. They departed, saying they would return within five days. When, however, the captain had waited three or four days more than the agreed time, and had seen that they were not coming, he decided, in order to prevent all

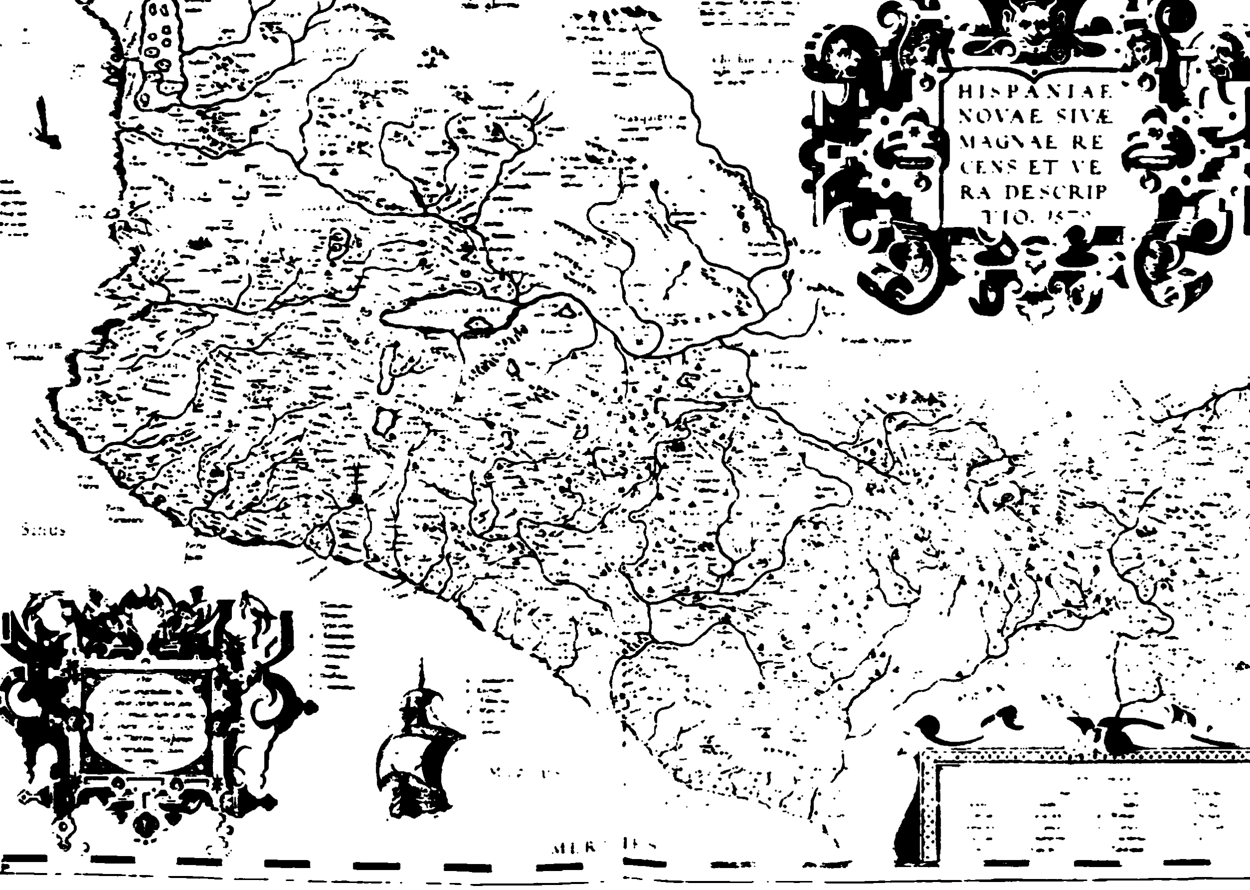
the Indians from leaving the island, to send an expedition along the coast. He sent two captains, each with a hundred men, and ordered them to go, one to each end of the island, and speak with any chieftains they might meet, telling them how he was waiting to speak with them on Your Majesties' behalf in the port of San Juan de Portalatina; and that they were to beg and persuade them as best they could to come to the aforementioned port; but they were in no way to harm their persons, houses or properties, so as to avoid alarming them and driving them still farther away. The two captains departed, as Fernando Cortés had commanded, and within four days returned saying that all the villages they had come across were deserted. They brought with them, however, some ten or twelve people amongst whom was one of rank; and Fernando Cortés spoke with him on Your Highnesses' behalf, telling him to call the other chieftains, for he, Cortés, would on no account leave that island until he had seen and spoken with them. The Indian replied that he would do so and departed with a safe-conduct to look for those chieftains. After two days he returned with one who said he was lord of the island and had come to see what the Spaniards wanted. The captain replied that he had not come to do them harm, but to persuade them to the knowledge of our Holy Faith; and they should know that we were subjects of the most powerful monarchs in the world, whom most of the world obeyed. What he, Francisco [*sic.*] Cortés, required of them was only that the chieftains and people of the island should also owe obedience to Your Highnesses; and told them that by doing so they would be much favored, and no one thereafter would molest them. The chieftain replied that he was happy to do so and sent for all the other chieftains of the island who, when they arrived, expressed satisfaction with all that Hernando Cortés had told their lord. He then commanded them to return, and so reassured had they been that within a few days the villages were as full of people as before, and the Indians went among us with so little fear that it seemed as if they had known us for a long time.

In the meantime the captain learnt that some Spaniards had been held captive in Yucatán for seven years by the command of certain chieftains; their caravel [22] had been wrecked in the shallows off Jamaica while sailing from *Tierra Firme* and they had escaped in an open boat which had brought them to this land where they were captured by the Indians. The captain had left the island of Fernandina with instructions to look for these Spaniards, and as he had now received news of them and where they were to be found, it seemed to him that he would be rendering great service to God and Your Majesties in attempting to rescue them from captivity. He wished, therefore, to go in person with the entire fleet, and would have done so had not the pilots prevented him, saying that they would all be lost, for the coast was very rocky, as indeed it is, and with no harbor or bay where the ships might put ashore. He therefore abandoned the idea and sent instead some Indians in a canoe, who had said they knew the chieftain who was holding the Spaniards; and he wrote to these Spaniards saying that, if he did not come himself with the fleet to rescue them, it was only because the coast difficult and dangerous to land on; but he asked them to attempt to escape by canoe and said that he would wait for them there on the island of Santa Cruz.

Three days later the captain, dissatisfied with his plans and believing that the Indians would be unable to do everything as he wished, sent two brigantines and one smaller vessel with forty men on board to that land, to recapture the captive Spaniards if they could find them. He also sent another three Indians with a letter, and orders to land and search for the Spaniards.[23] When the ships reached the land the three Indians were sent ashore to search for the Spaniards as the captain had ordered; and they waited six days for them on that coast with such difficulty that they almost foundered and were lost, for the sea was very rough as the pilots had said. Seeing that neither the Spaniards nor the Indians who had been sent to look for them had come, they decided to return to where Fernando Cortés was waiting for them, on the island of Santa Cruz.



2. Map of Tlaxcala. The top right-hand sector is Tizatlan, the bottom right-hand sector Quiahuixtlan, the top left-hand sector Octelolco and the bottom left-hand sector Tepeticpac. The river Atzompa crosses the city from North to South (left to right, the map being oriented along an East-West axis). From Alfredo Chavero, *Pintures Jeroglíficas*, Mexico 1901.



Map of New Spain by Abraham Ortelius. From *Additamentum Theatri*
is Terrarum. 1579.

4. Map of the Southern Sea made by the pilot Domingo de Castillo. From Archbishop Lorenzana's edition of Cortés letters, Mexico 1770. The legend reads: "This map is taken from the original in the possession of the Marqués de la Valle. In the upper part it shows a city which, according to all the accounts, was actually thought to exist and given the name Quivira. Two rivers are drawn in the estuary of the Colorado river in the Gulf of California. One of these is called the Buena Guia and may be the Colorado itself; the other, called Miraflores, may be the Gila. Together they merge into one current and flow down into the Gulf of California."

When they reached the island, and the captain heard of their failure, he was much distressed, and proposed to embark the following day, with every intent of reaching that land even if the whole fleet were lost; also to discover if there was any truth in the report which the captain Juan de Grijalba had sent to the island of Fernandina, since he suspected that it was all a fiction, and that no Spaniards had ever landed on that coast or been held captive there.

With this resolve, the captain had embarked all his men save for himself and twenty others; and while the weather was most favorable for their departure, there suddenly sprang up a contrary wind followed by heavy showers, and the pilots urged the captain not to leave port, for the weather was now most unfavorable. When the captain saw this he duly disembarked the rest of his men. On the following day at noon a canoe was sighted sailing toward the island, and, when it reached us, we saw that Gerónimo de Aguilar,[24] one of the Spanish captives, was aboard. He told us how he had come to be lost and how long he had remained in captivity, which was all as we have described to Your Royal Highnesses above. And we held that sudden bad weather which came upon us a great miracle and divine mystery, whereby we have come to believe that nothing can be undertaken in Your Majesties' service which does not end in good. From this Gerónimo de Aguilar was also learnt that the others who were shipwrecked with him were scattered throughout the land, which, he told us, was very large, and it would be impossible to rescue them without spending much time there.[25]

Then, as Fernando Cortés saw that the provisions for the fleet were already running low, and that his men would suffer greatly from hunger if he delayed and remained there any longer, and, furthermore, that he still had not accomplished the purpose of his voyage, he resolved with the consent of those in his company to depart. And so setting sail, they left the island of Cozume[l], now called Santa Cruz, very peaceful and in such a manner that were it to be settled the natives would serve the Spaniards willingly. The

chieftains were very pleased and contented with what the captain had told them on Your Royal Highnesses' behalf and with his having given them so much finery for their persons: and we are certain that all the Spaniards who come to this island in the future will be as well received as in any of those which have been settled for a long time. This island is small, and nowhere is any river or stream to be found, so that all the water which the Indians drink comes from wells. The land consists entirely of crags and rocks and forests; the only produce the Indians have is from beehives, and our deputies are conveying to Your Highnesses samples of the honey and beeswax from the hives, for Your inspection.

Be it known to Your Majesties that the captain urged the chieftains of that island to renounce their heathen religion; and when they asked him to give them instead a precept by which they might henceforth live, he instructed them as best he could in the Catholic Faith. He left them a wooden cross fixed on top of a high building and an image of Our Lady the Virgin Mary, and told them most fully all they were to do to be good Christians; and they showed him that they had received everything with great goodwill, and thus we left them very happy and contented.

After we departed from this island we sailed for Yucatan and ran along the northern coast until we reached that great river called Grijalba, which is, as Your Royal Highnesses have already been informed, where Captain Juan de Grijalba, a relation of Diego Velázquez, landed; and so shallow is the mouth of the river that none of the large ships could enter. However, as Captain Hernando Cortés is so devoted to Your Majesties' service, and greatly desired to render a true account of all that is to be found in this land, he determined to proceed no farther until he had discovered the secret of that river and the towns along its banks, for they were said to be famous for their wealth. So he transferred all the men in the fleet to the small brigantines and open boats, and we sailed up the river until we could see the towns in that country. When we arrived at the first town[26] we found the people standing by the riverbank, and

the captain spoke with them through his interpreter and also through Gerónimo de Aguilar, who spoke and understood that language very well. He made them understand that he had not come to do them any harm but only to speak to them on Your Majesties' behalf, and to this end begged them to permit us to land, for we had nowhere to sleep that night save in those brigantines and open boats, in which we had barely room to stand; it was too late to return to our ships, which we had left beyond in the open sea. When the Indians heard this they replied that he might say all he wished from there, but neither he nor any of his men were to attempt a landing, for if they did so they would be repelled. Then after saying this their archers were drawn up and they threatened us and shouted for us to leave. Because the day was much advanced and the sun almost set, the captain decided that we should go to some beaches which lay in front of that town; and there we landed and slept that night.

On the following morning certain Indians came to us in a canoe bringing some chickens and a little maize, which was barely enough for a single meal, and told us to take it and leave their land. The captain then answered them, giving them to understand that on no account would he leave until he had learnt the secrets of the land and might send Your Majesties a true account of it; and again he entreated them not to take it ill, nor to prevent him from entering the town, for they were Your Royal Highnesses' vassals. Yet still they replied forbidding us to enter their town and ordering us to be gone.

After they had left, the captain decided to proceed to the town, and therefore sent a captain of his company with two hundred men along a road to the town, which we had discovered the previous night, while he, Fernando Cortés, embarked with about eighty men in the boats and brigantines and anchored in front of the town, waiting to land if they permitted him to do so. When he arrived, he found the Indians prepared for war, armed with bows, arrows, lances and bucklers, and shouting to us to leave the land, but if we wanted war, to begin at once, for they were men who

knew how to defend their homes. After having read the *requerimiento* to them three times and having asked Your Royal Highnesses' notary[27] to witness that he did not want war, but seeing that the Indians were most resolutely determined to prevent him from landing, and indeed had already begun to shoot arrows at us, he had ordered us to fire the guns and attack. A few of us were wounded when the shots were fired and as our men were landing, but at last the speed of our attack, and the attack on their rear of our men who had come by the road, drove them out of the village. Thus we took it and occupied what seemed to us to be the strongest part.

On the following day, at the hour of vespers, there came two Indians on behalf of their chieftains bringing certain gold ornaments which were very thin and of little value; and they told the captain that they were bringing these trinkets so that he should depart without doing them further harm, and leave their land as it had been before. To which the captain replied saying that he would be well pleased to do them no further harm, but, as to leaving the land, they must know that from henceforth they must hold as their lords the greatest monarchs on earth and must serve them as their vassals: once they had done this, Your Majesties would grant them many favors and aid and protect them from their enemies. They replied that they were content to do so but still required us to leave their land: and so we became friends.

Having arranged this friendship, the captain informed them that the Spaniards who were with him had nothing to eat nor had brought any food from the ships and begged them therefore to bring us provisions for as long as we might remain in their land. They replied that they would bring it the next day and then they left; but neither on the following day nor on the day after did they come with any food, and because of this we were very short of provisions. On the third day some Spaniards asked leave of the captain to go to the farms nearby in search of food. And when the captain saw that the Indians had not come as promised, he sent four captains with more than two hundred men to search the outskirts

of the town for food. While they were searching, however, they came across a large number of Indians who shot at them with arrows and wounded twenty Spaniards; and had not the captain at once been informed and rescued them, more than half the Christians would have perished. Following this, we all withdrew to our camp and those who had been wounded were attended to, and those who had fought rested.

When the captain saw the harm the Indians had done by attacking us with arrows instead of bringing supplies as they had promised, he ordered all the men to arm themselves and ten of the horses we had brought in the ships to be landed, for he believed that those Indians, encouraged by what had happened on the previous day, would attack our camp intending to do us harm. On the next day, when everyone had thus been prepared, he sent some captains with three hundred men to the place where the battle had been fought on the previous day to see if the Indians were still there or, if not, to discover what had become of them. Soon afterwards he sent out another two captains with a rear guard of a hundred men, and he himself went secretly along one side with the ten horsemen. While advancing in this order, the vanguard encountered a large number of Indian warriors coming to attack us in our camp, and had we not that day gone out to meet them on the road we might have found ourselves in dire peril. When the captain of artillery read the requerimiento before a notary to these Indians, telling them, through the interpreters, that we did not desire war but only peace and love between us, they replied not in words but with a shower of arrows. While the vanguard was thus fighting with the Indians, the two captains of the rear guard arrived, and, after two hours of fighting, Fernando Cortés and the ten horsemen came up, in a part of the forest where the Indians were beginning to surround the Spaniards, and there he fought with the Indians for an hour. And so great was their number that neither could the Indians who were fighting the Spanish infantry see the horsemen or know where they were, nor could the horsemen, as they charged in

and out of the Indians, see one another. As soon as our foot soldiers saw the horsemen, however, they attacked fiercely and put the Indians to flight, pursuing them for half a league. When the captain saw that the Indians had been routed and that there was nothing further to be done, and, moreover, that his men were very fatigued, he ordered them to gather in some farmhouses that were close by; and, after they had gathered, twenty were found to have been wounded, none of whom died, not even those wounded the previous day.[28] Once we had regathered, and attended to the sick, we returned to our camp; and we took with us two Indians whom we had captured, but the captain ordered them to be freed and gave them letters for the chieftains saying that if they came to the camp he would forgive them their crime and they would be his friends. That same afternoon there came two Indians who seemed to be persons of importance, and said that they were very grieved by all that had happened, and that those chieftains on whose behalf they came begged him to forgive them and do them no further harm than he had already, nor kill any more of their people, for almost 220 had been killed; the past should be forgotten and henceforth they wished to be vassals of those monarchs of whom we had spoken, and as such did offer themselves, and bound themselves to serve them whenever they were required to do anything in Your Majesties' name; thus an agreement was reached and a peace made. The captain then asked these Indians through his interpreters who the people were he had been fighting with in the battle; they replied that they had assembled from eight provinces, and that according to the written records they had, there were in all some forty thousand men, for they were well able to count on such a number. Your Royal Highnesses may truly believe that this battle was won more by the will of God than by our own might, for what could our four hundred have done against forty thousand?[29]

After having all become good friends, they gave us, during the four or five days we remained there, some 140 *pesos de oro* in all, but comprised of pieces so thin yet valued so highly by them

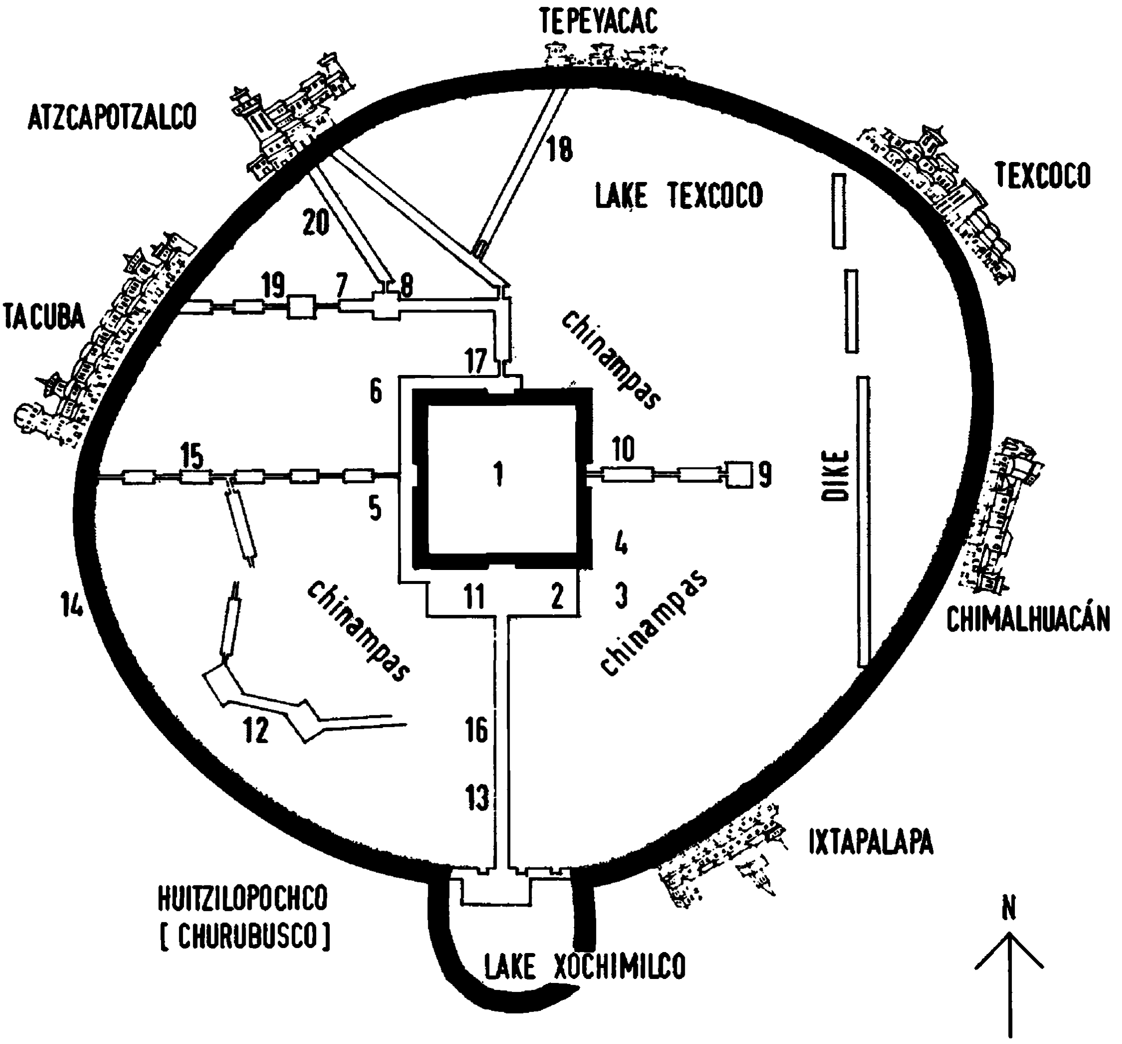
that it seems their land is very poor in gold, for it was thought that the little they possessed had come from other parts by means of trading.

The land is very fertile and abounds in maize, fruit and fish and other things which they eat. The town is situated on the banks of the aforementioned river, up which we sailed, in a plain which has many farms and arable lands which they own and cultivate. The captain reproved them for their evil practice of worshipping their idols and gods, and made them understand how they must come to the knowledge of our Holy Faith; and he left them a wooden cross planted on a height, with which they were well pleased and said they would hold it in great veneration and adore it; thus these Indians became our friends and Your Royal Highnesses' vassals.

Fernando Cortés then left that place and continued on his voyage; and we reached the port and bay which is called San Juan,[30] where the aforementioned captain Juan de Grijalba had traded, of which a detailed account has been given to Your Majesty above. As soon as we arrived, the natives of that land came to discover what caravels those were that had reached their shores, but as the day was already much advanced, and it was almost night, the captain remained in the ships and ordered that no one should land. On the following day the captain, with a great part of his men, went ashore, and found there two chieftains to whom he made certain gifts of his own garments; and he spoke with them through his interpreters, giving them to understand that he had come to these parts by Your Royal Highnesses' command to tell them what they must do in Your service, and to this end he asked them to return to their village and call forth the chieftain or chieftains who were there to come and speak with him. And so they might more surely come, he gave them for the chieftains two shirts, gold belts and two doublets, one of satin, the other of velvet, and for each a scarlet bonnet and a pair of breeches, and thus they departed with these gifts.

A little before noon on the following day a chieftain arrived with those from the town and spoke to the captain, who made him understand through the interpreters that he had come to do them no harm but to make known to them how they were to be Your Majesties' vassals and must henceforth serve and give of what they had in their land, as do all who are such. He replied that he was very content to be so and to obey, and it pleased him to serve them and to have such high princes for sovereigns, as the captain had made them understand Your Royal Highnesses were. Then the captain told him that as he had shown such goodwill toward his king and lord he would soon see the favors which henceforth Your Majesties would bestow on him. So saying, he had him dressed in a shirt of fine Dutch linen, a coat of velvet and a gold belt, with which the chieftain was very happy and contented. He told the captain to wait there while he returned to his land, for on the following day he would bring things of his own that we might more fully appreciate his will to serve Your Royal Highnesses; and so he took his leave and went. On the following day he returned as promised, and had a white cloth spread before the captain, and offered him certain precious gold ornaments which he placed on it; of these and of others which were later obtained we make a special report to Your Majesties in a list which our representatives bear with them.

After this chieftain had taken leave of us and returned much contented to his own house, we in this fleet[31] who were of noble lineage, gentlemen and knights, zealous in the service of God and of Your Royal Highnesses, and most eager to honor the Royal Crown, extend its dominions and increase its revenues, came together and urged the aforementioned captain Fernando Cortés, saying that this land was very good and, to judge by the samples of gold which the chieftain had brought, most wealthy also, and, moreover, that the chieftain and his Indians had shown us great goodwill: for these reasons, therefore, it seemed to us not fitting to Your Majesties' service to carry out the orders which Diego Velázquez had given to Hernando Cortés, which were to trade for as



INTERPRETATION OF THE NUREMBURG PLAN

KEY

1. Main Temple Enclosure
2 and 3. Palace of Motecucoma
4. Menagerie
5. Palace of Axayacatl
6. Palace of Cuauhtemoc
7. Temple of Tlaltelolco
8. Market at Tlaltelolco
9. Temple
10. Palace
11. Square
12. Motecuçoma's "House of Pleasure"
13. Fortress at Xoloc.
14. Chapultepec. Beginning of the acqueduct to Tenochtitlan.
15. Tacuba Causeway
16. Ixtapalapa Causeway
17 and 18. Tepeyac Causeway
19. Nonoalco Causeway
20. Vallejo Causeway.

Based on a drawing by Manuel Toussaint

much gold as possible and return with it to the island of Fernandina in order that only Diego Velázquez and the captain might enjoy it, and that it seemed to all of us better that a town with a court of justice be founded and inhabited in Your Royal Highnesses' name so that in this land also You might have sovereignty as You have in Your other kingdoms and dominions. For once the land has been settled by Spaniards, in addition to increasing Your Royal Highnesses' dominions and revenues, You may be so gracious as to grant favors to us and to the settlers who come in future.

Having decided on this, we joined together with one mind and purpose and made a petition to the captain in which we said: that he well knew how advantageous it would be to the service of Our Lord God and Your Majesties if this land were settled, giving him the reasons which we have set forth to Your Highnesses above, and we therefore requested him to cease trading in the manner he was doing, for it would to a large extent destroy the land, which would do Your Majesties much disservice. Likewise we requested that he should forthwith appoint alcaldes and *regidores* for the town which we were to found in Your Royal Highnesses' name; all this was accompanied by certain intimations that we would protest against him if he did not do as we required. When this request was made, the captain said he would give us his reply on the following day. And as the captain saw that what we asked was beneficial to Your Royal Highnesses' service, he answered us on the following day saying that he was more devoted to Your Majesties' service than to any other cause. Therefore, he disregarded his personal interest in continuing trading, by which he had expected to recover his investment and the great expense of fitting out the fleet together with Diego Velázquez, but rather set all this aside, and was pleased and willing to do all that we requested, for it would greatly benefit the service of Your Royal Highnesses. At once, with great diligence he set about founding and settling a town which he named the Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz and appointed those whose names are signed at the foot of this paper as alcaldes and regidores of the

town, and received from us in Your Royal Highnesses' name the solemn vow customary in such cases.[32]

This done, on the following day we assembled in council and called captain Fernando Cortés and asked him in Your Royal Highnesses' name to show us the authority and instructions which the aforementioned Diego Velázquez had given him when coming to these parts.[33] Whereupon he sent for them, and once we had seen and read them and examined them most carefully, it seemed, to the best of our understanding, that by this authority and instructions Captain Fernando Cortés no longer had any authority, and as it had expired he could no longer exercise the office of captain or judicial officer.

It seemed to us, Most Excellent Princes, that in order to preserve peace and concord amongst ourselves and to govern us well it was necessary to elect someone for Your Royal service who might act in Your Majesties' name, in the aforementioned town and in these parts, as chief justice, captain and our leader, whom we might all respect, until an account of these events had been sent to Your Royal Highnesses so that You might provide for what is best suited to Your service. And seeing that no person was better fitted for such a responsibility than Fernando Cortés, for in addition to being the person most suited, he is most zealous in the service of Your Majesties, and also has much experience in these lands through the Royal offices and commands he has held from Your Majesties in the islands, in which he has always given good account of himself: moreover he spent all he had to come with this fleet in Your Majesties' service and held of small account, as we have already related, all he might have gained if he had continued to trade as had been agreed, we appointed him therefore, in the name of Your Royal Highnesses, chief justice and *alcalde mayor* and received from him the oath required in such cases. When this was done, as is appropriate to Your Majesties' service, we received him in Your Royal name, into our council and chamber, as chief justice and captain of Your Royal armies, and so he is and shall remain until Your Majes-

ties provide whatever is more suitable to Your service. We desire to relate all this to Your Royal Highnesses so that You may be acquainted with all that has passed here and our present position and circumstances.

Having thus completed our business and being all together in our council, we decided to write to Your Majesties and send You all the gold, silver and jewels which we have obtained in the land, over and above the fifth which belongs to Your Royal revenues by law, for we decided that by sending You all the first spoils from these lands, and in keeping nothing for ourselves, we should serve Your Royal Highnesses and demonstrate the very great satisfaction we have in Your service, as we have shown before by venturing our persons and our possessions. When this had been agreed upon we elected as our representatives Alonso Fernández Puerto Carrero and Francisco de Montejo, whom we send to Your Majesties with all that we mention above that they may kiss Your Royal hands on our behalf and in our name, and in the name of this town and council beg Your Royal Highnesses to favor us with certain things necessary for the service of God and Your Majesties and for the common and public good of this town, as is set down at greater length in the instructions which we have given them. Which representatives we do most humbly beseech Your Majesties, with all the reverence which we owe You, to receive, and give Your Royal hands for them to kiss on our behalf, and to grant us all the favors which they, in the name of this council and ourselves, shall request of You, for besides doing a great service to Our Lord thereby, this town and council would reckon it a most singular grace such as we daily hope Your Royal Highnesses may see fit to bestow upon us.

In a previous section of this letter we said that we were sending Your Royal Highnesses an account of this land so that Your Highnesses might be better acquainted with its customs and riches, of the people who inhabit it, and of the laws and beliefs, rites and ceremonies by which they live. Most Powerful Lords, this land which we have now settled in Your Majesties' name extends for

fifty leagues along the coast on either side of this town: the coast is completely flat with sandy beaches which in some places stretch for two leagues or more. The country inland is likewise very flat with most beautiful meadows and streams; and among these are some so beautiful that in all Spain there can be none better, for they are both pleasing to the eye and rich in crops, and well cared for and well situated; and there are places to walk and to graze all kinds of herds.

In this land there is every kind of game, and animals and birds similar to those of our acquaintance, such as deer, and fallow deer, wolves, foxes, partridges, pigeons, several kinds of turtledove, quails, hares and rabbits: so that in the kinds of birds and animals there is no difference between this land and Spain, and there are lions and tigers as well.

Some five leagues inland from the sea, and in certain places less, runs a great range of the most beautiful mountains, and some of these are exceedingly high, but there is one which is much higher than all the others from which one may see a great part of the sea and land; indeed it is so high that if the day is not fine one cannot even see the summit, for the top half of it is all covered by cloud. At other times, however, when the day is very fine one can see the peak rising above the cloud, and it is so white we think it to be covered in snow, and even the natives say it is snow, but as we have not seen it very clearly, although we have come very close to it, and because this region is so hot, we cannot be certain that it is.[34]

We shall endeavor to see and learn the secret of this and other things of which we have heard so that we may render Your Royal Highnesses a true account, as of the wealth in gold and silver and precious stones which Your Majesties may judge according to the samples we are sending. In our view it cannot be doubted that there must be in this land as much as in that from which Solomon is said to have taken the gold for the temple. But so little time has passed since we first landed that we have been unable to explore more than five leagues inland and some ten or twelve leagues along

the coast on either side of the place where we landed, although from the sea there appears to be much more, and indeed we saw more while sailing hither.

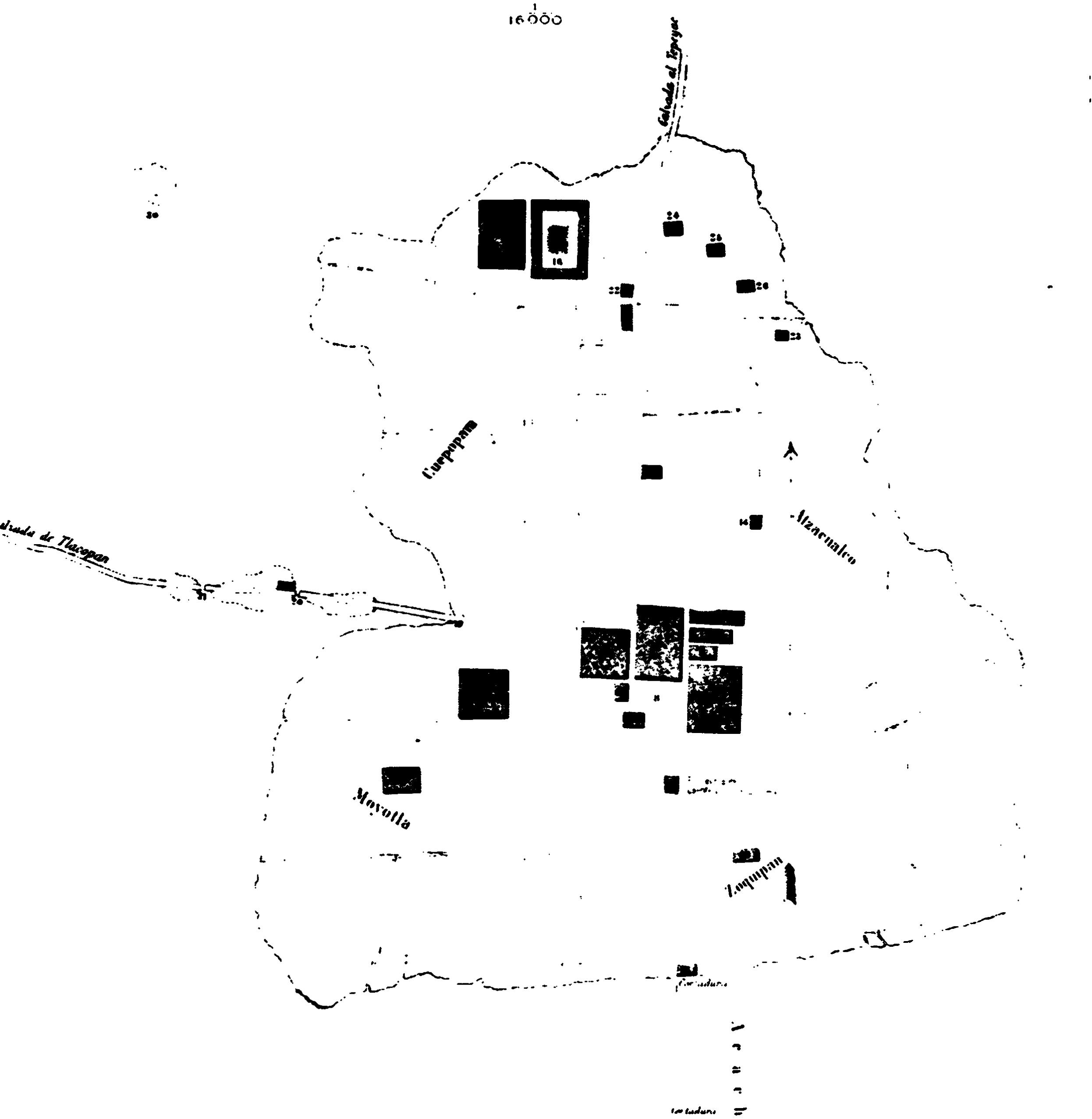
The people who inhabit this land, from the island of Cozume[l] and the cape of Yucatan to the place where we are now, are of medium height and of well-proportioned bodies and features, save that in each province their customs are different; some pierce their ears and put very large and ugly objects into them; others pierce their nostrils down to the lip and put in them large round stones which look like mirrors;[35] and others still split their lower lips as far as the gums and hang there some large stones or gold ornaments so heavy that they drag the lips down, giving a most deformed appearance. The clothes they wear are like large, highly colored yashmaks; the men cover their shameful parts, and on the top half of their bodies wear thin mantles which are decorated in a Moorish fashion. The common women wear highly colored mantles from the waist to the feet, and others which cover their breasts, leaving the rest uncovered. The women of rank wear skirts of very thin cotton, which are very loose-fitting and decorated and cut in the manner of a rochet.

The food they eat is maize and some chili peppers, as on the other islands, and *patata yuca*,[36] just the same as is eaten in Cuba, and they eat it roast, for they do not make bread of it; and they both hunt and fish and breed many chickens such as those found on *Tierra Firme*, which are as big as peacocks.

There are some large towns and well laid out. The houses in those parts where there is stone are of masonry and mortar and the rooms are small and low in the Moorish fashion. In those parts where there is no stone they make their houses of adobes, which are whitewashed and the roofs covered with straw. There are houses belonging to certain men of rank which are very cool and have many rooms, for we have seen as many as five courtyards in a single house, and the rooms around them very well laid out, each man having a private room. Inside there are also wells and water tanks

CROQUIS DE MEXICO TENOCHTITLAN.

$\frac{1}{16000}$



Explicacion.

1 Palacio de Motecuhzoma
2 Templo de Tezcatlipoca
3 Casa de las aves
4 Palacio de Axayacatl
5 Teocalli mayor
6 Palacio de Motecuhzoma el viejo
7 Palacio del Tlilancalqui
8 Plaza principal
9 [illegible]
10 [illegible] México
11 [illegible]
12 [illegible]
13 [illegible]
14 [illegible]
15 [illegible]
16 [illegible] Tlatelolco.
17 Teocalli de Tlatelolco
18 [illegible]
19 Cortadura de [illegible]
20. Cortadura de [illegible]
21 Cortadura de [illegible]
22 [illegible]
23 [illegible] Cihuatecpan
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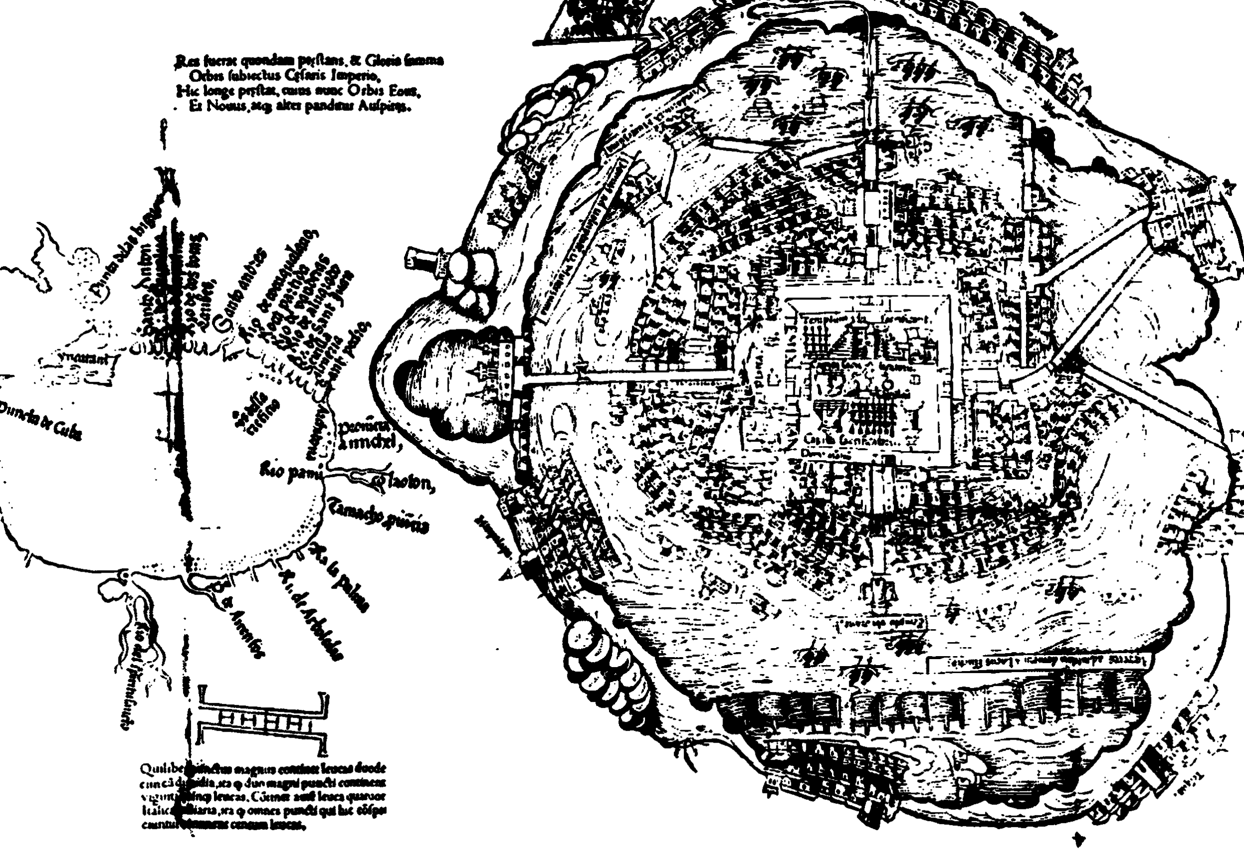


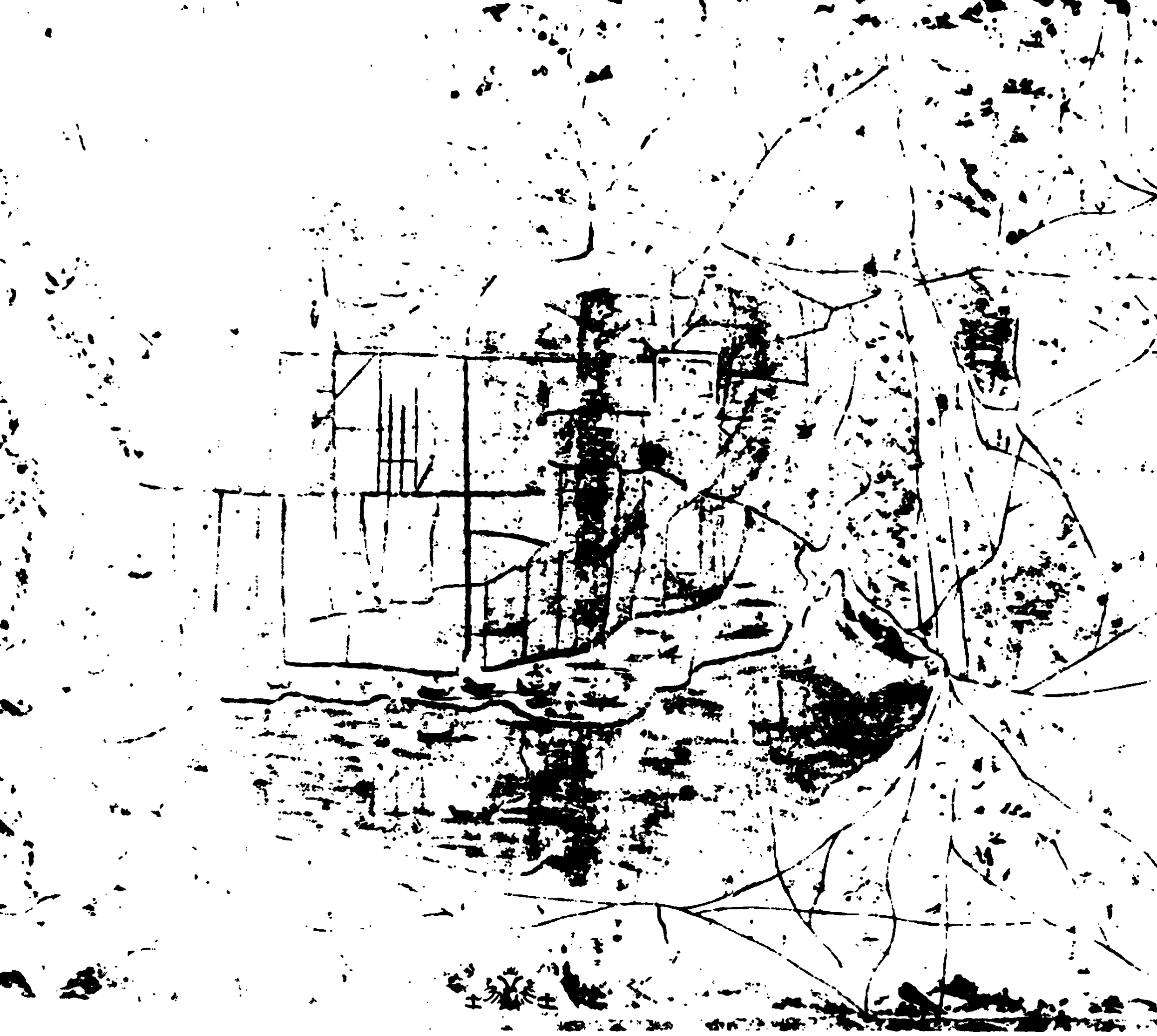
Map of Tenochtitlan and the Gulf of Mexico, supposedly made on Cortés's
ers. From Latin edition of Cortés's Second Letter, printed in Nuremburg
524.

Ground plan of Tenochtitlan from Manuel Orozco y Berra's
toria Antigua y de la Conquista de Mexico, Mexico 1880.

key reads:

Palace of Motecuçoma II
Temple of Tezcatlipoca
The Aviary
Palace of Axayacatl
Temple of Huitzilopochitl
Palace of Motecuçoma I
Palace of Tlilancalqui
Main square
Menagerie
Tianquiztli of Mexico
Tezontlalamacoyan
Huitznahuac
Huitzilan
Atzacualco
Xacaculco

16. *Tianquiztli* of Tlatelolco
17. Temple of Tlatelolco
18. Xoluco
19. Tecpantzinco bridge
20. Tolteacalli bridge
21. Toltecaacalopan bridge
22. Tlacochcalco
23. Xocotitla or Cihuatecpan
24. Coyonacazco or Amaxac
25. Tetenantitech or Tetenamitl
26. Apahuaztlan
27. Momoxco
28. Petlacalli
29. Fortress of Xoloc
30. Nonohualco
31. Cuicacalco



8. Map of Tenochtitlan formerly attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz, co-
mographer to Charles V. Although of post-Cortesian origin, it was drav
before 1555 and is therefore the earliest extant native map of the city.
consists of two strips of parchment, joined vertically, and the whole measu
114 x 75 centimeters. The inscription in the bottom right-hand corner
apparently a dedication to Charles V, though only a partial reading of t
text has so far been possible. The map is orientated along the cardinal poi
but has been turned through 90° so that North now lies to the right. Beyo
the city itself the orientation is less exact. The easternmost region (at t
bottom of the map) and the North-South axis from Amecameca to Otum
are fairly accurate, but the corresponding axis on the West side is mo
difficult to place since it bends visibly toward the Northeast. For a detail
discussion of this map and its importance see, S. Linné, *El Valle y la Ciud*
de Mexico.

and rooms for slaves and servants of which they have many. Each of these chieftains has in front of the entrance to his house a very large courtyard and some two or three or four of them raised very high with steps up to them and all very well built. Likewise they have their shrines and temples with raised walks which run all around the outside and are very wide: there they keep the idols which they worship, some of stone, some of clay and some of wood, which they honor and serve with such customs and so many ceremonies that many sheets of paper would not suffice to give Your Royal Highnesses a true and detailed account of them all. And the temples where they are kept are the largest and the best and the finest built of all the buildings found in the towns; and they are much adorned with rich hanging cloths and featherwork and other fineries.

Each day before beginning any sort of work they burn incense in these temples and sometimes sacrifice their own persons, some cutting their tongues, others their ears, while there are some who stab their bodies with knives. All the blood which flows from them they offer to those idols, sprinkling it in all parts of the temple, or sometimes throwing it into the air or performing many other ceremonies, so that nothing is begun without sacrifice having first been made. They have a most horrid and abominable custom which truly ought to be punished and which until now we have seen in no other part, and this is that, whenever they wish to ask something of the idols, in order that their plea may find more acceptance, they take many girls and boys and even adults, and in the presence of the idols they open their chests while they are still alive and take out their hearts and entrails and burn them before the idols, offering the smoke as sacrifice. Some of us have seen this, and they say it is the most terrible and frightful thing they have ever witnessed.[37]

This these Indians do so frequently that, as we have been informed, and, in part, have seen from our own experience during the short while we have been here, not one year passes in

which they do not kill and sacrifice some fifty persons in each temple; and this is done and held as customary from the island of Cozumel to this land where we now have settled. Your Majesties may be most certain that, as this land seems to us to be very large, and to have many temples in it, not one year has passed, as far as we have been able to discover, in which three or four thousand souls have not been sacrificed in this manner. Let Your Royal Highnesses consider, therefore, whether they should not put an end to such evil practices, for certainly Our Lord God would be well pleased if by the hand of Your Royal Highnesses these people were initiated and instructed in our Holy Catholic Faith, and the devotion, trust and hope which they have in these their idols were transferred to the divine power of God; for it is certain that if they were to worship the true God with such fervor, faith and diligence, they would perform many miracles. And we believe that it is not without cause that Our Lord God has been pleased that these parts be discovered in the name of Your Royal Highnesses so that Your Majesties may gain much merit and reward in the sight of God by commanding that these barbarous people be instructed and by Your hands be brought to the True Faith. For, as far as we have been able to learn, we believe that had we interpreters and other people to explain to them the error of their ways and the nature of the True Faith, many of them, and perhaps even all, would soon renounce their false beliefs and come to the true knowledge of God; for they live in a more civilized and reasonable manner than any other people we have seen in these parts up to the present.

To attempt to give Your Majesties all the details about this land and its people might lead us to make some mistakes in our account, for there is much we have not seen but only heard from the natives, and therefore we venture only to render account of those things which Your Majesties may hold to be most true and certain. Your Majesties may, if You see fit, send a report to the Holy Father, so that diligence and good order may be applied to the work

of converting these people, for it is hoped that much may be gained thereby; also that His Holiness may permit and approve that the wicked and the rebellious, after having first been admonished, may be punished as enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith. This will be the occasion of a fearsome warning and example to those who are obstinate in coming to the knowledge of the truth; and the great evils which they practice in the service of the Devil may be prevented. For in addition to those which we list above, of the children and men and women which they kill and offer in their sacrifices, we have been informed, and are most certain it is true, that they are all sodomites and practice that abominable sin.[38] In all of which we entreat Your Majesties to provide as You judge most fitting to the service of God and Your Royal Highnesses and that we who are here in Your service be favored and rewarded.

Among other things which we are sending to Your Highnesses by way of these, our representatives, are instructions that they beseech Your Majesties on no account to give or grant concessions to Diego Velázquez, the admiral's lieutenant in the island of Fernandina, of *adelantamiento* or governorship in perpetuity (or of any other kind) or judicial powers; and if any shall have been given him, that they be revoked, for it is not to the benefit of the service of Your Royal Crown that the aforementioned Diego Velázquez, or any other person, should have authority or be granted any concessions, whether in perpetuity, or of any other kind, in this new land of Your Highnesses, unless it be by the express will of Your Majesties, for it is, as far as we are able to judge or have reason to hope, very rich. And, moreover, were the aforementioned Diego Velázquez granted some office, far from benefiting Your Majesties' service, we foresee that we, the vassals of Your Royal Highnesses, who have begun to settle and live in this land, would be most ill used by him, for we believe that what we have now done in Your Majesties' service, namely to send You such gold and silver and jewels as we have been able to acquire in this land, would not have been his intention, as has been most clearly demonstrated by four

servants of his who passed this way; for, when they saw our intention to send it all to Your Royal Highnesses, they proclaimed publicly that it would be better to send it to Diego Velázquez; and they said other things to prevent it being sent to Your Majesties. For this we had them seized, and they are still in custody awaiting sentence; and when that has been carried out we shall inform Your Majesties of what we have done with them.[39] And for what we have seen of the doings of Diego Velázquez and our experience of them, we are afraid that if he should come to this land with some commission he would treat us badly, as he did on the island of Fernandina when he had charge of the government, dealing justice to no one except as it pleased him, and punishing those whom he chose out of anger or animosity rather than justice or reason; in this manner he has ruined many good men and reduced them to great poverty by refusing to give them Indians as servants, taking all for himself, and likewise by taking all the gold which they have collected, without giving them any part of it: for this purpose he has bands of outlaws at his command; also as he is governor and *repartidor*,[40] no one dare oppose him for fear that they may be ruined. Of this Your Majesties know nothing, nor has any account of it been sent to You, for the representatives who have gone to Your Court from that island are all of the same die, or his servants, and he keeps them contented giving them Indians whenever they ask; and the representatives who come to him from the towns on matters concerning the communities do always as he wishes, for he rewards them with gifts of Indians. When these representatives return to their towns and are ordered to give an account of what they have done, they complain that poor people should not be sent, for by giving them a single Indian chieftain, Diego Velázquez can have them do as he wishes. Furthermore, as all the alcaldes and regidores who own Indians fear that Diego Velázquez will take them, they dare not reprove the representatives who have done what they ought not to have done in order to please Diego Velázquez; and in this respect and in many others he is most cunning. By which Your Majesties may see that all

the accounts which the island of Fernandina has submitted on behalf of Diego Velázquez, and the favors which they ask for him, are in exchange for the Indians which he gives to the representatives and not because the communities are satisfied and so desire it; indeed they would rather such representatives were punished. As the above-said is well known to all the citizens and inhabitants of this town of Vera Cruz, they had a meeting with the representatives of this council and begged and required us by a signed petition that, in their name, we should beseech Your Majesties not to grant the aforementioned concessions, nor any others to Diego Velázquez, rather to order him to submit to a *residencia* and deprive him of the governorship of the island of Fernandina; for by such a residencia the truth of our account would be plainly seen. For which purposes we therefore entreat Your Majesties to send a judge to investigate all we have reported to Your Royal Highnesses, not only as concerns the island of Cuba but also in other parts, for we believe we can prove accusations whereby Your Majesties may see whether it is just or right that he hold Royal commissions in these parts or in those others where he at present resides.

The representatives, inhabitants and citizens of this town have likewise asked us, in the aforementioned petition, to entreat Your Majesties on their behalf to order and provide a decree and letters patent in favor of Fernando Cortés, captain and chief justice of Your Royal Highnesses, so that he may govern us with justice until this land is conquered and pacified, and for as long as Your Majesties may see fit, knowing him to be a person well suited for such a position. Which petition and request we send to Your Majesties with these our representatives and humbly supplicate Your Royal Highnesses to grant us this and all the other favors which in the name of this council and town may be asked of You by the aforementioned representatives, and that You hold us as Your most loyal vassals, as we have been and always shall be.

The gold, silver, jewels, bucklers and garments which we are sending to Your Royal Highnesses with these representatives,

over and above the one-fifth which belongs to Your Majesty, Fernando Cortés and the council of this town offer in Your service, and are sending together with a list signed by the same representatives as Your Royal Highnesses may observe. From the Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz, the tenth day of July, 1519.

The gold, jewels, precious stones and articles of featherwork which have been acquired in these newly discovered lands since our arrival here, which you, Alonso Fernández Puerto Carrero and Francisco de Montejo, who go as representatives of this Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz to the Very Excellent Princes and Most Catholic and Very Great Kings and Sovereigns, the Queen Doña Juana and the King, Don Carlos her son, are the following:[41]

First a large gold wheel with a design of monsters on it and worked all over with foliage. This weighed 3,800 *pesos de oro*. From this wheel, because it was the best that has been found here and of the finest gold, a fifth was taken for Their Highnesses; this amounted to two thousand *castellanos* which belonged to Them of Their fifth and Royal privilege according to the stipulation that the captain Fernando Cortés brought from the Hieronymite Fathers who reside on the island of Hispaniola and on the other islands. The eighteen hundred *pesos* that remained and all the rest that goes to make up twelve hundred *pesos*, the council of this town bequeath to Their Highnesses, together with everything else mentioned in this list, which belonged to the people of the aforementioned town.

Item: Two necklaces of gold and stone mosaic, one of which has eight strings of 232 red jewels and 163 green jewels. Hanging from the border of this necklace are twenty-seven small gold bells; and in the center of them are four figures in large stones inlaid with gold. From each of the two in the center hang single pendants, while from each of

the ends hang four double pendants. The other necklace has four strings of 102 red jewels and 172 which appear to be green in color; around these stones there are twenty-six small gold bells. In this necklace there are ten large stones inlaid with gold from which hang 142 pendants.

Item: Four pairs of screens,[42] two pairs being of fine gold leaf with trimmings of yellow deerskin, and the other two (pairs) of fine silver leaf with trimmings in white deerskin. The remainder are of plumes of various colors, and very well made. From each of these hang sixteen small gold bells, all with red deerskin.

Another item: One hundred *pesos de oro* for melting, so that Their Highnesses may see how the gold is taken from the mines here.

Another item: In a box, a large piece of featherwork, lined with animal skin which, in color, seems like that of a marten. Fastened to this piece, and in the center of it, is a large disk of gold which weighed sixty *pesos de oro*, and a piece of blue and red stone mosaic in the shape of a wheel, and another piece of stone mosaic, of a reddish color; and at the end of the piece there is another piece of colored featherwork that hangs from it.

Item: A fan of colored featherwork with thirty-seven small rods cased in gold.

Another item: A large piece of colored featherwork to be worn on the head and encircled by sixty-eight small pieces of gold, each of which is as large as a half *cuarto*.[43] Beneath them are twenty little gold towers.

Item: A miter of blue stone mosaic with a design of monsters in the center of it. It is lined with an animal skin which by its color appears to be that of a marten, and has a small piece of featherwork which, together with the one mentioned above, is of the same miter.

Item: Four harpoons of featherwork with their stone heads

fastened by a gold thread, and a jeweled scepter with rings of gold and the rest of featherwork.
Item: A bracelet of blue jewels and, in addition, a small piece of black featherwork and with other colors.
Item: A large pair of sandals of leather whose color resembles that of a marten. The soles are white and sown with gold thread.
Furthermore, a mirror set in a piece of blue and red jewelry, with a piece of featherwork and two strips of red leather attached to it, together with a skin which seems to be from those same martens.
Item: Three pieces of colored featherwork that belong to a large gold head which seems to be that of an alligator.
Item: Some screens of blue stone mosaic, lined with a skin which by its color seems to come from a marten; and from each one of them hang fifteen small gold bells.
Another item: A maniple of wolfskin with four strips of leather that look like martenskin.
Another item: Some fibers placed in some colored feathers; the which fibers are white and look like locks of hair.
Another item: Two pieces of colored featherwork that are for two helmets of stone mosaic which are mentioned below.
Furthermore, two pieces of colored featherwork which are for two pieces of gold, made like large shells and worn on the head.
Furthermore, two birds with green plumage and their feet, beaks and eyes made of gold. These are put on one of those pieces of gold that resemble shells.
Furthermore, two large ear ornaments of [44] blue stone mosaic which are for the large alligator head.
In another square box, a large alligator head in gold, which is the one mentioned above where the aforementioned pieces are to be put.

Also, a helmet of blue stone mosaic with twenty small gold bells hanging round the outside of it with two strings of beads above each bell: and two ear ornaments of wood with gold plates.

Also, a bird with green plumage and with feet, beak and eyes of gold.

Another item: Another helmet of blue stone mosaic with twenty-five little gold bells and two beads of gold above each bell, which hang round it, with some wooden ear ornaments with gold plates; and a bird with green plumage and feet, beak and eyes of gold.

Another item: A reed container with two large pieces of gold to be worn on the head; they are made like gold shells with ear ornaments of wood with gold plates. Also two birds with green plumage and feet, beaks and eyes of gold.

Also, sixteen bucklers of stone mosaic with pieces of colored featherwork hanging round the outside of them, and with a wide-angled board of stone mosaic with its pieces of colored featherwork. In the center of this board is a cross inside a wheel made of the same stone mosaic, and lined with leather the color of martenskin.

Furthermore, a scepter of a red stone mosaic, made to resemble a snake with head, teeth and eyes in what seems to be mother-of-pearl. The hilt is adorned with the skin of a spotted animal, and beneath this hilt there hang six small pieces of featherwork.

Another item: A fan of featherwork in a reed adorned with the skin of a spotted animal, in the manner of a weathercock. Above it has a crown of featherwork and finally many long green feathers.

Item: Two birds made of thread and featherwork. The quills of their wings and tails, the claws of their feet, their eyes and the tips of their beaks are of gold, each placed in its respective gold-covered reed. And below some feather

down, one white and the other yellow, with some gold embroidery between the feathers; and from each of these hang seven strands of feathers.

Item: Four pieces made after the manner of skates, placed in their respective gold-covered canes. Their tails, gills, eyes and mouths are of gold; below, on their tails, are some pieces of green featherwork, while toward their mouths each has a crown of colored featherwork, and in some of the white feathers there is some gold embroidery, and beneath the handle of each one hang six strands of colored featherwork.

Item: A small copper rod lined with a skin in which is placed a piece of gold in the manner of a piece of featherwork, which has some pieces of colored featherwork above and below it.

Another item: Five fans of colored featherwork, four of which have ten small quills covered with gold while the fifth has thirteen.

Item: Four harpoons of white flint, fastened to four rods of featherwork.

Item: A large buckler of featherwork trimmed on the back with the skin of a spotted animal. In the center of the field of this buckler is a gold plate with a design such as the Indians make, with four other half plates of gold round the edge, which together form a cross.

Another item: A piece of featherwork of various colors made in the manner of a half chasuble, lined with the skin of a spotted animal. This, the lords of these parts, which we have seen up to now, hang from about their necks. On the front it has thirteen pieces of gold very well fitted together.

Item: A piece of colored featherwork, made in the manner of a jousting helmet, which the lords of this land wear on their heads. From it hang two ear ornaments of stone mosaic with two small bells and two beads of gold; and above there

is a piece of featherwork of broad green feathers, while below hang some white hairs.

Furthermore, four animal heads, two of which seem to be wolves, the other two tigers, with some spotted skins: from these heads hang some small bronze bells.

Item: Two animal skins of spotted animals, lined with some cotton mantles: these skins appear to be those of a mountain cat.

Item: The red and gray skin of another animal, which seems to be a lion, and two deerskins.

Item: Four skins of small deer from which here they make small tanned gloves.

And, moreover, two books which the Indians have: also half a dozen fans of colored featherwork and a perfume container of colored featherwork.

Furthermore, a large silver wheel which weighed forty-eight silver marks, and also some bracelets, some beaten [silver] leaves; and one mark five ounces and forty *adarmes*[45] of silver; and a large buckler and another small one of silver, which weighed four marks and two ounces; and another two bucklers which appear to be silver and which weighed six marks and two ounces; and another buckler, which likewise appears to be of silver, which weighed one mark and seven ounces, which is in all sixty-two marks of silver.

[COTTON CLOTHING][46]

Another item: Two large pieces of cotton richly woven in white, black and tawny.

Item: Two pieces woven with feathers and another piece woven in various colors; another piece woven in patterns of red, black and white, and on the back these patterns do not show.

Item: Another piece woven with patterns and in the center a black wheel of feathers.

Item: Two white cotton cloths woven with some pieces of featherwork.

Another cotton cloth with some white cords(?) attached. A peasant smock.

A white piece with a large wheel of white feathers in the middle.

Two pieces of gray cord with some wheels of feathers, and another two of tawny cord.

Six painted pieces; another red piece with some wheels and another two pieces painted blue; and two women's shirts.

[Twelve veils.][47]

Item: Six bucklers, each one with a gold plate covering the whole buckler.

Another item: A half miter of gold.

The which things, and each one of them, as is laid down and established by these declarations, we, Alonso Fernández Puerto Carrero and Francisco de Montejo, the abovementioned representatives, do acknowledge that it is true that we have received them and that they were entrusted to us to take to Their Highnesses, from you, Fernando Cortés, chief justice for Their Highnesses in these parts, and from you, Alonso de Ávila and Alonso de Grado, treasurer and *veedor* for Their Highnesses. And because it is true we sign it with our names. Dated the sixth day of July in the year 1519. —PUERTO CARRERO, FRANCISCO DE MONTEJO.

The things above-mentioned in the said memorial, with the aforementioned letter and account sent by the municipal council of Vera Cruz, were received by the King Don Carlos, Our Sovereign, as already stated, in Valladolid, in Holy Week, in the beginning of the month of April of the year of Our Lord, 1520.[48]

The Second Letter

Sent to His Sacred Majesty the Emperor, Our Sovereign, by Don Fernando Cortés, Captain General of New Spain.

In which he gives an account of the lands and provinces without number that he has newly discovered in Yucatán in the year 1519 and subjected to His Majesty's Royal Crown. And in particular he gives an account of a very large and very rich province called Culua,[1] in which there are large cities and marvelous buildings, much commerce and great wealth. Among these cities there is one more marvelous and more wealthy than all the others, called Temixtitan,[2] which has, with extraordinary skill, been built upon a great lake, of which city and province a powerful lord called Mutezuma[3] is king: here things terrible to relate befell the captain and the Spaniards. He tells at length of the great dominion of the said Mutezuma and of its rites and ceremonies and how they are performed.

MOST HIGH AND POWERFUL AND CATHOLIC PRINCE, MOST INVINCIBLE EMPEROR AND OUR SOVEREIGN:

In a ship which I dispatched to Your Sacred Majesty from New Spain on the sixteenth day of June, 1519, I sent a very long and detailed account of all that had occurred in these lands from the day I arrived until that date. This relation was carried by Alonso Hernández Puerto Carrero and Francisco de Montejo, representatives of the town of Vera Cruz, which I founded in Your Highness's name. Since then, because I have had neither the opportunity nor the ships, and because I was occupied in the conquest and pacification of these lands, and, moreover, because I knew nothing of the aforementioned representatives and their ship, I have not acquainted Your Majesty with all that has happened since. God alone knows how much this has troubled me; for I wished Your Highness to know all the things of this land, which, as I have already written in another report, are so many and of such a kind that one might call oneself the emperor of this kingdom with no less glory than of Germany, which, by the Grace of God, Your Sacred Majesty already possesses. And because to attempt to inform Your Highness of every detail of these lands and new realms would be to continue almost forever, I beg Your Highness's pardon if I do not render as long an account as I should. Neither my natural aptitudes nor the conditions in which I find myself favor me in the task. Despite this, however, I shall make every effort to acquaint Your Highness, as best I can, with the truth and with all that at the present time Your Majesty should know. Likewise I beg Your Highness to forgive me if I do not record all that is necessary and am uncertain of time and details, or if I do not give the correct names either of some of the

9. Title page of the first printed edition of Letter II, Seville, 15
Courtesy of the British Museum.

Carta de relaciõ ẽbiada a su. S. majestad del ẽpa-dor nr̃o señor por el capitã general dela nueua spaña: llamado fernãdo cortes. Enla q̃l haze relaciõ d̃las tierras y prouĩcias sin cuẽto q̃ hã descubierto nueuamẽte enel yucatã del año de. xix. a esta p̃te: y ha sometido ala corona real de su. S. M. En especial haze relaciõ de vna grãdissima prouĩcia muy rica llamada Culua: ẽla q̃l ay muy grãdes ciudades y de marauillosos edificios: y de grãdes tratos y riq̃zas. Entre las q̃les ay vna mas marauillosa y rica q̃ todas llamada Timixtitã: q̃ esta por marauillosa arte edificada sobre vna grãde laguna. dela q̃l ciudad y prouĩcia es rey vn grãdissimo señor llamado Muteeçuma: dõde le acaecierõ al capitã y alos españoles espãtosas cosas de oyr. Cuenta largamẽte del grãdissimo señorio del dicho Muteeçuma y de sus ritos y cerimonias. y de como se sirue.

towns and cities, or of their rulers, who have offered themselves in the service of Your Highness as your subjects and vassals. For in a certain misfortune which has recently befallen me, of which I shall render complete account later in this report, I lost all the proceedings and agreements I had made with the natives of these lands, and many other things besides.

Most Excellent Prince, in the other report I told Your Majesty of the cities and towns which at that time had offered themselves to the service of Your Highness and which I held subject. I also spoke of a great lord called Mutezuma, whom the natives of these lands had spoken to me about, and who, according to the number of days they said we would have to march, lived about ninety or a hundred leagues from the harbor where I disembarked. And, trusting in God's greatness and in the might of Your Highness's Royal name, I decided to go and see him wherever he might be. Indeed I remember that, with respect to the quest of this lord, I undertook more than I was able, for I assured Your Highness that I would take him alive in chains or make him subject to Your Majesty's Royal Crown.

With that purpose I set out from the town of Cempoal, which I renamed Sevilla, on the sixteenth of August with fifteen horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers, as well equipped for war as the conditions permitted me to make them. I left in the town of Vera Cruz two horsemen and 150 men, to construct a fortress which is now almost completed; and I left all that province of Cempoal and all the mountains surrounding the town, which contain as many as fifty thousand warriors and fifty towns and fortresses, very secure and peaceful; and all of these natives have been and still are faithful vassals of Your Majesty, for they were subjects of Mutezuma and, according to what I was told, had been subdued by force not long previously. When they heard through me of Your Highness and of Your very great Royal power, they said they wished to become vassals of Your Majesty and my allies, and asked me to protect them from that great lord who held them

by tyranny and by force, and took their children to sacrifice to his idols; and they made many other complaints about him. Because of this, they have been very loyal and true in the service of Your Highness, and I believe that they will always be so, as they are now free of his tyranny, and because they have always been honored and well treated by me. But to ensure further the safety of all who remained in Vera Cruz, I brought with me some of their chieftains with their servants, who were of no small use to me on my journey.

Because, as I believe I wrote to Your Majesty in the first report, some of those who joined my company were servants and friends of Diego Velázquez, it troubled them to see what I was doing in the service of Your Highness, and some of them even wanted to overthrow me and to leave this land, especially four Spaniards, Juan Escudero and Diego Cermeño, a pilot, and Gonzalo de Ungría, also a pilot, and Alonso Peñate, all of whom voluntarily confessed that they had determined to seize a brigantine which was in the port with bread and salt pork aboard. They intended to kill the master of it, return to the island of Fernandina and inform Diego Velázquez of how I had sent a ship to Your Highness, and also of what she was carrying and what course she was to take, so that the said Diego Velázquez might send ships to lie in wait and take her. As soon as he knew this, he did so, for, as I have been informed, he sent a caravel after that same ship which, if she had not already passed, would have been taken. Likewise they confessed that there were others who also intended to warn Diego Velázquez. On hearing the confessions of these miscreants, I punished them according to the law and as, in the circumstances, I judged would do Your Majesty greatest service.

As well as the friends and servants of Diego Velázquez who wished to leave the land, there were others who, when they saw how big it was, and how few Spaniards we were against so many, were of the same mind. Believing, therefore, that if the ships remained there would be a rebellion, and once all those who had resolved to go had gone I would be left almost alone, whereby all that

in the name of God and of Your Highness has been accomplished in this land would have been prevented, I devised a plan, according to which I declared the ships unfit to sail and grounded them;[4] thus they lost all hope of escape and I proceeded in greater safety and with no fear that once my back was turned the people I had left in the town would betray me.

Eight or ten days after I ran the ships aground, and having already left the town of Vera Cruz for that of Cempoal, which is four leagues distant and whence I was to continue my journey, I heard from Vera Cruz that four ships were sailing off the coast and that the captain[5] whom I had left in charge had gone out to them in a boat, and they had told him that they were from Francisco de Garay, lieutenant and governor of the island of Jamaica, and that they had come to explore. The captain had told them how I, in the name of Your Highness, had settled in this land and had founded a town there, one league from where the ships were; that they might go there and I would be informed of their arrival. If they were short of anything they could obtain it there; he would lead them into the port which he pointed out to them. They replied that they had already seen the port as they had sailed past it, and that they would do as he said. He returned to the port, but the ships did not follow him and were still sailing along the coast, with what purpose he did not know.

On hearing this, I left at once for Vera Cruz, where I learnt that the ships were anchored three leagues down the coast and that no one had landed from them. From there I set off with a few followers to gather information, but when I had come within almost one league of them I met three men from the ships, one of whom said he was a notary. The other two were to be witnesses, or so I was told, of the serving of a notice. They said that their captain had told them to give me a document they had brought with them which informed me that he had discovered that land and wished to colonize it. He therefore desired to discuss frontiers with me, for he wished to set up a base five leagues down the coast beyond Naute-

cal, which is a city twelve leagues from Vera Cruz and which is now called Almería.[6] I told them to rejoin their captain and to sail to Vera Cruz, where we would talk and discover what they had come for. And if his ships were in need of anything I would help him as best I could. Since he said that he came in the service of Your Sacred Majesty, I too said I desired nothing except insofar as I might serve Your Highness thereby, which in helping him I believed I was doing.

They replied that on no account would Captain Garay or anyone else land, not even to meet me; and seeing how reluctant they were to appear before me, I thought that they must have done some damage in the land.

When night fell I crept very silently up to the shore just opposite where the ships were anchored, and there I lay hidden until almost noon the following day, thinking that the captain or pilot would come ashore and that I might discover from them what they had done or where they had been; and if they had done any damage in the land, I would send them to Your Holy Majesty. But neither they nor anyone else came ashore, so I made those who had brought the summons remove their clothes, which I put on three men of my own company whom I ordered to go down to the beach and signal to the ships. As soon as they saw them, they sent out a boat with as many as ten or twelve men aboard armed with crossbows and harquebuses. The men who had been signaling from the shore then left the beach as though seeking the shade of some bushes which were nearby. Four men landed, two crossbowmen and two harquebusiers, who, as they were surrounded by the Spaniards I had placed on the beach, were taken. One of these was master of one of the ships, and he tried to fire his harquebus, which would have killed the captain I had put in charge of Vera Cruz had not Our Lord prevented the fuse from igniting. Those who remained in the boat put out to sea, but, before they had reached them, the ships had hoisted their sails without waiting or wishing to discover anything from them. Those who remained behind told me

that they had reached a river[7] thirty leagues down the coast from Almería, and that they had been well received by the natives and had bartered with them for food. They had seen some gold which the Indians brought but not much. And they had bartered for as much as three thousand gold *castellanos*. They had only gone ashore when they saw some villages by the riverbanks which were so close they could see them clearly from the ships. There were no stone buildings, all of the houses being built of straw, although some of the floors were raised and made by hand. All of which I later heard more fully from Mutezuma and from certain interpreters of that land which he had with him.

I sent these men I had captured, together with an Indian whom they had brought from that river, and some other messengers of Mutezuma, to the lord of that river, who is called Pánuco, to persuade him to the service of Your Holy Majesty. He sent back with them an important person and, they told me, the chief of a village, who gave me some clothes, stones and featherwork from him, saying that he and all his subjects were very well pleased to be Your Highness's vassals and my friends. I then gave them things from Spain with which he was very pleased, so much so that when other ships arrived from Francisco de Garay (of which I will tell Your Majesty later) this Pánuco sent me word that these ships were in another river, five or six days' journey from there. He wished to know if those who traveled in them were of my party, for if so, he would give them whatever they needed; and that he had sent them some women, and chickens and other things to eat.

Most Powerful Lord, I traveled for three days through the country and the kingdom of Cempoal, where I was very well received and accommodated by all the natives. On the fourth day I entered a province which is called Sienchimalem,[8] in which there is a town which is very strong and built in a defensible position on the side of a very steep mountain. There is only one entrance, up steep steps which can only be climbed on foot and that with considerable difficulty. In the plain there are many villages and hamlets of five or

three or two hundred inhabitants, so that there are in all as many as five or six thousand warriors; and this land is in the kingdom of Mutezuma. Here they received me very well and generously provided the provisions I needed for the journey. They told me that they knew I was going to visit their lord Mutezuma, and that I should be confident he was my friend and had sent word that they were to give me every facility, for they served him by so doing. I responded to their great kindness by saying that Your Majesty had received news of him and had sent me to see him, and that I was going for no other purpose. Then I went over a pass which is at the frontier of this province, and we called it Nombre de Dios, because it was the first we had crossed in these lands: it is so rough and steep that there is none in Spain so difficult. But I did cross it, safely and without adverse incident. On the slopes below the pass there are other villages and a fortress called Ceyxnacan,[9] which also belongs to Mutezuma; here we were no less well received than at Sienchimalen; also, they told us, because Mutezuma wished it. And I replied as before.

From there I continued for three days through desert country which is uninhabitable because of its infertility and lack of water and because of the extreme cold. God knows how much my people suffered from thirst and hunger, and especially from a hail- and rainstorm that hit us there, which I thought would cause the deaths of many people from cold; and indeed several Indians from the island of Fernandina who had not enough to wear did die from it. After three days we crossed another pass not so steep as the first. At the top of it there was a small tower, almost like a wayside shrine, in which they kept a number of idols, and around the tower were more than a thousand cartloads of firewood, all very well stacked; for this reason we called it the Firewood Pass.[10] On the descent from this pass, between some very steep mountains, there is a valley thickly inhabited with people who seemed to be very poor. After going two leagues through this region without learning anything about it, I reached a flatter place where the chief of that

valley appeared to live; for he had the largest and the best-constructed buildings we had seen in that land so far. They were all of dressed stone and very well built and very new, and they had very large and beautiful halls in them and many rooms, also well built: this valley and town are called Caltanmí.[11] By the chief and the people I was very well received and lodged.

After I had spoken to him on behalf of Your Majesty and of the reason for my coming to these parts, I asked him if he was a vassal of Mutezuma or owed some other allegiance. And he showed surprise at my question, and asked who was not a vassal of Mutezuma, meaning that here he is king of the whole world. I replied by telling him of the great power of Your Majesty and of the many other princes, greater than Mutezuma, who were Your Highness's vassals and considered it no small favor to be so; Mutezuma also would become one; as would all the natives of these lands. I therefore asked him to become one, for if he did it would be greatly to his honor and advantage, but if, on the other hand, he refused to obey he would be punished. And to acknowledge that he had been received into Your Royal service, I begged him to give me some gold to send to Your Majesty. He replied that he had gold but would give me none unless Mutezuma commanded it, but that once this had been done he would surrender to me the gold and his own person and all that he had. So as not to offend him and for fear that some calamity might befall my endeavor and my journey, I dissembled as best I could and told him that very soon I would have Mutezuma order him to give the gold and all that he owned.

Here two other chieftains who held lands in that valley came to see me: one lived four leagues down the valley and the other two leagues up the valley, and they gave me several gold necklaces of little weight and value and seven or eight female slaves. After staying there four or five days, I left them all very pleased and went up the valley to the town of the other chief I spoke of, which is called Ystacmastitán.[12] His territory consists of some three or four leagues' extent of built-up land, lying in the valley floor

beside a small river which runs through it. On a very high hill is this chief's house, with a better fortress than any to be found in the middle of Spain, and fortified with better walls and barbicans and earthworks. On top of this hill live some five or six thousand inhabitants with very good houses and somewhat richer than those living in the valley. Here likewise I was very well received, and this chief said that he was also a vassal of Mutezuma. I remained in this town three days, to allow my people to recover from the hardships they had suffered in the desert as well as to await the return of four native messengers from Cempoal who had come with me and whom I had sent from Catalmy to a very large province called Tascalteca,[13] which they told me was very close by, and so it seemed to be. They had also told me that the natives of this province were their friends and very hated enemies of Mutezuma, and they wished to be my allies for they were many and very strong. They shared a large frontier with Mutezuma and fought continual wars with him and would help me if Mutezuma wished to oppose me. But the whole time I was in that valley, which was eight days in all, the messengers did not return; so I asked those chieftains of Cempoal who traveled in my company why the messengers had not returned. They replied that the land must be far away and they could not return so quickly. When I saw how long they were in coming, and that the chieftains of Cempoal so assured me of the friendship and good faith of those of that province, I set out thither.

On leaving this valley I found a great barrier built of dry stone and as much as nine feet high, which ran right across the valley from one mountain range to the other.[14] It was some twenty paces wide and all along the top was a battlement a foot and a half thick to provide an advantageous position for battle; it had only one entrance, some ten paces wide. At this entrance one wall doubled over the other, in the manner of a ravelin, within a space of forty paces, so that the entrance was not direct but had turns in it. When I asked the reason for this wall they replied that that was the frontier of the province of Tascalteca, whose inhabitants were Mu-

tezuma's enemies and were always at war with him. The natives of the valley, because I was going to see Mutezuma their lord, begged me not to go through the territory of his enemies, for they might be hostile to me and do me some harm; they themselves would lead me to Mutezuma without leaving his territory, in which I would always be well received.

But those of Cempoal told me not to do this, but to go through Tascalteca, for what the others had said was only to prevent me from forming an alliance with that province. They said that all Mutezuma's people were wicked traitors and would lead me to a place whence I could not escape. As I held those of Cempoal in greater esteem than the others, I took their advice, leading my men with as much caution as possible. And I, with some six horsemen, rode half a league ahead, not in anticipation of what later befell me, but to explore the land, so that if anything should happen I might have time to gather and instruct my men.

After proceeding four leagues, we reached the brow of a hill, and the two horsemen who went in front of me saw some Indians dressed in the feathers they wear in battle, and bearing swords and bucklers, who when they saw the horses began to run away. I arrived soon after and I called out to them to return and not to be afraid; as we approached them (there must have been about fifteen Indians) they banded together and began to throw spears and to call to others of their people who were in a valley. They fought so fiercely with us that they killed two horses and wounded three others and two horsemen. At this point the others appeared who must have been four or five thousand. Some eight horsemen were now with me, not counting the dead, and we fought them making several charges while we waited for the other soldiers whom I had sent a horseman to fetch; and in the fighting we did them some damage, in that we killed fifty or sixty of them and ourselves suffered no harm, although they fought with great courage and ferocity. But as we were all mounted we attacked in safety and retreated likewise.

When they saw our men approaching, they withdrew, for they were few, and left us the field. After they had gone, several messengers arrived, who said they came from the chieftains of that province and with them two of the messengers I had sent, who said that the lords of the province knew nothing of what those others had done; for they were of an independent community and had done it without his permission. They regretted what had happened and would pay me for the horses which had been killed; they wanted to be my friends, wished me good fortune and said I would be welcomed by them. I replied that I was grateful to them and that I held them as friends and would go where they said. That night I was forced to sleep in a river bed one league beyond where this happened, for it was late and the men were tired.

There I took all the precautions I could, with watchmen and scouts both on foot and on horseback. When it was light I departed, keeping my vanguard and baggage in close formation and my scouts in front. When, at sunrise, I arrived at a very small village I found the other two messengers weeping, saying that they had been tied up to be killed, but had escaped that night. Only a stone's throw from them there appeared a large number of Indians, heavily armed, who with a great shout began to attack us with many javelins and arrows. I began to deliver the formal requerimiento through the interpreters who were with me and before a notary, but the longer I spent in admonishing them and requesting peace, the more they pressed us and did us as much harm as they could. Seeing therefore that nothing was to be gained by the requerimiento or protestations we began to defend ourselves as best we could, and so drew us fighting into the midst of more than 100,000 warriors who surrounded us on all sides. We fought all day long until an hour before sunset, when they withdrew; with half a dozen guns and five or six harquebuses and forty crossbowmen and with the thirteen horsemen who remained, I had done them much harm without receiving any except from exhaustion and hunger. And it truly seemed that God was fighting for us, because from such a

multitude, such fierce and able warriors and with so many kinds of weapons to harm us,[15] we escaped so lightly.

That night I fortified a small tower on top of a hill, where they kept their idols. When it was day I left two hundred men and all the artillery behind and rode out to attack them with the horsemen, one hundred foot soldiers and four hundred Indians of those I brought from Cempoal, and three hundred from Yztaemestitan [*sic*]. Before they had time to rally, I burnt five or six small places of about a hundred inhabitants, and took prisoner about four hundred persons, both men and women; and returned to the camp having suffered no loss whatever. The following day at dawn, more than 149,000 men, who covered the entire ground, attacked the camp with such force that some of them broke in and fought the Spaniards hand to hand. We then went out and charged them, and so much did Our Lord help us that in four hours' fighting we had advanced so far that they could no longer harm us in the camp, although they still made some attacks. And so we fought until late, when they retired.

The following day I left before dawn by a different route, without being observed, with the horsemen, a hundred foot soldiers and my Indian allies. I burnt more than ten villages, in one of which there were more than three thousand houses, where the inhabitants fought with us, although there was no one there to help them. As we were carrying the banner of the Cross and were fighting for our Faith and in the service of Your Sacred Majesty in this Your Royal enterprise, God gave us such a victory that we killed many of them without ourselves receiving any hurt. Having gained our victory, we returned to camp a little after midday, for the enemy was gathering from all directions.

The following day messengers arrived from the chieftains saying that they wished to be vassals of Your Highness and my friends; and they begged me to forgive them for what they had done. I replied that they had done wrong, but that I was content to be their friend and to forgive what they had done. The next day

some fifty Indians who, it seemed, were people of importance among them, came to the camp saying they were bringing food, and began to inspect the entrances and exits and some huts where we were living. The men from Cempoal came to me and said I should take notice of the fact that the newcomers were bad men and had come to spy and see how we could be harmed, and I could be certain that that was their only purpose in coming. I ordered one of them to be captured discreetly so that the others did not see, and I took him aside and through the interpreters threatened him so that he should tell me the truth. He confessed that Sintengal,[16] who is captain general of this province, was waiting with many men behind some hills opposite the camp to fall on us that night, because, they said, they had fought with us by day and gained nothing and now wished to try by night, so that their people should fear neither the horses nor the guns nor the swords. They had been sent to spy out our camp and to see where it could be entered, and how they might burn the straw huts. Then I had another Indian seized and questioned him likewise, and he repeated what the other had said and in the same words. Then I took five or six and they all confirmed what I had heard, so I took all fifty and cut off their hands and sent them to tell their chief that by day or by night, or whenever they chose to come, they would see who we were. I had the camp fortified as best I could, and deployed my men where I thought most advantageous, and so remained on the alert until the sun set.

When night fell the enemy began to come down through two valleys, thinking that they were unobserved and could draw close to us the better to accomplish their purpose. But as I was well prepared I saw them, and it seemed to me that it would be disadvantageous to allow them to reach the camp; for at night they would be unable to see the damage my people inflicted on them, and would be all the more intrepid. I was also afraid that as the Spaniards would not be able to see them, some of them might show less boldness in their fighting. Moreover, I was afraid they might set fire

to the camp, which would have been so disastrous that none of us would have escaped. I therefore determined to ride out to meet them with all the horsemen to frighten and scatter them so they would be unable to reach the camp. And so it was that when they saw that we intended to attack them on horseback they, without stopping or shouting, made off into the maize fields of which this land is full. They unloaded some of the provisions they were carrying for the celebrations they intended to hold once they had utterly defeated us; and so they left us in peace for the rest of the night. After this occurrence I did not leave the camp for several days except to defend the entrance from some Indians who came to shout and skirmish.

When we had rested somewhat, I went out one night, after inspecting the first watch, with a hundred foot soldiers, our Indian allies and the horsemen; and one league from the camp five of the horses fell and would go no further, so I sent them back. And although all those who were with me in my company urged me to return, for it was an evil omen, I continued on my way secure in the belief that God is more powerful than Nature. Before it was dawn I attacked two towns, where I killed many people, but I did not burn the houses lest the fires should alert the other towns nearby. At dawn I came upon another large town containing, according to an inspection I had made, more than twenty thousand houses. As I took them by surprise, they rushed out unarmed, and the women and children ran naked through the streets, and I began to do them some harm. When they saw that they could not resist, several men of rank of the town came to me and begged me to do them no more harm, for they wished to be Your Highness's vassals and my allies. They now saw that they were wrong in not having been willing to assist me; from thenceforth I would see how they would do all that I, in Your Majesty's name, commanded them to do, and they would be Your faithful vassals. Then, later, more than four thousand came to me in peace and led me outside to a spring and fed me very well.

And so I left them pacified and returned to our camp where I found that those who had remained behind were very afraid that some danger had befallen me because of the omen they had seen in the return of the horses the night before. But after they heard of the victory which God had been pleased to give us, and how we had pacified those villages, there was great rejoicing, for I assure Your Majesty that there was amongst us not one who was not very much afraid, seeing how deep into this country we were and among so many hostile people and so entirely without hope of help from anywhere. Indeed, I heard it whispered, and almost spoken out loud, that I was a Pedro Carbonero[17] to have led them into this place from which they could never escape. And, moreover, standing where I could not be seen, I heard certain companions in a hut say that if I was crazy enough to go where I could not return, they were not, and that they were going to return to the sea, and if I wished to come with them, all well and good, but if not, they would abandon me. Many times I was asked to turn back, and I encouraged them by reminding them that they were Your Highness's vassals and that never at any time had Spaniards been found wanting, and that we were in a position to win for Your Majesty the greatest dominions and kingdoms in the world. Moreover, as Christians we were obliged to wage war against the enemies of our Faith; and thereby we would win glory in the next world, and, in this, greater honor and renown than any generation before our time. They should observe that God was on our side, and to Him nothing is impossible, for, as they saw, we had won so many victories in which so many of the enemy had died, and none of us. I told them other things which occurred to me of this nature, with which, and Your Highness's Royal favor, they were much encouraged and determined to follow my intentions and to do what I wished, which was to complete the enterprise I had begun.

On the following day at ten o'clock, Sintengal, the captain general of this province, came to see me, together with some fifty men of rank, and he begged me on his own behalf, and on behalf of

Magiscasin,[18] who is the most important person in the entire province, and on behalf of many other lords, to admit them to Your Highness's Royal service and to my friendship, and to forgive them their past errors, for they did not know who we were. They had tried with all their forces both by day and by night to avoid being subject to anyone, for this province never had been, nor had they ever had an over-all ruler. For they had lived in freedom and independence from time immemorial and had always defended themselves against the great power of Mutezuma and against his ancestors, who had subjugated all those lands but had never been able to reduce them to servitude, although they were surrounded on all sides and had no place by which to leave their land. They ate no salt because there was none in their land;[19] neither could they go and buy it elsewhere, nor did they wear cotton because it did not grow there on account of the cold; and they were lacking in many other things through being so enclosed.

All of which they suffered willingly in return for being free and subject to no one, and with me they had wished to do the same; to which end, as they said, they had used all their strength but saw clearly that neither it nor their cunning had been of any use. They would rather be Your Highness's vassals than see their houses destroyed and their women and children killed. I replied that they should recognize they were to blame for the harm they had received, for I had come to their land thinking that I came to a land of friends because the men of Cempoal had assured me that it was so. I had sent my messengers on ahead to tell them that I was coming and that I wished to be their friend. But without reply they had attacked me on the road while I was unprepared and had killed two horses and wounded others. And after they had fought me, they sent messengers to tell me that it had been done without their consent by certain communities who were responsible; but they were not involved and had now rebuked those others for it and desired my friendship. I had believed them and had told them that I was pleased and would come on the following day and go among

them as I would among friends. And again they had attacked me on the road and had fought all day until nightfall. And I reminded them of everything else that they had done against me and many other things which in order not to tire Your Highness I will omit. Finally, they offered themselves as vassals in the Royal service of Your Majesty and offered their persons and fortunes and so they have remained until today and will, I think, always remain so for what reason Your Majesty will see hereafter.

I did not then leave the camp for six or seven days, for I dared not trust them, although they begged me to come to a great city of theirs where all the chiefs of the province are accustomed to live. These chiefs even came themselves and pleaded with me to go to the city, for there I should be better entertained and supplied with all the things I needed which were not available in the countryside. They were ashamed to see me so poorly accommodated, for they held me as their friend, and both they and I were Your Highness's vassals; and because of their pleas I went to the city, which is six leagues from our camp.

The city is so big and so remarkable that, although there is much I could say of it which I shall omit, the little I will say is, I think, almost unbelievable, for the city is much larger than Granada and very much stronger, with as good buildings and many more people than Granada had when it was taken, and very much better supplied with the produce of the land, namely, bread, fowl and game and fresh-water fish and vegetables and other things they eat which are very good.[20] There is in this city a market where each and every day upward of thirty thousand people come to buy and sell, without counting the other trade which goes on elsewhere in the city. In this market there is everything they might need or wish to trade; provisions as well as clothing and footwear. There is jewelry of gold and silver and precious stones and other ornaments of featherwork and all as well laid out as in any square or marketplace in the world. There is much pottery of many sorts and as good as the best in Spain. They sell [21] a great deal of firewood and charcoal

and medicinal and cooking herbs. There are establishments like barbers' where they have their hair washed and are shaved, and there are baths. Lastly there is amongst them every consequence of good order and courtesy, and they are such an orderly and intelligent people that the best in Africa cannot equal them.

In this province, which is in size ninety leagues or more about, there are many beautiful valleys and plains, all cultivated and harvested, leaving no place untilled; and the orderly manner in which, until now, these people have been governed is almost like that of the states of Venice or Genoa or Pisa, for they have no overlord. There are many chiefs, all of whom reside in this city, and the country towns contain peasants who are vassals of these lords and each of whom holds his land independently; some have more than others, and for their wars they join together and together they plan and direct them.

It is thought that there must be some form of law for punishing wrongdoers, because one of the natives of this province stole some gold from a Spaniard and I told Magiscasin, who is the greatest of all the chiefs, and they searched for him and pursued him to a city that is close by, called Churultecal,[22] and from there they brought him prisoner and delivered him to me together with the gold and told me to punish him. I thanked them for the diligence they had shown in this matter, and told them that since I was in their land they should punish him as they were accustomed, and that I did not wish to interfere by punishing their own people, for which they thanked me and took him and with a crier who announced his crime publicly had him marched through that great marketplace. They made him stand below a kind of stage which is in the middle of this marketplace, and the crier climbed to the top of the stage and in a loud voice again announced his crime; when they saw him they all beat him over the head with cudgels until he died. Many others we have seen in captivity, where they say they are held for thefts and other crimes.[23] There are in this province, according to the investigation I had made, 150,000 inhabitants to-

gether with another small province which is adjacent, called Guasyncango,[24] and there they live as these do with no natural lord; and these are no less Your Highness's vassals than those of Tascalteca.

Most Catholic Lord, while I was in the camp which I had in the country during the war with this province, six chieftains of rank, vassals of Mutezuma, came to see me with as many as two hundred men in attendance. They told me that they had come on behalf of Mutezuma to inform me how he wished to be Your Highness's vassal and my ally, and that I should say what I wished him to pay as an annual tribute to Your Highness in gold and silver and jewels as well as slaves, cotton, clothing and other things which he possessed; all of which he would give, provided that I did not go to his land, the reason being that it was very barren and lacking in all provisions and it would grieve him if I and those who came with me should be in want. With them he sent me almost a thousand *pesos de oro* and as many cotton garments, such as they wear.

They stayed with me during much of the war and remained until the end, when they saw clearly what Spaniards are capable of and the peace we made with those of this province and how the lords and all the inhabitants offered themselves to the service of Your Sacred Majesty. It appeared that they were rather displeased at this, since they made many and varied attempts to cause trouble between me and those people, saying that they were not speaking the truth nor was the friendship they offered me sincere, but that all this was done so that they might dispel my suspicions and thus betray me with impunity. The people of Tascalteca, on the other hand, warned me many times not to trust Mutezuma's vassals, for they were traitors and everything they did was done with treachery and cunning; and that in this manner they had subjugated the whole land. They warned me of all this as true friends, and inasmuch as they were people who were well acquainted with their behavior. When I saw the discord and animosity between these two peoples I was not a little pleased, for it seemed to further my purpose considerably; consequently I might have the opportunity of

subduing them more quickly, for, as the saying goes, "divided they fall." . . . And I remember that one of the Gospels says, "*Omne regnum in seipsum divisum desolabitur.*" [25] So I maneuvered one against the other and thanked each side for their warnings and told each that I held his friendship to be of more worth than the other's.

After having spent twenty days in this city, those lords, Mutezuma's messengers, who were always with me, asked me to go to a city called Churultecal, which is six leagues from Tascalteca, for the people there were Mutezuma's allies, and there we should know Mutezuma's wishes, whether I was to go to his land or not, and some of their number would go and tell him what I had said, and would return with his reply, although they knew that certain of his messengers were waiting there to speak with me. I told them that I would go and advised them on what day I would leave. And when those of Tascalteca heard what the others had planned with me, and that I had agreed to go to that city with them, the chiefs came to me much distressed and warned me on no account to go, for a trap had been prepared to kill me in that city and all my companions, and that for this purpose Mutezuma had sent from his land (for some part of it bordered with this state) fifty thousand men who were garrisoned two leagues from the city. They had closed the highroad by which they usually traveled, and had made a new one full of holes and with sharpened stakes driven into the ground and covered up so that the horses would fall and cripple themselves; they had walled up many of the streets and piled stones on the roofs of the houses so that after we had entered the city they might capture us without difficulty and do with us as they wished. And if I wished to confirm all they said, I should take notice of the fact that the chiefs of that city had never come to see me, although it was so near, while the people of Guasincango, which is farther away, had come; and I should send for them and I would see that they would refuse to come. I thanked them for their warning and asked them to give me messengers that I might send for them. This they did, and I sent them to ask those chiefs to come to me, for I wished to speak

to them about certain matters on behalf of Your Highness and to explain to them the reason of my coming to this land.

These messengers went and delivered my message to the chiefs of that city, and they sent back two or three persons of no great importance who told me that they had come on behalf of those chiefs who could not come themselves because they were sick; and that I should tell them what I wanted. The people of Tascalteca said that this was a trick; for those messengers were men of little consequence and that I should on no account depart from there until the chiefs of that city had come. I spoke to those messengers and told them that an embassy from so high a prince as Your Sacred Majesty should not be received by persons such as they, and that even their masters were hardly worthy to receive it; therefore the chiefs should appear before me within three days to owe obedience to Your Highness and offer themselves as your vassals. I warned them that if they did not appear within the period I specified, I would march against them and destroy them as rebels who refused to subject themselves to the dominion of Your Highness. For this purpose I sent them a command signed in my name and witnessed by a notary, together with a long account concerning the Royal person of Your Sacred Majesty and of my coming, telling them how these parts and other much greater lands and dominions all belonged to Your Highness, and that those who wished to be Your vassals would be honored and aided, but that on the other hand, those who rebelled would be punished in accordance with the law.

On the following day, some or nearly all the chiefs of the above-mentioned city came and said that if they had not come before it was because the people of that province were their enemies and they dared not enter their land because they did not feel safe there. They believed I had been told things unfavorable to them, but I should not believe what I heard because it was the word of enemies and not the truth, and I should go to their city, for there I would recognize that all I had been told was false and that what

they said was indeed true. From thenceforth they offered themselves as vassals of Your Sacred Majesty and swore to remain so always and to serve and assist in all things that Your Highness commanded them. A notary set all this down through the interpreters which I had. Still I determined to go with them; on the one hand, so as not to show weakness and, on the other, because I hoped to conduct my business with Mutezuma from that city because it bordered on his territory, as I have said, and on the road between the two there is free travel and no frontier restrictions.

When the people of Tascalteca saw my determination it distressed them considerably, and they told me many times that I was mistaken, but since they were vassals of Your Sacred Majesty and my friends they would go with me to assist me in whatever might happen. Although I opposed this and asked them not to come, as it was unnecessary, they followed me with some 100,000 men, all well armed for war, and came within two leagues of the city. After much persuasion on my part they returned, though there remained in my company some five or six thousand of them. That night I slept in a ditch, hoping to divest myself of these people in case they caused trouble in the city, and because it was already late enough and I did not want to enter too late. The following morning, they came out of the city to greet me with many trumpets and drums, including many persons whom they regard as priests in their temples, dressed in traditional vestments and singing after their fashion, as they do in the temples. With such ceremony they led us into the city and gave us very good quarters, where all those in my company were most comfortable. There they brought us food, though not sufficient. On the road we had come across many of the signs which the natives of that province had warned us about, for we found the highroad closed and another made and some holes, though not many; and some of the streets of the city were barricaded, and there were piles of stones on all the roofs. All this made us more alert and more cautious.

There I found several of Mutezuma's messengers who came

and spoke with those who were with me, but to me they said merely that they had come to discover from those others what they had agreed with me, so as to go and inform their master. So after they had spoken with them, they left; and with them went one of the most important of those who had been with me before. During the three days I remained in that city they fed us worse each day, and the lords and principal persons of the city came only rarely to see and speak with me. And being somewhat disturbed by this, my interpreter, who is an Indian woman[26] from Putunchan, which is the great river of which I spoke to Your Majesty in the first letter, was told by another Indian woman and a native of this city that very close by many of Mutezuma's men were gathered, and that the people of the city had sent away their women and children and all their belongings, and were about to fall on us and kill us all; and that if she wished to escape she should go with her and she would shelter here. All this she told to Gerónimo de Aguilar, an interpreter whom I acquired in Yucatán, of whom I have also written to Your Highness; and he informed me. I then seized one of the natives of this city who was passing by and took him aside secretly and questioned him; and he confirmed what the woman and the natives of Tascalteca had told me. Because of this and because of the signs I had observed, I decided to forestall an attack, and I sent for some of the chiefs of the city, saying that I wished to speak with them. I put them in a room and meanwhile warned our men to be prepared, when a harquebus was fired, to fall on the many Indians who were outside our quarters and on those who were inside. And so it was done, that after I had put the chiefs in the room, I left them bound up and rode away and had the harquebus fired, and we fought so hard that in two hours more than three thousand men were killed. So that Your Majesty should realize how well prepared they were, even before I left my quarters they had occupied all the streets and had placed all their people at the ready, although, as we took them by surprise, they were easy to disperse, especially because I had imprisoned their leaders. I ordered some towers and fortified houses

from which they were attacking us to be set on fire. And so I proceeded through the city fighting for five hours or more, leaving our quarters, which were in a strong position, secure. Finally all the people were driven out of the city in many directions, for some five thousand Indians from Tascalteca and another four hundred from Cempoal were assisting me.[27]

When I returned I spoke to those chiefs I had imprisoned, and asked them for what reason they had wished to kill me treacherously. They replied that they were not to blame, for those of Culua, who were Mutezuma's vassals, had forced them to it, and that Mutezuma had garrisoned in a place, which later was found to be a league and a half from there, fifty thousand men for that purpose. But now they knew that they had been tricked, and they asked that one or two of them should be freed so as to fetch into the city the women and children and the belongings which they had outside. They begged me to forgive them their mistake and assured me that they would not be deceived in future, and they would be Your Highness's very true and faithful vassals and my allies. After having spoken to them at length concerning their error, I freed two of them, and on the following day the whole city was reoccupied and full of women and children, all unafraid, as though nothing had happened. Then I set free all the other chiefs on the condition that they promised to serve Your Majesty most loyally.

After fifteen or twenty days which I remained there the city and the land were so pacified and full of people that it seemed as if no one were missing from it, and their markets and trade were carried on as before. I then restored the friendly relations between this city of Curultecal [*sic*] and Tascalteca, which had existed in the recent past, before Mutezuma had attracted them to his friendship with gifts and made them enemies of the others.[28]

This city of Churultecal is situated in a plain and has as many as twenty thousand houses within the main part of the city and as many again in the outskirts. It is an independent state having fixed frontiers; the people owe obedience to no overlord but are

governed like those of Tascalteca. The people of this city wear somewhat more clothes than those of Tascalteca, for the respected citizens among them wear burnooses over their other garments, but they are different from those worn in Africa because they have armholes, although in the shape and the cloth and in the hems they are very similar. Since those troubles, they have all been and continue to be very faithful vassals of Your Majesty and very obedient in whatever I, in Your Royal name, have requested of them, and I believe that they will remain so.

This state is very rich in crops, for it possesses much land, most of it irrigated. The city itself is more beautiful to look at than any in Spain, for it is very well proportioned and has many towers. And I assure Your Highness that from a temple I counted more than 430 towers, and they were all of temples. From here to the coast I have seen no city so fit for Spaniards to live in, for it has water and some common lands suitable for raising cattle, which none of those we saw previously had, for there are so many people living in these parts that not one foot of land is uncultivated, and yet in many places they suffer hardships for lack of bread. And there are many poor people who beg from the rich in the streets as the poor do in Spain and in other civilized places.

I spoke to those of Mutezuma's messengers who were with me of the treachery attempted upon me in that city, and how the chiefs had said that it had been done on Mutezuma's orders, and that I could scarcely believe that such a great lord should send his messengers and such esteemed persons as he had sent me to say that he was my friend, and meanwhile should be seeking a way to attack me by another's hand so that he might avoid responsibility if all did not turn out as he hoped. But since it was true that he did not keep his word or speak the truth, I had changed my plans: whereas, before, I had been going to his land with the intention of seeing him and speaking with him in order to have him as a friend and to converse with him in harmony, now I intended to enter his land at war doing all the harm I could as an enemy, though I regretted it very

much, for I had always wished rather to be his friend and ask his advice on all the things that must be done in this land.

They then replied that they had been with me many days and had known nothing of such an agreement save what they had heard in the city after the fighting was over, and they could not believe that it had been done by order of Mutezuma. They therefore begged me that before I resolved to cast aside his friendship and make war on him as I had said, I should be certain of the truth; I should allow one of them to go and speak with him, and he would return very soon. There are but twenty leagues between the city and the place where Mutezuma lives. I told them I agreed and allowed one of them to go, who, after six days, returned with another who had gone before. And they brought me ten gold plates and fifteen hundred articles of clothing and many provisions of chickens and *panicap*,[29] which is a certain beverage they drink; and they told me that Mutezuma was much distressed at the hostilities that had been attempted in Churultecal because he knew I could not but believe that it had been done by his orders. But he assured me that it was not so, and although it was true that the men who were garrisoned there were his, they had taken part without his orders, induced by those of Churultecal, for they came from two of his provinces, one of which was called Acancingo and the other Yzcucan,[30] which bordered on the territory of that city. Between these there were certain neighborly agreements of mutual assistance, and for this reason they had gone there, and not because he ordered it. But in future I would see by his deeds whether what he said was true or not; even so, he urged me not to trouble to come to his land, for it was very barren and we would go hungry, and that, wherever I might be, I should send to him for what I required and he would provide it for me. I replied that the journey to his land could not be avoided, for I had to send an account of it and of him to Your Majesty; I believed what he said, but as I had perforce to go and see him he should accept the fact and not make any other plans, because it would cause him great harm, and I would be distressed if

any harm befell him. Once he understood my determination to go and see him and his land, he sent to tell me that I was welcome, and that he would accommodate me in that great city where he lived; and he sent to me many of his men to accompany me, for I was now entering his land. These men wished to lead me by a certain road where they must have planned to prepare an ambush, or so it seemed afterwards, for many Spaniards whom I later sent through the land saw the road. There were on it so many bridges and difficult stretches that had I gone that way they could have accomplished their purpose with no trouble. But as God has always shown diligence in guiding the Royal affairs of Your Sacred Majesty ever since Your childhood, and as I and those of my company traveled in Your Royal service, so He showed us another road which, although somewhat rough, was not so dangerous as the one by which they wished to lead us and it happened in the following manner:

Eight leagues from this city of Churultecal are two very high and very remarkable mountains;[31] for at the end of August there is so much snow on top of them that nothing else can be seen, and from one of them, which is the higher, there appears often both by day and by night a great cloud of smoke as big as a house which goes straight as an arrow up into the clouds, and seems to come out with such force that even though there are very strong winds on top of the mountain they cannot turn it. Because I have always wished to render Your Highness very particular account of all the things of this land, I wished to know the explanation of this which seemed to me something of a miracle; so I sent ten of my companions, such as were qualified for such an undertaking, with some natives to guide them; and I urged them to attempt to climb the mountain and discover the secret of the smoke, whence it came, and how. These men went and made every effort to climb the mountain but were not able to on account of the great quantity of snow that is there and the whirlwinds of ash which come out of the mountain, and also because they could not endure the great cold which they encountered there. But they came very close to the summit; so

much so that while they were there the smoke started to come out, with such force and noise, they said, it seemed the whole mountain was falling down, so they descended and brought much snow and icicles for us to see, for this seemed to be something very rare in these parts, so the pilots have believed until now, because of the warm climate; especially as this land is at twenty degrees, which is on the same parallel as the island of Hispaniola, where it is always very hot.

When they were going toward this mountain, they came across a road and asked the natives who were with them where it led, and they replied, to Culua, and that it was a good one and that the other, by which the people of Culua had wished to lead us, was not good. And the Spaniards traveled along it until they had crossed the mountains, between which the road ran, and there they looked down on the plains of Culua and the great city of Temixtitan and the lakes which are in that province, with all of which I will acquaint Your Highness later. So they returned very pleased at having discovered such a good road; and God knows how glad I was about it. After these Spaniards who had gone to see the mountain had returned, and I had questioned both them and the natives about the road they had found, I spoke to those messengers of Mutezuma who came with me to lead me through their land, and told them that I wished to go by that road because it was shorter, and not by the one they had mentioned. They replied that it was true it was shorter and easier, but that they had not taken us by it because we would have had to spend a day in Guasucingo, which was the land of their enemies, and there we would have had none of the things we required as we would in the land of Mutezuma, but that if I wished to go that way they would have provisions brought from the other road. So we left, in some fear lest they should persist in trying to set a trap for us; but as we had announced that that was the road we were to travel by, it did not seem wise to me to leave it or to turn back, for I did not wish them to believe we lacked courage.

On the day I left the city of Churultecal, I traveled four leagues to some villages of the state of Guasucingo, where I was very well received by the natives, who gave me some female slaves and clothing and some small pieces of gold, which in all was very little, because they own very little on account of their being allies of the Tascaltecans and surrounded on all sides by Mutezuma's land, so they have no trade save with the people of their own province; because of this they live very poorly. On the following day I climbed the pass which goes between the two mountains I have mentioned, and on the descent we entered Mutezuma's land through a province of it called Chalco. Two leagues before we reached the villages,[32] I found a dwelling, newly built and so large that I and all those of my company were quartered there very comfortably, although I brought with me more than four thousand Indians, natives of the provinces of Tascalteca, Guasucingo, Churultecal and Cempoal. There was plenty to eat for all, and in all the rooms very great fires and plenty of firewood, for it was very cold on account of our being very close to those two mountains which have so much snow on them.

Certain persons, who seemed to be chieftains, came here to speak with me, one of whom was said to be Mutezuma's brother. He brought me some three thousand *pesos de oro* from Mutezuma, and begged me on his behalf to turn back and not persist in going to his city, for the land was scarce of food and the roads were bad; furthermore, the city was built entirely on the water and I might only enter it by canoe. He also told me of many other inconveniences I would find on the journey. He then said that I had only to say what I wanted and Mutezuma, their lord, would command it to be given me and would likewise agree to give me each year a *certum quid*, which he would send to the coast or wherever else I wished. I received them very well and gave them some of the things from Spain which they hold in great esteem, especially to him who was said to be Mutezuma's brother. To his embassy I replied that were it in my power to return I would do so to please Mutezuma,

but that I had come to this land by Your Majesty's commands, and the principal thing of which I had been ordered to give an account was of Mutezuma and his great city, of which and of whom Your Highness had known for many years. And I told him to beg Mutezuma on my behalf to acquiesce in my journey, because no harm would come of it to his person or his land, rather, it would be to his advantage; and that once I had seen him, should he still not wish me to remain in his company, I would then return; and that we could better decide between ourselves in person how Your Majesty was to be served than through ambassadors, even if they were men in whom we placed the utmost confidence. With this reply they departed. To judge by all we had seen and the preparations which had been made in this dwelling of which I have spoken, it seemed to the Indians that they planned to attack us that night. When I heard this I set up such a guard that once they saw it they changed their minds, and very secretly sent away that night many of their people who had gathered in the woods which were close to the camp, as was seen by our sentries and scouts.

At daybreak I departed for a town which is two leagues from there and is called Amaqueruca.[33] It is in the province of Chalco, which contains, in the principal town and in the villages which are two leagues away, more than twenty thousand inhabitants. In the aforementioned town we were quartered in some very good houses belonging to the lord of the place. And many persons who seemed to be of high rank came to speak with me, saying that Mutezuma, their lord, had sent them to wait for me there and to provide me with all that I might need. The chief of this province and town gave me as many as forty slave girls and three thousand *castellanos*, and, in the two days that we were there, he provided us very adequately with all the food we needed. On the following day, traveling with those messengers of Mutezuma who said that they had come to wait for me, I left and put up for the night four leagues from there in a small town which is by a great lake. Almost half of it is built on the water, and on the land side there is a very

rugged mountain strewn with many stones and boulders; and there we were very well quartered.[34] Here likewise they wished to pit their strength against us, only it seemed that they wished to do it without risk by falling on us at night unawares. But as I was on the alert I anticipated their plans, and that night kept such watch that when dawn broke my men had taken or killed some fifteen or twenty of their spies, some of whom had come in canoes and others of whom had descended from the mountain to see if there was an opportunity of achieving their intention. Consequently, few of them returned to report what they had discovered; and, seeing that we were always so well prepared, they decided to abandon their original intent and treat us well.

On the following morning, as I was preparing to leave the town, ten or twelve lords, of great importance, as I later discovered, came to see me, and among them there was one great chief, a young man of about twenty-five[35] to whom they all showed great reverence, so much so that after he stepped down from the litter in which he came all the others began to clear the stones and straw from the ground in front of him. When they came to where I was they told me they had come on behalf of Mutezuma, their lord, and that he had sent them to accompany me, and he begged me to forgive him for not coming himself to receive me, for he was indisposed; but his city was close by, and since I was determined to go there we should meet and I would learn from him his willingness to serve Your Highness. But still he begged me, if it were possible, not to go there, for I would suffer many hardships and he was very ashamed not to be able to provide for me as he wished. To this end those chiefs urged and earnestly persisted, so much so that finally there was nothing left for them to say, save that they would bar the road if I still insisted on going.

I answered, and appeased them as eloquently as I could, making them understand that no harm could ensue from my coming, but rather much profit. I then gave them some of the things that I had with me and they departed. I followed immediately after

them accompanied by many people who seemed of some account, as afterwards they were shown to be. I continued on the road by the side of that great lake, and one league from the quarters we had just left I saw in the middle of it, well beyond bowshot, a small city, with perhaps some thousand or two thousand inhabitants, constructed entirely on the water and with many towers and no place to enter, or so it seemed from a distance.[36] Another league beyond we entered upon a causeway as wide as a horseman's lance and two-thirds of a league into the middle of the lake, and there we came upon a city, which, although small, was the most beautiful we had seen, both in regard to the well-built houses and towers and in the skill of the foundations, for it is raised on the water.[37] In this city, which has some two thousand inhabitants, they received and fed us very well. The chief and important persons of the place came to me and begged me to rest there for the night. But Mutezuma's messengers told me not to stay, but to go to another city three leagues from there, called Yztapalapa, belonging to a brother of Mutezuma, and I did so.[38] And to leave this city, where we ate, whose name I cannot now recall, we passed along another causeway for a league or more before reaching dry land. When I arrived at the city of Yztapalapa, the lord and that of another city called Caluaacan,[39] which is three leagues distant, came out to meet me together with other chiefs who were waiting there, and they gave me some three or four thousand *castellanos* and some clothing and slave girls, and made me very welcome.

In this city of Yztapalapa live twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is built by the side of a great salt lake, half of it on the water and the other half on dry land. The chief of this city has some new houses which, although as yet unfinished, are as good as the best in Spain; that is, in respect of size and workmanship both in their masonry and woodwork and their floors, and furnishings for every sort of household task; but they have no reliefs or other rich things which are used in Spain but not found here. They have many upper and lower rooms and cool gardens with many trees and

sweet-smelling flowers; likewise there are pools of fresh water, very well made and with steps leading down to the bottom. There is a very large kitchen garden next to the house and overlooking it a gallery with very beautiful corridors and rooms, and in the garden a large reservoir of fresh water, well built with fine stonework, around which runs a well-tiled pavement so wide that four people can walk there abreast. It is four hundred paces square, which is sixteen hundred paces around the edge. Beyond the pavement, toward the wall of the garden, there is a latticework of canes, behind which are all manner of shrubs and scented herbs. Within the pool there are many fish and birds, wild ducks and widgeons, as well as other types of waterfowl; so many that the water is often almost covered with them.

On the following day I left this city and after traveling for half a league came to a causeway which runs through the middle of the lake for two leagues until it reaches the great city of Temixtitan, which is built in the middle of the lake. This causeway is as wide as two lances, and well built, so that eight horsemen can ride abreast. In the two leagues from one end to the other there are three towns, and one of them, which is called Misicalcango, is in the main built on the water, and the other two, which are called Niciaca and Huchilohuchico,[40] are built on the shore, but many of their houses are on the water. The first of these cities has three thousand inhabitants, the second more than six thousand, and the third another four or five thousand, and in all of them there are very good houses and towers, especially the houses of the chiefs and persons of high rank, and the temples or oratories where they keep their idols.

In these cities there is much trading in salt, which they extract from the water of the lake and from the shallow area which is covered by the waters of the lake. They bake it in some way to make cakes, which are sold to the inhabitants and also beyond.

Thus I continued along this causeway, and half a league before the main body of the city of Temixtitan, at the entrance to another causeway which meets this one from the shore, there is a

very strong fortification with two towers ringed by a wall four yards wide with merloned battlements all around commanding both causeways. There are only two gates, one for entering and one for leaving. Here as many as a thousand men came out to see and speak with me, important persons from that city, all dressed very richly after their own fashion. When they reached me, each one performed a ceremony which they practice among themselves; each placed his hand on the ground and kissed it. And so I stood there waiting for nearly an hour until everyone had performed his ceremony. Close to the city there is a wooden bridge ten paces wide across a breach in the causeway to allow the water to flow, as it rises and falls. The bridge is also for the defense of the city, because whenever they so wish they can remove some very long broad beams of which this bridge is made. There are many such bridges throughout the city as later Your Majesty will see in the account I give of it.

After we had crossed this bridge, Mutezuma came to greet us and with him some two hundred lords, all barefoot and dressed in a different costume, but also very rich in their way and more so than the others. They came in two columns, pressed very close to the walls of the street, which is very wide and beautiful and so straight that you can see from one end to the other. It is two-thirds of a league long and has on both sides very good and big houses, both dwellings and temples.

Mutezuma came down the middle of this street with two chiefs, one on his right hand and the other on his left. One of these was that great chief who had come on a litter to speak with me, and the other was Mutezuma's brother, chief of the city of Yztapalapa, which I had left that day. And they were all dressed alike except that Mutezuma wore sandals whereas the others went barefoot; and they held his arm on either side. When we met I dismounted and stepped forward to embrace him, but the two lords who were with him stopped me with their hands so that I should not touch him; and they likewise all performed the ceremony of kissing the earth.

When this was over Mutezuma requested his brother to remain with me and to take me by the arm while he went a little way ahead with the other; and after he had spoken to me all the others in the two columns came and spoke with me, one after another, and then each returned to his column.

When at last I came to speak to Mutezuma himself I took off a necklace of pearls and cut glass that I was wearing and placed it round his neck; after we had walked a little way up the street a servant of his came with two necklaces, wrapped in a cloth, made from red snails' shells, which they hold in great esteem; and from each necklace hung eight shrimps of refined gold almost a span in length. When they had been brought he turned to me and placed them about my neck, and then continued up the street in the manner already described until we reached a very large and beautiful house which had been very well prepared to accommodate us. There he took me by the hand and led me to a great room facing the courtyard through which we entered. And he bade me sit on a very rich throne, which he had had built for him and then left saying that I should wait for him. After a short while, when all those of my company had been quartered, he returned with many and various treasures of gold and silver and featherwork, and as many as five or six thousand cotton garments, all very rich and woven and embroidered in various ways. And after he had given me these things he sat on another throne which they placed there next to the one on which I was sitting, and addressed me in the following way:

"For a long time we have known from the writings of our ancestors that neither I, nor any of those who dwell in this land, are natives of it, but foreigners who came from very distant parts; and likewise we know that a chieftain, of whom they were all vassals, brought our people to this region. And he returned to his native land and after many years came again, by which time all those who had remained were married to native women and had built villages and raised children. And when he wished to lead them away again they would not go nor even admit him as their chief; and so he

departed. And we have always held that those who descended from him would come and conquer this land and take us as their vassals. So because of the place from which you claim to come, namely, from where the sun rises, and the things you tell us of the great lord or king who sent you here, we believe and are certain that he is our natural lord, especially as you say that he has known of us for some time. So be assured that we shall obey you and hold you as our lord in place of that great sovereign of whom you speak; and in this there shall be no offense or betrayal whatsoever. And in all the land that lies in my domain, you may command as you will, for you shall be obeyed; and all that we own is for you to dispose of as you choose. Thus, as you are in your own country and your own house, rest now from the hardships of your journey and the battles which you have fought, for I know full well of all that has happened to you from Puntunchan[41] to here, and I also know how those of Cempoal and Tascalteca have told you much evil of me; believe only what you see with your eyes, for those are my enemies, and some were my vassals, and have rebelled against me at your coming and said those things to gain favor with you. I also know that they have told you the walls of my houses are made of gold, and that the floor mats in my rooms and other things in my household are likewise of gold, and that I was, and claimed to be, a god; and many other things besides. The houses as you see are of stone and lime and clay."

Then he raised his clothes and showed me his body, saying, as he grasped his arms and trunk with his hands, "See that I am of flesh and blood like you and all other men, and I am mortal and substantial. See how they have lied to you? It is true that I have some pieces of gold left to me by my ancestors; anything I might have shall be given to you whenever you ask. Now I shall go to other houses where I live, but here you shall be provided with all that you and your people require, and you shall receive no hurt, for you are in your own land and your own house." [42]

I replied to all he said as I thought most fitting, especially in

making him believe that Your Majesty was he whom they were expecting; and with this he took his leave. When he had gone we were very well provided with chickens, bread, fruit and other requisites, especially for the servicing of our quarters. In this manner I spent six days, very well provisioned with all that was needed and visited by many of those chiefs.

Most Catholic Lord, as I said at the beginning of this account, when I departed from Vera Cruz in search of this Mutezuma I left behind 150 men to complete a fortress which I had begun; I also related how I had left many towns and fortresses in the countryside around that town under Your Highness's Royal command and the natives pacified.

When I was in the city of Churultecal I received letters from the captain whom I had left in the aforementioned town in which he informed of how Qualpopoca, chief of the city which is called Almería, had sent messengers to him to say that he wished to be Your Highness's vassal, and if he had not come before or now to swear allegiance and offer himself and all his lands as he was obliged, it was because he would have to pass through the lands of his enemies and feared that he would be attacked. He therefore asked the captain to send four Spaniards to accompany him, for those through whose land he must pass, knowing his purpose, would not trouble him. The captain, believing what Qualpopoca said to be true, for many others had done the same sort of thing, sent the four Spaniards, but once Qualpopoca had them in his house, he ordered them to be killed in such way as to appear he had not done it. Two of them were killed, but the others escaped, wounded, through the woods.

And so the captain had marched on the city of Almería with fifty Spaniards and the two horsemen, as well as two guns and with some eight or ten thousand of our Indian allies. They had attacked the inhabitants of that city, and with the loss of six or seven Spaniards had captured it and killed many of the inhabitants, driving out the rest. They had set fire to the city and destroyed it, for the

Indians who came with them were the enemies of that city and had taken great care over it. But Qualpopoca, chief of that city, together with other chiefs, allies of his, who had come to assist him, had escaped. From some prisoners he took in that city the captain had discovered who had been defending it and for what reason they had killed the Spaniards whom he had sent. They said that it was done because Mutezuma had commanded Qualpopoca and the others who had come there, as his vassals, that once I had left the town of Vera Cruz to fall upon those who had rebelled and offered themselves to the service of Your Highness, and to seek every possible means of killing the Spaniards whom I had left behind, so that they should not help or favor them.

Most Invincible Lord, six days having passed since we first entered this great city of Temixtitan, during which time I had seen something of it, though little compared with how much there is to see and record, I decided from what I had seen that it would benefit Your Royal service and our safety if Mutezuma were in my power and not in complete liberty, in order that he should not retreat from the willingness he showed to serve Your Majesty; but chiefly because we Spaniards are rather obstinate and persistent, and should we annoy him he might, as he is so powerful, obliterate all memory of us. Furthermore, by having him with me, all those other lands which were subject to him would come more swiftly to the recognition and service of Your Majesty, as later happened. I resolved, therefore, to take him and keep him in the quarters where I was, which were very strong.

Thinking of all the ways and means to capture him without causing a disturbance, I remembered what the captain I had left in Vera Cruz had written to me about the events in the city of Almería, and how all that had happened there had been by order of Mutezuma.[43] I left a careful watch on the crossroads and went to Mutezuma's houses, as I had done at other times, and after having joked and exchanged pleasantries with him and after he had given me some gold jewelry and one of his daughters and other chiefs'

daughters to some of my company, I told him that I knew of what had happened in the city of Nautecal (or Almería, as we called it), and the Spaniards who had been killed there; and that Qualpopoca excused himself by saying that all had been done by Mutezuma's command, and that as his vassal he could not have done otherwise. I told him, however, that I did not believe it was as Qualpopoca had said, but that as he was trying to exculpate himself, I thought that he ought to send for Qualpopoca and for all the other lords concerned in the death of those Spaniards, so that the truth might be known, and they might be punished so that Your Majesty should see clearly his good intentions. For, if he provoked Your Highness's anger, instead of receiving favors as he should, he would suffer much harm on account of what those men had said, but I was well satisfied that the truth was the reverse of what they claimed, and I had confidence in him. He immediately sent for certain of his men to whom he gave a small stone figure in the manner of a seal, which he carried fastened to his arm, and he commanded them to go to the city of Almería, which is sixty or seventy leagues from Temixtitan, and to bring Qualpopoca, and to discover who were the others who had been concerned with the death of the Spaniards and to bring them likewise. If they did not come voluntarily, they were to be brought as prisoners, and if they resisted capture, Mutezuma's messengers were to request of certain communities close to the city, which he indicated to them, to send forces to seize them, but on no account to return without them.

These left at once, and after they had gone I thanked Mutezuma for the great care which he had taken in this matter, for it was my responsibility to account to Your Highness for those Spaniards, but asked that he should stay in my quarters until the truth were known and he was shown to be blameless. I begged him not to take this ill, for he was not to be imprisoned but given all his freedom, and I would not impede the service and command of his domains, and he should choose a room in those quarters where I was, whichever he wished. There he would be very much at his ease and

would certainly be given no cause for annoyance or discomfort, because as well as those of his service my own men would serve him in all he commanded. In this we spent much time reasoning and discussing, all of which is too lengthy to write down and too tedious and too little pertinent to the issue to give Your Highness an account; so I will say only that at last he said he would agree to go with me. Then he ordered the room where he wished to stay to be prepared, and it was very well prepared. When this was done many chiefs came, and removing their garments they placed them under their arms, and walking barefoot they brought a simple litter, and weeping carried him in it in great silence. Thus we proceeded to my quarters with no disturbance in the city, although there was some agitation which, as soon as Mutezuma knew of it, he ordered to cease; and all was quiet and remained so all the time I held Mutezuma prisoner, for he was very much at his ease and kept all his household—which is very great and wonderful, as I will later relate —with him as before. And I and those of my company satisfied his needs as far as was possible.

Fifteen or twenty days after his imprisonment, those he had sent to find Qualpopoca and the others who had killed the Spaniards returned, bringing with them the aforementioned Qualpopoca and one of his sons and fifteen other persons whom they said were of high rank and had been concerned in the killing. And Qualpopoca was borne in a litter like a lord, which indeed he was. When they arrived they were handed over to me and I had them well guarded in chains. After they had confessed to the killing of the Spaniards I had them questioned to see if they were Mutezuma's vassals. Qualpopoca replied asking if there were any other lord of whom he could be a vassal, as much as to say that there was no other, and that he was. Likewise I asked them if what they had done was by Mutezuma's command, and they replied that it was not, although when the sentence that they should be burnt was carried out, they said unanimously that it was true that Mutezuma had

ordered it to be done, and by his command they had done it. Thus they were burnt publicly in a square, with no disturbance whatsoever. But on the day of their execution, because they had confessed that Mutezuma had ordered them to kill those Spaniards, I ordered him to be put in irons, from which he received no small fright, although later that same day, after having spoken with him, I had them removed, and he was very pleased.

From then on I did all I could to please him, especially by announcing publicly to all the natives, the chiefs as well as those who came to see me, that it was Your Majesty's wish that Mutezuma should remain in power, acknowledging the sovereignty which Your Highness held over him, and that they could best serve Your Highness by obeying him and holding him for their lord, as they had before I came to this land. So well did I treat him and so much satisfaction did he receive from me that many times I offered him his liberty, begging him to return to his house, and each time he told me that he was pleased to be where he was and he did not wish to go, for he lacked nothing, just as if he were in his own home. Also, his going might permit certain chiefs, his vassals, to induce or oblige him to do something against his will and prejudicial to the service of Your Highness; for he had resolved to serve Your Majesty in all that he could. As long as these chiefs were informed of all he wanted he was content to remain there, as he might excuse himself, should they wish to demand anything of him, by replying that he was not at liberty. Many times he asked my permission to go and spend some time at certain residences which he owned both inside and outside the city, and not once did I refuse him. Many times he went with five or six Spaniards to entertain himself one or two leagues beyond the city, and he always returned very happy and content to the quarters where I held him. Whenever he went out he gave many gifts of jewels and clothing, both to the Spaniards who escorted him and to the natives by whom he was always so well attended that when the least number went with him there were

more than three thousand men, most of whom were chiefs and persons of high rank; he also gave many banquets and entertainments, of which those who went with him had much to relate.

After he had demonstrated very fully to me how great was his desire to serve Your Highness, I begged him to show me the mines from which they obtained the gold, so that I could give Your Majesty a more complete account of the things of this land, and he replied that he would be very pleased to do so. Then he called certain of his servants and sent them in pairs to four provinces where he said it was obtained; and he asked me to send Spaniards with them to see it being mined, so I gave him two Spaniards to accompany each two of his men.

Some went to a province which is called Cuçula,[44] and is eighty leagues from the great city of Temixtitan. The natives of that province are Mutezuma's vassals, and there the Spaniards were shown three rivers, and from these and others they brought me samples of gold, of good quality, although extracted with little skill, for they had no tools save that which the Indians traditionally use. On their journey these Spaniards passed through three provinces with very beautiful lands and many towns and cities and other communities in great numbers, and with so many and such good buildings that they said in Spain there could be none better. In particular they said that they had seen fortified lodgings larger and stronger and better built than the Burgos Castle. The people of one of these provinces, which is called Tamazulapa,[45] wore more clothes than any others we have seen, and as it seemed to them, well designed.

Some of the others went to a province called Malinaltebeque,[46] which is likewise seventy leagues or so from the capital, and more toward the coast. And likewise they brought me samples of gold from a great river which passes through there. Others went to another land which is upstream of this river and is of a people who speak a different language from that of Culua; the land is called Tenis,[47] and the lord of the land is called Coatelicamat. Because he

has his lands among some very high and steep mountains and also because the people of that province are very warlike and fight with lances some twenty-five or thirty spans long, he is not subject to Mutezuma.

Thus, because these people were not Mutezuma's vassals, the messengers who went with the Spaniards dared not enter the land without first making their presence known to the lord thereof and asking his permission, saying that they came with Spaniards to see the gold mines he had in his land, and they begged him on my behalf and on behalf of Mutezuma their lord to let them pass. Coatelicamat replied that he was very pleased for the Spaniards to enter his land and see the mines and all else they wished to see, but that the people of Culua, who are Mutezuma's subjects, might not enter because they were his enemies. The Spaniards were somewhat undecided whether to enter alone or not, because their companions had warned them not to go, saying that they would be killed, with which intention the Culuans had been denied entry. At last they resolved to go alone and were very well received by the lord and all those of his land; and they were shown seven or eight rivers from which they were told that the gold was taken, and in their presence the Indians extracted some; and they brought me back samples from all the rivers. With these Spaniards the aforementioned Coatelicamat sent several of his messengers to offer me his person and his land in the service of Your Sacred Majesty; and he also sent me certain gifts of gold and of native clothing. The others went to another province called Tuchitebeque,[48] which lies in the same direction toward the coast, twelve leagues from the province of Malinaltebeque, where, as I have said, there is gold, and there they were shown other rivers from which they also brought samples of gold.

According to the Spaniards who went there, that province of Malinaltebeque was very well provided for setting up farms. I therefore asked Mutezuma to have a farm built there for Your Majesty; and he was so diligent in all this that in two months about

ninety-five bushels of maize were sown, and fifteen of beans and two thousand cacao plants. Cacao is a fruit like the almond, which they grind and hold to be of such value that they use it as money throughout the land and with it buy all they need in the markets and other places. They built four very good houses, in one of which, apart from the rooms, they made a water tank, and in it put five hundred ducks, which here they value highly, and pluck them every year, because they use their feathers to make clothes. And they put there as many as fifteen hundred chickens and other things for dairy farming, which the Spaniards who saw them many times valued at twenty thousand *pesos de oro*.

Likewise I asked Mutezuma to tell me if there was on the coast any river or cove where the ships that came might enter and be safe. He replied that he did not know, but would have them make a map of all the coast for me with all its rivers and coves; and that I should send some Spaniards to see it, and he would give me guides to accompany them; and so it was done. On the following day they brought me a cloth with all the coast painted on it, and there appeared a river which ran to the sea, and according to the representation was wider than all the others. This river seemed to pass through the mountains which we called Sanmin,[49] and are so high they form a bay which the pilots believed divided a province called Mazamalco. He told me to decide whom to send, and he would provide the means and the guide to show it to them. Then I chose ten men, and among them some pilots and other persons who knew about the sea. With the provisions which he had given them, they departed and traveled up all the coast from the port of Calchilmeca,[50] which is called San Juan, where I landed; and they went more than seventy leagues along the coast and nowhere did they find a river or bay where any ships might enter, although on that coast there were many and very large ones and they sounded them all from canoes. Finally they reached the province of Quacalcalco,[51] where the aforementioned river is to be found.

The ruler of that province, who is called Tuchintecla, re-

ceived them very well and gave them canoes to explore the river, and in the shallowest part of its mouth they found two and a half fathoms and more. They then went upriver for twelve leagues, and the shallowest they found there was five or six fathoms; and from what they saw of it they concluded that it continued for more than thirty leagues at that depth. On the banks of this river are many great towns, and all the province is very flat and fertile, and abounds in all manner of crops, and the population is almost without number.

The people of this province are not vassals or subjects of Mutezuma; rather his enemies. Thus when the Spaniards arrived the lord of the land sent to say that the Culuans might not enter his domain because they were his enemies. When the Spaniards returned to me with this report, he sent with them several messengers who brought gold jewelry, and tigerskins and featherwork and precious stones and clothing; they told me, on his behalf, that Tuchintecla,[52] their lord, had known of me for some time, because the people of Puchunchan [*sic*]—which is the river of Grijalba—who are his allies, had told him how I had passed by there and had fought with them because they would not allow me to enter their town; and how afterwards they became our friends and Your Majesty's vassals. He likewise offered himself to Your Royal service, together with all his lands, and begged me to take him as a friend, on condition that the Culuans should not enter his land, although I might see all that he had which might be of service to Your Highness, and that each year he would give all that I indicated.

When the Spaniards who had been to that province told me that it was suitable for settling and that they had found a port there, I was greatly pleased, for ever since I arrived in this land I have been searching for a port, so that I might settle here, but I had never found one, nor is there one on all the coast from the river of San[t] Antón, which is next to the Grijalba, to the Pánuco, which is down coast, where certain Spaniards went to settle by order of Francisco de Garay, of which I will inform Your Highness later.

In order to acquaint myself better with the state of that province and port and with the intentions of the inhabitants and other things pertinent to settling, I sent back certain members of my company, who had some experience in these matters, to discover all this. They went with the messengers which that lord Tuchintecla had sent me and with several things which I gave them for him. When they arrived they were very well received by him and they again sounded the port and the river and looked to see what sites there were on which to build a town. They brought me a very long and accurate report of all this and said that there was everything we required for settling, and the lord of the province was very pleased and very willing to serve Your Highness. When they arrived with this report I sent a captain with 150 men to lay out the town and to build a fort, for the lord of that province had offered to do it and anything else I might need or demand of him; and he even built six dwellings there himself, saying that he was very pleased that we had gone there to settle in his land.

Most Powerful Lord, in the preceding chapters, I told how at the time I was going to the great city of Temixtitan, a great chief had come out to meet me on behalf of Mutezuma, and, as I learnt afterwards, he was a very close kinsman of Mutezuma and ruled a province called Aculuacan, next to the territory of Mutezuma. The capital of it is a very great city which stands beside the salt lake; and by canoe it is six leagues from there to the city of Temixtitan, and by land ten. This city is called Tesuico, and there are as many as thirty thousand inhabitants in it.[53] It has very remarkable houses and temples and shrines, all very large and well built; and there are very large markets.

In addition to this city he has two others, one of which is three leagues from Tesuico and is called Acuruman, and another six leagues away which is called Otumpa.[54] Each of these has three or four thousand inhabitants. The aforementioned province and dominion of Aculuacan has many other villages and hamlets and very good lands and farms. This province borders on one side with

the province of Tascalteca, of which I have already spoken to Your Majesty. After Mutezuma had been imprisoned, the lord of this province, who is called Cacamazin,[55] rebelled both against the service of Your Highness, to which he had pledged himself, and against Mutezuma. Although he was many times required to obey Your Majesty's Royal commands, he would not, even though, as well as the demands I sent, Mutezuma sent orders also. On the contrary, he replied that if we required anything from him we should go and get it, and that there we should see what sort of man he was and what service he was obliged to render! According to the information I received, he had collected together a large force of warriors who were all very well prepared for war.

As neither warnings nor commands could persuade him, I spoke to Mutezuma and asked him what he thought we should do so that his rebellion should not go unpunished. To which Mutezuma replied that to try and take him by force would be very dangerous, for he was a very great lord and had many troops and that he could not be defeated without the risk of a large number being killed. But he, Mutezuma, had in Cacamazin's land many important persons who received salaries from him, and he would speak to them so as to win some of Cacamazin's people over to our side; and once this had been done we might take him in safety. So it was that Mutezuma made his arrangements in such a way that those persons induced Cacamazin to meet them in the city of Tesuico to settle matters concerning their status as persons of rank, and because it grieved them to see that he was acting in a way which might lead to his downfall.

They met in a beautiful house belonging to Cacamazin himself, which was by the lakeside and so built that canoes might pass underneath it. There they had canoes secretly prepared and many men ready lest Cacamazin attempt to resist capture. Once he was in their presence, all those lords took him before his own people realized it, and put him into those canoes, and went out onto the lake, from whence they went to the great city which is six leagues from

there, as I have said. When they arrived they placed him in a litter, as his position demanded, and as they were accustomed to do, and brought him to me; and I had irons put on him and ordered him to be closely guarded. And on Mutezuma's advice I, in Your Highness's name, appointed a son of his, called Cocuzcacin,[56] as ruler of that province. And I made all the communities and chiefs of that province and dominion obey him as their lord until such time as Your Highness might make other arrangements. Thus it was done, and from then on they all took him as their lord and obeyed him as they had Cacamazin; and he was obedient in all that I, on Your Majesty's behalf, commanded him.

A few days after the imprisonment of this Cacamazin, Mutezuma summoned to an assembly all the chiefs of the cities and lands thereabouts. When they were gathered he sent for me to join him, and as soon as I arrived addressed them in the following manner:

"My brothers and friends, you know that for a long time you and your forefathers have been subjects and vassals of my ancestors and of me, and that you have been always well treated and honored by us, and likewise you have done all that loyal and true vassals are obliged to do for their rightful lords. I also believe that you have heard from your ancestors how we are not natives of this land, but came from another far away, and how they were brought by a lord who left them there, whose vassals they all were. After many years this lord returned but found that our ancestors had already settled in this land and married the native women and had had many children; consequently, they did not wish to return with him and refused to welcome him as their sovereign. He departed, saying that he would return or would send such forces as would compel them to serve him. You well know that we have always expected him, and according to the things this captain has said of the Lord and King who sent him here, and according to the direction whence he says he comes, I am certain, and so must you be also, that this is the same lord for whom we have been waiting, especially as he says that there they know of us. And because our predecessors

did not receive their lord as they were bound, let us now receive him and give thanks also to our gods that what we have so long awaited has come to pass in our time. And I beg you—since all this is well known to you—that just as until now you have obeyed me and held me as your rightful lord, from now on you should obey this great King, for he is your rightful lord, and as his representative acknowledge this his captain. And all the tributes and services which, until now, you have rendered to me, render now to him, for I also must contribute and serve in all that he may command; and in addition to doing your duty and all that you are obliged to do, you will give me great satisfaction thereby."

All this he said weeping with all the tears and sighs that a man is able; and likewise all the other lords who were listening wept so much that for a long time they were unable to reply. And I can assure Your Holy Majesty that among the Spaniards who heard this discourse there was not one who did not have great pity for him.

After they had restrained their tears somewhat, those chiefs replied that they held him as their lord and had sworn to do all he commanded, and that for this reason and on account of what he had said they were very pleased to obey, and from then on they submitted themselves as Your Highness's vassals. Then all together and each one by himself they promised to obey and comply with all that was demanded of them in the name of Your Majesty, as true and loyal vassals must do, and to provide all the tributes and services which formerly they paid to Mutezuma and whatever else might be required of them in Your Highness's name. All of this was said before a notary public, who set it down in a formal document, which I asked for, attested by the presence of many Spaniards who served as witnesses.

When the submission of these chiefs to Your Majesty's service was complete, I spoke one day with Mutezuma and told him that Your Highness had need of gold for certain works You had ordered to be done. I asked him therefore to send some of his people together with some Spaniards to the countries and dwellings

of those chiefs who had submitted themselves, to ask them to render to Your Majesty some part of what they owned, for, as well as the need which Your Highness had, they were now beginning to serve Your Highness, who would have thereby higher regard for their good intentions. I also asked him to give me something of what he possessed, for I wished to send it to Your Majesty, as I had sent the gold and other things with the messengers. Later he asked for the Spaniards he wished to send, and by twos and fives dispatched them to many provinces and cities, whose names I do not remember, because I have lost my writings, and they were so many and so varied, and, moreover, because some of them were eighty and a hundred leagues from the great city of Temixtitan. With them he sent some of his own people, and ordered them to go to the chiefs of those provinces and cities and tell them I demanded that each of them should give me a certain quantity of gold. And so it was done, and all the chiefs to whom he sent gave very fully of all that was asked of them, both in jewelry and in ingots and gold and silver sheets, and other things which they had.

When all was melted down that could be, Your Majesty's fifth came to more than 32,400 *pesos de oro*, exclusive of the gold and silver jewelry, and the featherwork and precious stones and many other valuable things which I designated for Your Holy Majesty and set aside; all of which might be worth a hundred thousand ducats or more.[57] All these, in addition to their intrinsic worth, are so marvelous that considering their novelty and strangeness they are priceless; nor can it be believed that any of the princes of this world, of whom we know, possess any things of such high quality.

And lest Your Highness should think all this is an invention, let me say that all the things of which Mutezuma has ever heard, both on land and in the sea, they have modeled, very realistically, either in gold and silver or in jewels or feathers, and with such perfection that they seem almost real. He gave many of these for Your Highness, without counting other things which I drew for him and which he had made in gold, such as holy images, crucifixes, medal-

lions, ornaments, necklaces and many other of our things. Of the silver Your Highness received a hundred or so marks, which I had the natives make into plates, both large and small, and bowls and cups and spoons which they fashioned as skillfully as we could make them understand. In addition to this, Mutezuma gave me many garments of his own, which even considering that they were all of cotton and not silk were such that in all the world there could be none like them, nor any of such varied and natural colors or such workmanship. Amongst them were very marvelous clothes for men and women, and there were bedspreads which could not have been compared even with silk ones. There were also other materials, like tapestries which would serve for hallways and churches, and counterpanes for beds, of feathers and cotton, in various colors and also very wonderful, and many other things which as there are so many and so varied I do not know how to describe them to Your Majesty.

He also gave me a dozen blowpipes,[58] such as he uses, whose perfection I am likewise unable to describe to Your Highness, for they were all painted in the finest paints and perfect colors, in which were depicted all manner of small birds and animals and trees and flowers and several other things. Round their mouthpieces and muzzles was a band of gold a span in depth, and round the middle another, finely decorated. He also gave me pouches of gold mesh for the pellets and told me that he would give me pellets of gold as well. He also gave me some gold bullet-molds[59] and many other things which are too numerous to describe.

Most Powerful Lord, in order to give an account to Your Royal Excellency of the magnificence, the strange and marvelous things of this great city of Temixtitan and of the dominion and wealth of this Mutezuma, its ruler, and of the rites and customs of the people, and of the order there is in the government of the capital as well as in the other cities of Mutezuma's dominions, I would need much time and many expert narrators. I cannot describe one hundredth part of all the things which could be mentioned, but, as

best I can, I will describe some of those I have seen which, although badly described, will, I well know, be so remarkable as not to be believed, for we who saw them with our own eyes could not grasp them with our understanding. But Your Majesty may be certain that if my account has any fault it will be, in this as in all else of which I give account to Your Highness, too short rather than too long, because it seems to me right that to my Prince and Lord I should state the truth very clearly without adding anything which might be held to embroider it or diminish it.

Before I begin to describe this great city and the others which I mentioned earlier, it seems to me, so that they may be better understood, that I should say something of Mesyco, which is Mutezuma's principal domain and the place where this city and the others which I have mentioned are to be found.[60] This province is circular and encompassed by very high and very steep mountains, and the plain is some seventy leagues in circumference: in this plain there are two lakes which cover almost all of it, for a canoe may travel fifty leagues around the edges. One of these lakes is of fresh water and the other, which is the larger, is of salt water.[61] A small chain of very high hills which cuts across the middle of the plain separates these two lakes. At the end of this chain a narrow channel which is no wider than a bowshot between these hills and the mountains joins the lakes. They travel between one lake and the other and between the different settlements which are on the lakes in their canoes without needing to go by land. As the salt lake rises and falls with its tides as does the sea, whenever it rises, the salt water flows into the fresh as swiftly as a powerful river, and on the ebb the fresh water passes to the salt.

This great city of Temixtitan is built on the salt lake, and no matter by what road you travel there are two leagues from the main body of the city to the mainland. There are four artificial causeways leading to it, and each is as wide as two cavalry lances. The city itself is as big as Seville or Córdoba. The main streets are very wide and very straight; some of these are on the land, but the

rest and all the smaller ones are half on land, half canals where they paddle their canoes. All the streets have openings in places so that the water may pass from one canal to another. Over all these openings, and some of them are very wide, there are bridges made of long and wide beams joined together very firmly and so well made that on some of them ten horsemen may ride abreast.

Seeing that if the inhabitants of this city wished to betray us they were very well equipped for it by the design of the city, for once the bridges had been removed they could starve us to death without our being able to reach the mainland, as soon as I entered the city I made great haste to build four brigantines, and completed them in a very short time. They were such as could carry three hundred men to the land and transport the horses whenever we might need them.

This city has many squares where trading is done and markets are held continuously. There is also one square twice as big as that of Salamanca,[62] with arcades all around, where more than sixty thousand people come each day to buy and sell, and where every kind of merchandise produced in these lands is found; provisions as well as ornaments of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, stones, shells, bones, and feathers. They also sell lime, hewn and unhewn stone, adobe bricks, tiles, and cut and uncut woods of various kinds. There is a street where they sell game and birds of every species found in this land: chickens, partridges and quails, wild ducks, flycatchers, widgeons, turtledoves, pigeons, cane birds, parrots, eagles and eagle owls, falcons, sparrow hawks and kestrels, and they sell the skins of some of these birds of prey with their feathers, heads and claws. They sell rabbits and hares, and stags and small gelded dogs which they breed for eating.[63]

There are streets of herbalists where all the medicinal herbs and roots found in the land are sold. There are shops like apothecaries', where they sell ready-made medicines as well as liquid ointments and plasters. There are shops like barbers' where they have their hair washed and shaved, and shops where they sell food and

drink. There are also men like porters to carry loads.[64] There is much firewood and charcoal, earthenware braziers and mats of various kinds like mattresses for beds, and other, finer ones, for seats and for covering rooms and hallways. There is every sort of vegetable, especially onions, leeks, garlic, common cress and watercress, borage, sorrel, teasels and artichokes; and there are many sorts of fruit, among which are cherries and plums like those in Spain.

They sell honey, wax, and a syrup made from maize canes, which is as sweet and syrupy as that made from the sugar cane. They also make syrup from a plant which in the islands is called *maguey*,[65] which is much better than most syrups, and from this plant they also make sugar and wine, which they likewise sell. There are many sorts of spun cotton, in hanks of every color, and it seems like the silk market at Granada, except here there is a much greater quantity. They sell as many colors for painters as may be found in Spain and all of excellent hues. They sell deerskins, with and without the hair, and some are dyed white or in various colors. They sell much earthenware, which for the most part is very good; there are both large and small pitchers, jugs, pots, tiles, and many other sorts of vessel, all of good clay and most of them glazed and painted. They sell maize both as grain and as bread and it is better both in appearance and in taste than any found in the islands or on the mainland. They sell chicken and fish pies, and much fresh and salted fish, as well as raw and cooked fish. They sell hen and goose eggs, and eggs of all the other birds I have mentioned, in great number, and they sell *tortillas* made from eggs.

Finally, besides those things which I have already mentioned, they sell in the market everything else to be found in this land, but they are so many and so varied that because of their great number and because I cannot remember many of them nor do I know what they are called I shall not mention them. Each kind of merchandise is sold in its own street without any mixture whatever; they are very particular in this. Everything is sold by number and

size, and until now I have seen nothing sold by weight. There is in this great square a very large building like a courthouse, where ten or twelve persons sit as judges. They preside over all that happens in the markets, and sentence criminals. There are in this square other persons who walk among the people to see what they are selling and the measures they are using; and they have been seen to break some that were false.

There are, in all districts of this great city, many temples or houses for their idols. They are all very beautiful buildings, and in the important ones there are priests of their sect who live there permanently; and, in addition to the houses for the idols, they also have very good lodgings. All these priests dress in black and never comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave; and all the sons of the persons of high rank, both the lords and honored citizens also, enter the priesthood and wear the habit from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken away to be married; this occurs more among the first-born sons, who are to inherit, than among the others. They abstain from eating things, and more at some times of the year than at others; and no woman is granted entry nor permitted inside these places of worship.

Amongst these temples there is one, the principal one, whose great size and magnificence no human tongue could describe, for it is so large that within the precincts, which are surrounded by a very high wall, a town of some five hundred inhabitants could easily be built. All round inside this wall there are very elegant quarters with very large rooms and corridors where their priests live. There are as many as forty towers, all of which are so high that in the case of the largest there are fifty steps leading up to the main part of it; and the most important of these towers is higher than that of the cathedral of Seville. They are so well constructed in both their stone and woodwork that there can be none better in any place, for all the stonework inside the chapels where they keep their idols is in high relief, with figures and little houses, and the woodwork is likewise

of relief and painted with monsters and other figures and designs. All these towers are burial places of chiefs, and the chapels therein are each dedicated to the idol which he venerated.

There are three rooms within this great temple for the principal idols, which are of remarkable size and stature and decorated with many designs and sculptures, both in stone and in wood. Within these rooms are other chapels, and the doors to them are very small. Inside there is no light whatsoever; there only some of the priests may enter, for inside are the sculptured figures of the idols, although, as I have said, there are also many outside.

The most important of these idols, and the ones in whom they have most faith, I had taken from their places and thrown down the steps; and I had those chapels where they were cleaned, for they were full of the blood of sacrifices; and I had images of Our Lady and of other saints put there, which caused Mutezuma and the other natives some sorrow. First they asked me not to do it, for when the communities learnt of it they would rise against me, for they believed that those idols gave them all their worldly goods, and that if they were allowed to be ill treated, they would become angry and give them nothing and take the fruit from the earth leaving the people to die of hunger. I made them understand through the interpreters how deceived they were in placing their trust in those idols which they had made with their hands from unclean things. They must know that there was only one God, Lord of all things, who had created heaven and earth and all else and who made all of us; and He was without beginning or end, and they must adore and worship only Him, not any other creature or thing. And I told them all I knew about this to dissuade them from their idolatry and bring them to the knowledge of God our Saviour. All of them, especially Mutezuma, replied that they had already told me how they were not natives of this land, and that as it was many years since their forefathers had come here, they well knew that they might have erred somewhat in what they believed, for they had left their native land so long ago; and as I had only

recently arrived from there, I would better know the things they should believe, and should explain to them and make them understand, for they would do as I said was best. Mutezuma and many of the chieftains of the city were with me until the idols were removed, the chapel cleaned and the images set up, and I urged them not to sacrifice living creatures to the idols, as they were accustomed, for, as well as being most abhorrent to God, Your Sacred Majesty's laws forbade it and ordered that he who kills shall be killed. And from then on they ceased to do it, and in all the time I stayed in that city I did not see a living creature killed or sacrificed.

The figures of the idols in which these people believe are very much larger than the body of a big man. They are made of dough from all the seeds and vegetables which they eat, ground and mixed together, and bound with the blood of human hearts which those priests tear out while still beating. And also after they are made they offer them more hearts and anoint their faces with the blood. Everything has an idol dedicated to it, in the same manner as the pagans who in antiquity honored their gods. So they have an idol whose favor they ask in war and another for agriculture; and likewise for each thing they wish to be done well they have an idol which they honor and serve.[66]

There are in the city many large and beautiful houses, and the reason for this is that all the chiefs of the land, who are Mutezuma's vassals, have houses in the city and live there for part of the year;[67] and in addition there are many rich citizens who likewise have very good houses. All these houses have very large and very good rooms and also very pleasant gardens of various sorts of flowers both on the upper and lower floors.

Along one of the causeways to this great city run two aqueducts made of mortar. Each one is two paces wide and some six feet deep, and along one of them a stream of very good fresh water, as wide as a man's body, flows into the heart of the city and from this they all drink. The other, which is empty, is used when they wish to clean the first channel. Where the aqueducts cross the bridges,

the water passes along some channels which are as wide as an ox; and so they serve the whole city.

Canoes paddle through all the streets selling the water; they take it from the aqueduct by placing the canoes beneath the bridges where those channels are, and on top there are men who fill the canoes and are paid for their work. At all the gateways to the city and at the places where these canoes are unloaded, which is where the greater part of the provisions enter the city, there are guards in huts who receive a *certum quid* of all that enters. I have not yet discovered whether this goes to the chief or to the city, but I think to the chief, because in other markets in other parts I have seen this tax paid to the ruler of the place. Every day, in all the markets and public places there are many workmen and craftsmen of every sort, waiting to be employed by the day. The people of this city are dressed with more elegance and are more courtly in their bearing than those of the other cities and provinces, and because Mutezuma and all those chieftains, his vassals, are always coming to the city, the people have more manners and politeness in all matters. Yet so as not to tire Your Highness with the description of the things of this city (although I would not complete it so briefly), I will say only that these people live almost like those in Spain, and in as much harmony and order as there, and considering that they are barbarous and so far from the knowledge of God and cut off from all civilized nations, it is truly remarkable to see what they have achieved in all things.

Touching Mutezuma's service and all that was remarkable in his magnificence and power, there is so much to describe that I do not know how to begin even to recount some part of it; for, as I have already said, can there be anything more magnificent than that this barbarian lord should have all the things to be found under the heavens in his domain, fashioned in gold and silver and jewels and feathers; and so realistic in gold and silver that no smith in the world could have done better, and in jewels so fine that it is impossible to imagine with what instruments they were cut so perfectly;

and those in feathers more wonderful than anything in wax or embroidery.

I have not yet been able to discover the extent of the domain of Mutezuma, but in the two hundred leagues which his messengers traveled to the north and to the south of this city his orders were obeyed, although there were some provinces in the middle of these lands which were at war with him. But from what I have discovered, and what he has told me, I imagine that his kingdom is almost as big as Spain, for he sent messengers from the region of Putunchan, which is the Grijalba River, seventy leagues to a city which is called Cumantan commanding the inhabitants thereof to offer themselves as vassals to Your Majesty, and that city is 230 leagues from the capital; the remaining 150 leagues have been explored by Spaniards on my orders. The greater part of the chiefs of these lands and provinces, especially those from close by, resided, as I have said, for most of the year in this capital city, and all or most of their eldest sons were in the service of Mutezuma. In all these domains he had fortresses garrisoned with his own people, and governors and officials to collect the tributes which each province must pay; and they kept an account of whatever each one was obliged to give in characters and drawings on the paper which they make, which is their writing.[68] Each of these provinces paid appropriate tributes in accordance with the nature of the land; thus Mutezuma received every sort of produce from those provinces, and he was so feared by all, both present and absent, that there could be no ruler in the world more so.

He had, both inside the city and outside, many private residences, each one for a particular pastime, and as well made as I can describe—as is befitting so great a ruler. The palace inside the city in which he lived was so marvelous that it seems to me impossible to describe its excellence and grandeur. Therefore, I shall not attempt to describe it at all, save to say that in Spain there is nothing to compare with it.

He also had another house, only a little less magnificent than

this, where there was a very beautiful garden with balconies over it; and the facings and flagstones were all of jasper and very well made. In this house there were rooms enough for two great princes with all their household. There were also ten pools in which were kept all the many and varied kinds of water bird found in these parts, all of them domesticated. For the sea birds there were pools of salt water, and for river fowl of fresh water, which was emptied from time to time for cleaning and filled again from the aqueducts. Each species of bird was fed with the food which it eats when wild, so that those which eat fish were given fish, and those which eat worms, worms, and those which eat maize or smaller grain were likewise given those things. And I assure Your Highness that the birds which eat only fish were given 250 pounds each day, which were taken from the salt lake. There were three hundred men in charge of these birds who knew no other trade, as there were others who were skilled only in healing sick birds. Above these pools were corridors and balconies, all very finely made, where Mutezuma came to amuse himself by watching them. There was also in this house a room in which were kept men, women and children who had, from birth, white faces and bodies and white hair, eyebrows and eyelashes.

He had another very beautiful house, with a large patio, laid with pretty tiles in the manner of a chessboard. There were rooms nine feet high and as large as six paces square. The roofs of each of these houses are half covered with tiles while the other half is covered by well-made latticework. In each of these rooms there was kept a bird of prey of every sort that is found in Spain, from the kestrel to the eagle, and many others which have never been seen there. There were large numbers of each of these birds, and in the covered part of each of the rooms was a stick like a perch, and another outside beneath the latticework, and they were on one during the night or when it rained and on the other during the day when the sun was out. All these birds were given chickens to eat each day and no other food. In this house there were several large

low rooms filled with big cages, made from heavy timbers and very well joined. In all, or in most of them, were large numbers of lions, tigers, wolves, foxes and cats of various kinds which were given as many chickens to eat as they needed. Another three hundred men looked after these birds and animals. There was yet another house where lived many deformed men and women, among which were dwarfs and hunchbacks and others with other deformities; and each manner of monstrosity had a room to itself; and likewise there were people to look after them. I shall not mention the other entertainments which he has in this city, for they are very many and of many different kinds.

He was served in this manner: Each day at dawn there arrived at his house six hundred chiefs and principal persons, some of whom sat down while others wandered about the rooms and corridors of the house; there they passed the time talking but without ever entering his presence. The servants of these persons and those who accompanied them filled two or three large courtyards and the street, which was very big. And they remained all day until nightfall. When they brought food to Mutezuma they also provided for all those chiefs to each according to his rank; and their servants and followers were also given to eat. The pantry and the wine stores were left open each day for those who wished to eat and drink. Three or four hundred boys came bringing the dishes, which were without number, for each time he lunched or dined, he was brought every kind of food: meat, fish, fruit and vegetables. And because the climate is cold, beneath each plate and bowl they brought a brazier with hot coals so that the food should not go cold. They placed all these dishes together in a great room where he ate, which was almost always full. The floors were well covered and clean and he sat on a finely made, small leather cushion. While he ate, there were five or six old men, who sat apart from him; and to them he gave a portion of all he was eating. One of the servants set down and removed the plates of food and called to others who were farther away for all that was required. Before and after the meal they gave

him water for his hands and a towel which once used was never used again, and likewise with the plates and bowls, for when they brought more food they always used new ones, and the same with the braziers.

He dressed each day in four different garments and never dressed again in the same ones. All the chiefs who entered his house went barefoot, and those he called before him came with their heads bowed and their bodies in a humble posture, and when they spoke to him they did not look him in the face; this was because they held him in great respect and reverence. I know that they did it for this reason because certain of those chiefs reproved the Spaniards, saying that when they spoke to me they did so openly without hiding their faces, which seemed to them disrespectful and lacking in modesty. When Mutezuma left the palace, which was not often, all those who went with him and those whom he met in the streets turned away their faces so that in no manner should they look on him; and all the others prostrated themselves until he had passed. One of those chiefs always walked before him carrying three long thin rods, which I think was done so that all should know he was coming. When he descended from the litter he took one of these in his hand and carried it to wherever he was going. The forms and ceremonies with which this lord was attended are so many and so varied that I would need more space than that which I have at present to recount them, and a better memory with which to recall them, for I do not think that the sultans nor any of the infidel lords of whom we have heard until now are attended with such ceremony.

While in this great city I was seeing to the things which I thought were required in the service of Your Sacred Majesty and subduing and persuading to Your service many provinces and lands containing very many and very great cities, towns and fortresses. I was discovering mines and finding out many of the secrets of Mutezuma's lands and of those which bordered on them and those of which he had knowledge; and they are so many and so wonderful

that they seem almost unbelievable. All of which was done with such good will and delight on the part of Mutezuma and all the natives of the aforementioned lands that it seemed as if *ab initio* they had known Your Sacred Majesty to be their king and rightful lord; and with no less good will they have done all that I, in Your Royal name, have commanded them.

In these matters and in others no less useful to the Royal service of Your Highness I spent from the eighth of November, 1519, until the beginning of May of this year. While all was quiet in this city, having sent many of the Spaniards to many and diverse places and having pacified and settled this land, I was anxiously waiting for ships to arrive with a reply to the report I had sent to Your Majesty concerning this land and by them to send this one, and all the gold and jewels which I had collected for Your Highness, when there came to me certain natives of this land, vassals of Mutezuma, who live by the sea. They told me how close by the mountains of Sanmyn, which are on the coast, before reaching the harbor or bay of Sant Juan, eighteen ships had arrived, but they did not know to whom these ships belonged, because as soon as they had seen them they had come to inform me.[69] Following these came an Indian from the island of Fernandina, who brought me a letter from a Spaniard whom I had posted on the coast, so that if he saw ships he should tell them about me and the town which was close by that harbor, so they should not get lost. This letter contained the following: That on such and such a day a single ship had anchored in front of the harbor of Sant Juan, and he had looked all along the coast as far as he was able but had seen no other; and therefore he believed that it was the ship which I had sent to Your Sacred Majesty, because it was time for it to return. To make certain, however, he was waiting for this ship to enter the port so that he might learn what it was. Then he would immediately inform me.

When I saw this letter I sent two Spaniards, one by one road and one by another so that they should not miss any messenger

coming from the ship. I told them to go to the port and discover how many ships had arrived, whence they came, and what they were carrying, and to return to me as swiftly as possible to inform me. Likewise I sent another to the town of Vera Cruz to tell them all that I had discovered about those ships so that they might make enquiries there and send me their information. I sent yet another to the captain whom, together with 150 men, I had ordered to build a town in the province and port of Quacucalco,[70] and I wrote to him that, no matter where the messenger might reach him, he should not move from there until I wrote again, for I had received news that certain ships had arrived at the port, which, so it appeared later, he already knew by the time my letter arrived.

After I had sent these messengers, fifteen days passed without my knowing anything or receiving a reply from any of them, and this perturbed me not a little. After fifteen days, however, there came other Indians, also Mutezuma's vassals, and from these I learnt that the ships were anchored in the port of Sant Juan, and that the people had landed. They had counted eighty horses, and eight hundred men and ten or twelve guns, all of which they had represented on a piece of their paper,[71] to show it to Mutezuma. The Indians told me how the Spaniard I had posted on the coast and all the other messengers whom I had sent were with those people, and had explained to the Indians that the captain would not let them leave and asked them to inform me of the fact. When I heard all this I resolved to send a friar[72] whom I had brought in my company with a letter from me and another from the alcaldes and regidores of the town of Vera Cruz who were with me in the city. These I addressed to the captain and his people who had landed at that port, informing them very fully of all that had happened in this land and how I had taken many cities, towns and fortresses and had subjected them to Your Majesty's Royal service, and how I had captured the lord of these parts. I spoke of the nature of the capital city and of the gold and jewels which I had for Your Highness; and also of how I had sent a report concerning this land to Your Majesty. I

begged them to inform me as to who they were, and if they were true vassals of the realms and dominions of Your Highness, and to write to me whether they came by Your Royal command to settle and remain in the land, or were going on, or had to return. If they lacked for anything, I would equip them with all that was in my power. If they came from outside Your Highness's domains they should also let me know whether they had need of anything, for I would likewise help them as best I could; but if they refused to inform me, I required them on behalf of Your Majesty to depart from Your lands at once and not to disembark. Furthermore, I warned them that if they did not do so I would march against them with all I had, Spaniards as well as natives of the land, and I would capture or kill them as foreigners invading the realms and dominions of my lord and king.

Five days after the aforementioned friar had left with this dispatch, there arrived in the city of Temixtitan twenty Spaniards from Vera Cruz, and they brought with them a friar and two laymen whom they had taken in the aforementioned town.[73] From them I learnt that the fleet in the port was from Diego Velázquez and had come by his command, under the captaincy of one Pánfilo de Narváez, an inhabitant of the island of Fernandina. He brought eighty horsemen and many guns and eight hundred foot soldiers, among whom they said there were eighty harquebusiers and 120 crossbowmen; and he called himself captain general and lieutenant governor in all these parts for Diego Velázquez, and for this had brought decrees from Your Majesty. The messengers I had sent and the man I had posted on the coast were all with this Pánfilo de Narváez and he would not allow them to return. From them he had learnt how I had founded a town, twelve leagues from the port, and of the people who were in it and likewise he heard of those people I had sent to Quacucalco and those who were in a province called Tuchitebeque, which is thirty leagues from the aforementioned port; and of all the things which I, in the service of Your Highness, had done in the land: of the towns and cities which I had conquered

and pacified; of that great city of Temixtitan; of the gold and jewels which had been acquired in the land; and of all the other things which had happened to me.

Narváez had sent these men to Vera Cruz to speak to the people there on his behalf and see if they could win them over to his purpose and make them rise against me. With them they brought more than a hundred letters which this Narváez and his companions had sent to Vera Cruz telling the people of the town to believe what the cleric and the others who were with him said on his behalf, and promising them that if they did as he asked, he, in the name of Diego Velázquez, would reward them well; but if they refused, they would be very harshly treated. This and many other things contained in these letters were told to me by those envoys.

Almost at the same time one of the Spaniards from Quacucalco arrived with letters from the captain, one Juan Velázquez de León.[74] He informed me that the people who had come to that port were those of Pánfilo de Narváez. This captain also forwarded me a letter which Narváez had sent to him with an Indian, for he was a relation of Diego Velázquez and Narváez's brother-in-law, in which Narváez said that he had learnt from my messengers how Juan Velázquez was there with those men, and asked that he should bring them to him for it was his duty to a kinsman, and that he, Narváez, believed that I held him by force; and other things which Narváez had written. This captain, Juan Velázquez, as he was more bound to serve Your Majesty, not only refused to do as Narváez bade him, but, after he had sent me this letter, came to join forces with me.

I learnt from that cleric and from the other two who accompanied him many things about the intentions of Diego Velázquez and Pánfilo de Narváez and how they had sent that fleet and their men against me because I had sent the report concerning this land to Your Majesty and not to the aforementioned Diego Velázquez; and how they came with pernicious intent to kill me and many of my company whom they had already singled out in Cuba. I like-

wise learned that the *licenciado* Figueroa, a judge residing on the island of Hispaniola, and all Your Highness's judges and officials, when they heard that Diego Velázquez was preparing a fleet, and his purpose in doing so, had seen the harm and disservice to Your Majesty that this might cause and had therefore sent the licenciado Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón,[75] one of the aforementioned judges, with their authority to command Diego Velázquez not to send the fleet. When he arrived he found Diego Velázquez on the headland of the island of Fernandina with all his men armed and prepared to leave. He commanded Diego Velázquez and all those in the fleet not to go, for Your Highness would be ill served by their doing so, and he threatened them with severe penalties, but they, in defiance of all this licenciado had commanded them, departed with the fleet nonetheless.

I also learnt that this same Ayllón was in the port, for he had sailed with the fleet hoping thereby to prevent the harm which would ensue from its arrival, because the evil intents with which it came were well known to him and to everyone else. I sent the aforementioned cleric with a letter of mine for Narváez,[76] in which I told him how I had learnt from the same cleric and his companions that Narváez was the captain of the fleet, and I was pleased that it was so, for, as my messengers had not returned, I had thought otherwise; but that as he knew I was in this land in Your Highness's service, I was surprised that he had neither written nor sent any messenger advising me of his arrival, for he knew how pleased I would be, both because he had been my friend for a long time and because I knew that he came to serve Your Highness, which was what I most desired. Furthermore, it surprised me to hear that he had sent suborners and letters of inducement to the people, whom I, in the service of Your Majesty, had in my company, to rise against me and join him as though one of us were a Christian and the other an infidel or as if one were Your Highness's vassal and the other his enemy. I, therefore, begged him to cease behaving in this fashion, and to let me know the reason for his coming. I also informed him

that I had been told he had taken the title of captain general and lieutenant governor for Diego Velázquez, and had had himself proclaimed throughout the land as such; and that he had appointed alcaldes and regidores and executed justice, all of which was a great disservice to Your Highness and contrary to all Your laws; because as this land pertained to Your Majesty and had been colonized by Your vassals, and as there was both justice and a municipal council, he could not assume the aforementioned titles or exercise them without first being instated, for in order to do so he needed Your Majesty's decree. If he brought such a decree, I asked and required him to present it before me and before the municipal council of Vera Cruz, and they would be observed as letters and decrees from our king and rightful lord insofar as was appropriate to Your Majesty's Royal service.

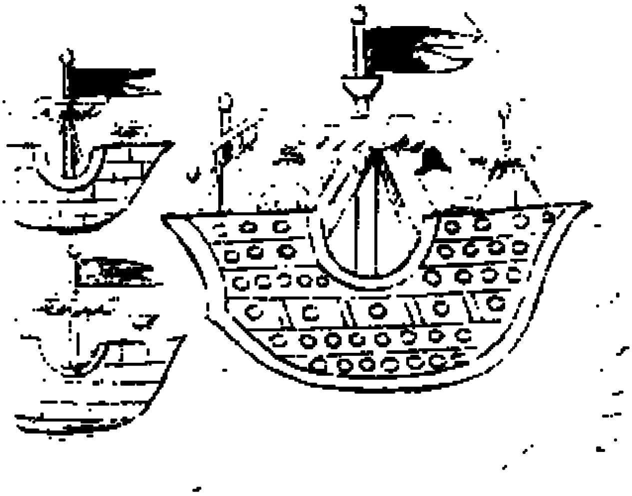
I was myself in that city where I held the lord captive, and I had a great quantity of gold and jewels, belonging to Your Highness, to the people in my company, and to myself, and for this reason I dared not leave the city for fear that once I had done so the inhabitants would rebel and I would lose all the gold, the jewels, and even the city itself; for once that was lost the whole country would be lost also. Likewise I gave this cleric a letter for Ayllón, who, as I later discovered, by the time the cleric arrived, had been seized by Narváez and sent back with two ships.[77]

On the day this cleric left, a messenger arrived from the people in Vera Cruz, who informed me that all the natives had rebelled and joined Narváez, especially those of the city of Cempoal and their followers, and that none of them would come and serve in the town or the fortress or provide any of the other assistance as they used to; for they said Narváez had told them that I was wicked and he had come to seize me and all my company and take us away. The men that he brought were many, while those who were on my side were few, and he brought many horses and guns and they wished to be on the winning side. This messenger also informed me that they had learnt from the Indians how Nar-

váez had moved his quarters to the city of Cempoal, and, knowing how near it was to Vera Cruz, they believed from all they had heard of Narváez's evil intentions that he would move against them with the help of those Indians. They, therefore, informed me that they were leaving the town so as not to fight them; and to avoid a disturbance they were going into the mountains to the house of a chieftain who was Your Highness's vassal and our friend, and there they would remain until I sent to tell them what they should do.

When I saw the great harm which was being stirred up, and how the country was in revolt because of Narváez, it seemed to me that if I went to where he was the country would, in great part, become calm, for the Indians would not dare to rebel once they had seen me. I also intended to make an agreement with Narváez so that the great harm which was begun should cease. So I departed that same day, leaving the fortress well provided with maize and water, and garrisoned by five hundred men with some guns.[78] And together with the remaining seventy or so men, I set out accompanied by some of Mutezuma's chieftains. Before I left I spoke to Mutezuma at length, telling him to bear in mind that he was Your Highness's vassal and would now receive favors from Your Majesty for the services he had rendered, and that I left in his care those Spaniards, with all the gold and jewels which he had given me and had ordered to be given to Your Highness, for now I was going to meet those people who had newly arrived in the land, to discover who they were, for as yet I did not know, but I believed that they must be hostile, and not Your Highness's vassals. He promised me to provide those I left behind with everything they might need and to guard closely all that I left there belonging to Your Majesty; and those of his people who went with me would lead me by a road which never left his lands, and on it he would have them provide me with everything I required. He begged me to inform him if those people were hostile, for he would straightaway send many warriors to fight them and drive them from the land. For all of which I thanked him and assured him that he would be well re-

From the English translation by Thomas Townsend of Antonio de Solis's
storia de la Conquista de México (1724). Although a hypothetical recon-
uction, this drawing gives a very good idea of what Cortés's brigantines
ıst have looked like.



The arrival of the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulúa. From Vol. II
Fray Diego de Durán's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*
'slas de Tierra Firme, Mexico, 1880.

warded by Your Highness, and I gave many jewels and articles of clothing to him and to a son of his and to many of the lords who were with him at that time.

In a city called Churultecal I met Juan Velázquez, the captain whom, as I have said, I had sent to Quacucalco, together with all his men; and after having sent some who were sick on to the capital, I continued my journey with him and the rest. Fifteen leagues beyond Churultecal I met the friar whom I had sent to the port to discover whose fleet it was that had arrived there. He brought me a letter from Narváez which informed me that he, Narváez, brought certain decrees to hold this land for Diego Velázquez, and that I should go to where he was to comply with them; and that he had founded a town and appointed alcaldes and regidores. From this same friar I also learnt how Narváez had seized the licenciado Ayllón, his notary and *alguacil*, and had sent them away in two ships; how certain of Narváez's men had attempted to bribe him into persuading some of my company to go over to Narváez; and how the same Narváez had paraded all his men, both horsemen and foot soldiers, before him and certain Indians who were with him, had fired all the ordinance both in the ships and on land in order to frighten them, and then had said, "See how you cannot defend yourselves if you do not do as we ask." He also told me how he had seen Narváez with a native chief, a vassal of Mutezuma and his governor in all the lands from the mountains to the coast. He knew that this chief had spoken to Narváez on Mutezuma's behalf and had given him certain gold ornaments; in return Narváez had given him some few things, and had sent messengers to Mutezuma to tell him he would be freed and that he, Narváez, had come to seize me and all my company and would afterwards leave the land. He said he did not want gold but that once he had captured me and all those with me he would leave the people of this land in complete freedom. Finally this friar said I should know that Narváez's intention was to take possession of this land on his own authority, without being subject to anyone, and if I

and my company would not acknowledge him as captain general and chief justice, in the name of Diego Velázquez, he intended to proceed against us and take us by force. To this end he was in league with the natives, especially with Mutezuma by way of his messengers.

As I foresaw so clearly the harm and disservice to Your Majesty which would ensue from the above-mentioned, especially as they told me he had powerful forces with him, and brought a decree from Diego Velázquez that as soon as I and certain of my companions, whom he had singled out, were taken we should be hanged, I still determined to go to him, thinking it wise to make him recognize the great disservice which he was doing to Your Highness and to dissuade him from his evil intent. So I continued on my way, and fifteen leagues before the city of Cempoal, where Narváez was quartered, the cleric whom the people of Vera Cruz had sent, and with whom I had dispatched a letter to Narváez and Ayllón, came to me together with another cleric[79] and one Andrés de Duero, an inhabitant of the island of Fernandina and also one of Narváez's company. They, in reply to my letter, told me, on Narváez's behalf, that I should still go and obey him and acknowledge him as captain general and hand over the country to him, and that if I did not do so I would suffer greatly, for he, Narváez, had many forces and I, few, because in addition to the Spaniards whom he brought, most of the natives were on his side. If I delivered the country to him, he said he would give me all that I needed of the ships and provisions which he had and would allow me, and all those who wished to go with me, to leave with all we wished to take without impeding us in any way. One of those clerics also told me that Diego Velázquez had empowered Narváez and the two clerics jointly to make this offer and any concessions I might wish. I replied that I saw no decree from Your Highness instructing me to deliver the land to them, and that, if indeed they brought one, they should present it before me and the municipal council of Vera Cruz in accordance with the practice in Spain; and that I was very dili-

gent in my obedience and, therefore, until this was done, I would not be persuaded by bribes to do as they asked, for I, and those who were with me, would rather die in defense of the land which we had won and now held in subjection for Your Majesty than be disloyal or traitors to our king.

They made many other suggestions to win me to their purpose, but none of them would I accept before I had seen a decree from Your Highness ordering me to do so, which they were never willing to show me. Finally these clerics, Andrés de Duero and I agreed that Narváez, with ten of his men, and I, with as many of mine, should meet with a surety on both sides, and there he would make known to me the decree, if indeed he brought one, and I would reply to him. I, for my part, signed and dispatched a safe-conduct, and he likewise sent me another signed in his name which, it seemed to me, he had no intention of keeping, for he had planned to find a way to kill me at our meeting without more ado. To that end he instructed two of the ten who were to come with him to fall on me while the others fought with my men. For they said that once I was dead their task was accomplished, which, indeed, it would have been if God, who so often intervenes at such times, had not intervened then with a warning, which one of those who was party to the treachery sent me together with the safe-conduct.

Once I had learnt all this I wrote a letter to Narváez and another to the mediators telling them that I had discovered his evil designs and that I had no wish to meet them in the manner they planned. I then sent them several requests and commands in which I demanded that if Narváez brought any decree from Your Highness, he should make it known to me, and until he did so he should not call himself captain general or chief justice or exercise any of the functions of those offices under pain of certain punishments which I imposed. Likewise I commanded all those who were with Narváez not to obey him as captain general or chief justice, and summoned them to appear before me within a certain time, which I also set down, when I would tell them what they should do in the

service of Your Highness. But I warned that if they did not do so, I would proceed against them as against traitors and perfidious vassals who had rebelled against their sovereign and sought to usurp his realms and dominions and deliver them to a man who had no claim to them nor competent authority over them. In the execution whereof, if they did not appear before me or perform what was required of them in my commandment, I would march against them and seize them and hold them prisoner as justice demanded.

Narváez's reply was to seize the notary and his companion, who was carrying the order, and also some Indians in their company, all of whom were detained until I sent another messenger to inquire about them.[80] All Narváez's men were paraded before them, and they and I were threatened if we refused to surrender the land. Once I had seen that there was no way by which I could avoid the great harm that would ensue, and, furthermore, that the natives of the land were becoming more rebellious each day, I entrusted myself to God, and, setting aside all fear of what might ensue, and considering that to die in the service of my king and in defense of his lands against usurpation would win for us all great glory, I ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval, *alguacil mayor*, to seize Narváez and all those who called themselves alcaldes[81] and regidores; and to do this I gave him eighty men. I, with another 170 men (for we were 250 all together) but with no horses or guns, followed the aforementioned alguacil mayor on foot to assist him should Narváez and the others resist arrest.

On the same day the alguacil mayor, and I and all the men arrived at the city of Cempoal, where Narváez and his people were camped. He learnt of our arrival and rode out of his camp with eighty horsemen and five hundred foot soldiers, still leaving a strong force behind in the great temple of the city where he had his quarters. Thus he came to within a league of where I was, but, as all he knew of my arrival he had heard from the Indians, when he failed to find me he thought they were deceiving him and he returned to the city, alerting all his men and placing two spies almost

one league outside the city. As I wished to avoid any disturbance, I thought it best to go by night without being observed if possible, and proceed directly to Narváez's quarters, which I and all my company knew very well, and seize him, for I believed that once he was taken there would be no disturbance, because the others would be willing to follow justice, particularly since most of them had been forced to come by Diego Velázquez and for fear that if they refused he might confiscate the Indians they had in the island of Fernandina.[82]

So a little after midnight on the Feast of Pentecost,[83] I entered Narváez's camp. First, however, I met the aforementioned spies Narváez had stationed and my vanguard captured one of them, from whom I learnt how they were disposed. The other escaped and so that he should not arrive before me and warn them of my coming I advanced as rapidly as possible, although not fast enough to prevent the spy from arriving almost half an hour before me.

When I reached Narváez's camp all his men were armed and mounted and well prepared, two hundred men in each section, but we came with such stealth that when they observed us and sounded the alarm I was already inside the courtyard of the camp where all the men were gathered together; and they had occupied the three or four towers there and all the other strong positions. On the steps of the tower where Narváez himself was quartered were some nineteen guns. But we climbed those steps so quickly that they had time to fire only one gun, which, thank God, did not go off or cause any harm whatsoever. We reached the place where Narváez slept, and he and some fifty men fought with the alguacil mayor and the men who were with him, and although they commanded Narváez many times in Your Highness's name to give himself up, he would not until they had set fire to the place, at which he surrendered. While the alguacil mayor was seizing Narváez, I, with the rest of the men, defended the tower against those who came to his assistance, and I seized the artillery and with it strengthened my defense.

With the loss of only two men who were killed by one shot, in one hour all those whom we wished to capture were taken, together with the arms of all of them. They all promised to abide by Your Majesty's justice, for they claimed to have been deceived into believing that Narváez had decrees from Your Majesty and that I had usurped the land and was a traitor to Your Highness, and many other things besides. When they all knew the truth and how Diego Velázquez and Narváez had acted with evil intent and their campaign had been misconceived, they were very glad that God had so provided. For I assure Your Majesty that if God had not mysteriously assisted us and the victory had gone to Narváez, it would have been the greatest harm that Spaniards had done to each other for a long time past. For he would have carried out his intentions and what Diego Velázquez had ordered him to do, namely, to hang me and many of my company so that no one might recount what had happened. Furthermore, I was informed by some Indians that they had agreed that if Narváez had captured me as he intended he could not have done it without many of his own people being killed as well as mine. Meanwhile the Indians would have killed all those I had left in the city, as indeed they attempted to. Afterwards they would have united and fallen on all those who remained here so that they and their land might be free, and all memory of the Spaniards obliterated. Your Highness may be certain that had they accomplished all they intended, this land which has now been conquered and subdued could not be regained in twenty years.

Two days after Narváez's capture, as I could not now maintain so many people together in that city, especially as it was almost in ruins, for those who were with Narváez had looted it and all the inhabitants had fled, leaving their houses empty, I sent two captains with two hundred men each, one to build a town at the port of Qucicalco, which, as I told Your Highness, I had previously ordered to be built, and the other to that river which the ships of Francisco de Garay said they had seen, for I was now sure of its existence there.[84] Likewise I sent another two hundred men to the

town of Vera Cruz, where I ordered Narváez's ships to be brought. I myself remained in the city with the rest of the men to provide for all that might be necessary in Your Majesty's service. I also sent a messenger to the city of Temixtitan to inform the Spaniards who remained there of all that had happened to me. This messenger returned within twelve days bringing me letters from the alcalde who had remained there in which he informed me of how the Indians had attacked the fortress and set fire to it in many places and tried to mine it, and that the Spaniards had been greatly pressed and in great danger, and might yet be killed if Mutezuma did not order a cease fire, for although they were not at present being attacked, they were still surrounded and not permitted to venture outside the fortress at all. In the battle they had lost much of the provisions which I had left them and the four brigantines I had built there were burnt. They were in dire need and I must, for the love of God, come to their aid as swiftly as possible.[85]

I saw how hard pressed these Spaniards were, and knew that if I did not go to their aid not only would they be killed by the Indians and all the gold and silver we had acquired that belonged to Your Highness as well as to the Spaniards and myself be taken, but the greatest and most noble city of all the newly discovered part of the world would be lost, and with it all we had gained, for it was the capital city of the land which all others obeyed. I immediately sent messengers to the captains whom I had dispatched informing them of all I had heard from the capital and ordering them to return, no matter where they might be, and travel by the shortest main road to the province of Tascalteca, where I would join them with all the artillery I could command and seventy horsemen. There we met, and when we had paraded our men we found that we had seventy horsemen and five hundred foot soldiers.

I left in all possible haste for the capital, and not once on my journey did any of Mutezuma's people come to welcome me as they had before. And all the land was in revolt and almost uninhabited, which aroused in me a terrible suspicion that the Spaniards in

the city were dead and that all the natives had gathered waiting to surprise me in some pass or other place where they might have the advantage of me. Fearing this, I proceeded with the greatest possible caution until I arrived at the city of Tesuico,[86] which, as I have already informed Your Majesty, is on the shores of that great lake. There I asked the inhabitants about the Spaniards who had remained in the capital and was told that they were still alive. I then instructed them to bring me a canoe, for I wished to send a Spaniard to find out; and I said also that when he left, one of them, who seemed to be of importance, was to remain with me, for nowhere could I see any of the chiefs and nobles who were known to me. He then ordered a canoe to be brought and sent several Indians with the Spaniard, while he himself remained with me.

As this Spaniard was embarking for the city of Temixtitan, he saw another canoe approaching across the lake and waited for it to reach the port. In it came one of the Spaniards from the city from whom I learnt that they were all alive, except five or six whom the Indians had killed; but the rest were still surrounded and not allowed to leave the fortress nor were they provided with any of the things they needed except at a great price. Since hearing of my arrival, however, the Indians had treated them better, and Mutezuma had said that he was only waiting for me to arrive before allowing them to move freely about the city as they were accustomed. With this Spaniard, Mutezuma sent me one of his own messengers, who told me that as I must by now be informed of all that had happened in the city he believed I would be angry and intent on doing him harm. But he begged me not to be angry, for what had happened grieved him as deeply as it did me and that nothing had been done by his will and consent. He sent me word of many other things to placate the anger he thought I bore against him, and begged me to go and live in the city as I had done before, for nothing would be done there save what I commanded, as had been the case before. I answered saying that I was not angry with him, for I well knew his good intention and wanted to do as he requested.

On the following day, which was the eve of St. John the Baptist's day, I departed and slept on the road three leagues from the city; and on the day of St. John, after having heard Mass, I entered the city, almost at midday. I saw very few people about the city and some of the gates at the crossroads and entrances to streets had been removed, which did not seem well to me, although I thought that they did it for fear of what they had done, and that my arrival would reassure them. With this I went to the fortress where, together with the great temple which was beside it, all my people were quartered. The garrison in the fortress received us with such joy it seemed we had given back to them their lives which they had deemed lost; and that day and night we passed in rejoicing, believing that all was quiet again.

The next day, after Mass, I sent a messenger to Vera Cruz to give them the good news of how all the Christians were alive and how I had entered the city which was now secure. But after half an hour this messenger returned, beaten and wounded and crying out that all the Indians in the city were preparing for war and had raised all the bridges. And almost behind him there came upon us from all sides such a multitude that neither the streets nor the roofs of the houses could be seen for them.[87] They came with the most fearful cries imaginable, and so many were the stones that were hurled at us from their slings into the fortress that it seemed they were raining from the sky, and the arrows and spears were so many that all the walls and courtyards were so full we could hardly move for them. I went out to attack the Indians in two or three places, and they fought very fiercely with us. In one place a captain went out with two hundred men, and before he could withdraw they had killed four and wounded him and many others; and in the place where I was engaged they wounded me and many of the other Spaniards. We killed few of them, for they were sheltered from us on the other side of the bridges and threw stones on us from the roofs and terraces, some of which were captured and burnt.

But they were so many and so strong and so well provided

with stones and other arms that we were unable to take them all, for we were few, nor even to prevent them from being able to attack us at their ease. The fighting in the fortress was so fierce that they set fire to it in many places, and in one burnt down a great part of it, about which we could do nothing until we knocked down a part of the wall, which extinguished the fire. And if I had not placed there a strong force of harquebusiers and crossbowmen with some guns, they could easily have broken in without our being able to resist. In this fashion we fought all that day until well after dark; and even after nightfall they continued to scream at us and make a commotion until dawn. That night I had the breaches in the wall caused by fire repaired, and wherever else I thought the fortress was weak. I organized the watches and the men who were to keep them and chose those of us who would go outside to fight the next day. I also had the wounded, of which there were more than eighty, attended to.

Later, when it was light, the enemy attacked us very much more fiercely than on the previous day, and there was so great a number of them that the artillery had no need to aim but only to point their guns at the Indian forces. And although the artillery did much damage, for there were thirteen harquebuses besides the guns and some crossbows, it seemed to make no impression, for where ten or twelve were killed by the firing others came immediately to take their place, so that it was as if none had fallen. Leaving behind in the fortress all the men I could spare, I took the others and went out and captured some of the bridges and burnt some of the houses and killed many of those who were defending them, but they were so many that although we did all the harm we could we made very little impression on them. We had to fight all day, whereas they fought in shifts and still they seemed to have plenty of men to spare. That day they wounded sixty or seventy more Spaniards but killed none, although we fought until nightfall, by which time we were so tired we withdrew to the fortress.

Seeing the great harm that the enemy had done us and how

they wounded and killed us as they chose, and how, although we did great harm to them there were so many that it did not seem so, we spent all that night and all the following day in constructing three wooden engines. Each one of these carried twenty men inside, and the stones the Indians threw from the roof tops could not harm them for they were covered by boards. The people who went inside were some of them harquebusiers and crossbowmen; the rest carried pikes and pickaxes, and iron bars to break into the houses and throw down the barricades the Indians had built in the streets. While we were constructing these machines the enemy continued to attack; whenever we left the fortress they tried to break in, and we repulsed them only with great difficulty. Mutezuma, who together with one of his sons and many other chiefs who had been captured previously was still a prisoner,[88] asked to be taken out onto the roof of the fortress where he might speak to the captains of his people and tell them to end the fighting. I had him taken out, and when he reached a breastwork which ran out beyond the fortress, and was about to speak to them, he received a blow on his head from a stone; and the injury was so serious that he died three days later.[89] I told two of the Indians who were captive to carry him out on their shoulders to the people. What they did with him I do not know; only the war did not stop because of it, but grew more fierce and pitiless each day.

That same day they called to me from the place where they had wounded Mutezuma, asking me to go there, for certain captains wished to speak with me. This I did, and we had many discussions and I begged them not to fight me, for they had no cause to, and to consider the good deeds I had done for them and how they had always been well treated by me. They replied saying that once I had left their land they would stop the war; otherwise they had all determined to die or put an end to us. This they said, or so it seemed, to persuade me to leave the fortress, for then they could have taken us easily at the bridges. I replied that they should not think I asked for peace because I feared them, but because it

distressed me to see the harm we had done them, and would still have to do them, for I did not want to destroy so fine a city as theirs; yet still they answered that they would not end the war until I left the city.

On the following day, when we had finished the engines, I went out to capture some of the roof tops and bridges. The engines went in front, and behind them came four guns, many crossbowmen and shield-bearers and more than three thousand Indians from Tascalteca who had come with me and served the Spaniards. When we reached one of the bridges we placed the engines against the wall of a house and set up ladders with which to climb onto the roof, but there were so many people defending that bridge and the roof top, and so many and so large were the stones which they threw down at us, that they put our engines out of action and killed one Spaniard and wounded many more. We were unable to advance one step, although we fought hard from morning until midday, at which hour we returned to the fortress sorely disappointed. This gave the enemy such heart that they almost reached our gates. They captured the great temple, and some five hundred Indians, who seemed to me to be persons of rank, climbed up the main tower carrying provisions of bread and water and other things to eat, and many stones. All the rest had very long lances with flint heads wider than ours and no less sharp. From there they did much damage to the people in the fortress which stood close by. Once or twice the Spaniards attacked this tower and attempted to climb it, but because it was very high and the ascent very difficult, for there were a hundred or more steps, and because those at the top were well provided with stones and other weapons, and at an advantage because we had failed to take the other roof tops, every time the Spaniards began to climb they were driven back down again; and many were wounded thereby. When those of the enemy who were engaged elsewhere saw this, they became so elated that they came fearlessly right up to the fortress. When I saw that by continuing to hold that tower they not only inflicted great damage from it,

but also gained fresh courage to attack us, I left the fortress, although I had lost the use of my left hand from a wound I received on the first day, and strapping my buckler to my arm went to the tower with a few Spaniards.[90] I made them surround it from below, which was easily done, although not without danger, for they fought on all sides with the enemy who brought in many reinforcements. I then began to climb the tower with several Spaniards behind me, and, although they defended it so very fiercely that three or four Spaniards were thrown down, with the help of God and his Blessed Mother, for whose house that tower had been set aside and where we had placed her image, we reached the top and fought so hard with the people there that they were forced to jump down onto some terraces round the tower which were about a pace wide. The tower had three or four of these, and all were about five yards high, one above the other. Some of the Indians fell all the way down and they were killed by the Spaniards below. Those who remained on the top, however, fought so fiercely that it was more than three hours before we had killed them all (for none escaped); and I assure Your Sacred Majesty that the capture of this tower was so difficult that if God had not clipped their wings, twenty of them would have sufficed to hold off a thousand; even so, they fought very bravely until death. I ordered my men to set fire to this tower and the others in the temple from which they had already removed the holy images that we had placed there.

The loss of this tower so much damaged their confidence that they began to weaken greatly on all sides. Afterwards, I returned to that roof top and addressed the captains who had spoken to me before and who were now somewhat dismayed by what they had seen. These then came and I told them to observe how they could not triumph, and how each day we did them great harm and killed many of them and we were burning and destroying their city; and that we would not cease until there was nothing left either of it or of them. They replied that they had indeed seen how much they had suffered and how many of them had died, but that

they were all determined to perish or have done with us, and that I should look and see how full of people were all those streets and squares and roof tops. Furthermore, they had calculated that if 25,000 of them died for every one of us, they would finish with us first, for they were many and we were but few. They told me that all the causeways into the city were dismantled—which in fact was true, for all had been dismantled save one—and that we had no way of escape except over the water. They well knew that we had few provisions and little fresh water and, therefore, could not last long because we would die of hunger if they did not kill us first. And truly they were right, for even if we had had nothing to fight but hunger and thirst, we would have died in a very short while. We discussed many other things, each one expressing his own opinions.

After nightfall I went out with several Spaniards, and as we fell on them unawares we took a street where we burnt more than three hundred houses. Then I returned by another street, for the enemy was massing in the first, and there likewise I burnt many houses, especially some which were close to the fortress and from whose roof tops they did us much harm. They were very frightened by what had happened, and that same night I ordered the engines which had been damaged the previous day to be repaired and made ready.

To follow up this victory which God had given us, I went out at dawn to that street where they had defeated us the day before but found it as well defended as before. As we were fighting for our lives and our honor, for that street lead to the only unbroken causeway crossing to the mainland—although on the way were eight deep and wide bridges, and the street itself was lined by many high houses and towers—we were so brave and determined that with the help of Our Lord we won four of them that day and burnt every single house and tower. The previous night, however, they had erected at all the bridges many very strong walls of adobe and clay, in such a manner that the guns and the crossbows could not harm them. We filled in the channels beneath the four bridges

with the adobe and earth of the walls and with stones and wood from the burnt houses, although this was not accomplished without danger and they wounded many Spaniards. That night I placed a careful watch on those bridges so that they should not retake them.

The following morning I went out again and God gave us such a lucky victory that, although there were innumerable people defending the bridges and the very great walls and openings which they had made that night, we won them all and closed them up. At the same time some horsemen pursued the defeated enemy to the mainland. While I was repairing and closing up those bridges, they called to me to come in great haste, for the Indians were asking for peace and certain of their captains were waiting for me at the fortress. I left behind the men and guns and went alone with two horsemen to see what they wanted. They told me that if I assured them that they would not be punished for what they had done, they would raise the siege, replace the bridges, repair the roads and serve Your Majesty as they had done before. They asked me to bring one of their priests whom I held prisoner, and who was a kind of superior in their religion.[91] He came and spoke to them and made agreements between us; and then it seemed that they sent messengers, as they had promised, to the captains in the field to end the attack on the fortress and all further hostilities; and with this we parted.

I returned to the fortress to eat, and as I was about to begin they came in a great hurry to tell me that the Indians had retaken the bridges which we had won that day and had killed several Spaniards. God knows how much this perturbed me, for I believed our task had been completed when we had opened a way out. I rode as fast as I was able down the whole length of the street with some horsemen following me, and without stopping I broke through those Indians, recovered the bridges and pursued the fugitives to the mainland. But because the foot soldiers were tired and wounded and frightened and saw the great danger they were in, none of them followed me, so that when, having crossed the bridges, I now

wished to return, I found they had been taken and many which we had closed up had now been dug much deeper than before. Both sides of the causeway were full of people, on the land and also in canoes, who speared and stoned us in such a fashion that if God had not mysteriously deigned to save us, we should never have escaped, and even so it had been put about among those in the city that I was dead. When I reached the last bridge outside the city I found that all those horsemen who were with me had fallen into the water and that one horse was loose. I could not cross and was forced to stand alone against the enemy, and in fighting I made enough room for the horses to pass. When the bridge was freed I passed over, although with great difficulty, for the horse had to jump almost five feet from one side to the other; but neither he nor I, as we were both well armored, were wounded but only bruised and beaten.

That night they held those four bridges; but I had the other four well guarded and went to the fortress and had a wooden bridge made to be carried by forty men. Because I had seen the great danger we were in and the great harm which the Indians did us every day, and because I feared they would demolish that causeway as they had demolished the others, after which we could have done nothing save resign ourselves to death, and because all of my company, the greater part of whom were so badly wounded they could no longer fight, had often entreated me to depart, I determined to leave that same night. I took all Your Majesty's gold and jewels which we could carry and placed them in a room where, in several bundles, I entrusted them to Your Highness's officials that I in Your Royal name had chosen, and I begged and commanded the alcaldes and regidores and all those who were present to help me to carry it out and save it; and for this purpose I gave them one of my mares onto which they loaded as much as possible. I chose certain Spaniards, servants of mine as well as of others, to go with the mare and the gold, and the rest of the alcaldes and regidores and myself distributed the remainder among the Spaniards. Having abandoned

the fortress with great riches belonging to Your Highness, the Spaniards and myself, I went out as secretly as possible taking with me a son and two daughters of Mutezuma, and Cacamazin, lord of Aculmacan, and also his brother whom I had appointed in his stead, and other chiefs of cities and provinces, whom I held prisoner.

When we reached the first of the bridges which the Indians had removed we threw across the space, with little difficulty, the bridge which we had made, for there was no one to impede us except a few guards. These, however, raised such a shout that before we had reached the second bridge an infinite number of the enemy were upon us, attacking us from all sides both from the land and from the water. I crossed quickly with five horsemen and a hundred foot soldiers, and we swam across each of the channels until we reached the mainland. Leaving these people on the far side, I returned to the rest and found that, although they were fighting fiercely, the harm which both the Spaniards and the Indians of Tascalteca who were with us had received was beyond compare, for nearly all had been killed. The Spaniards had also killed many of the enemy, but many had perished together with their horses, and all the gold had been lost together with jewels, clothing, all the artillery and many other things besides. I collected all those who were still alive and sent them on ahead while I, with three or four horsemen and some twenty foot soldiers who were bold enough to remain with me, took the rear guard and fought with those Indians until we reached a city called Tacuba at the end of the causeway. God alone knows how dangerous and how difficult it was, for each time I turned on the enemy I came back full of arrows and bruised by stones. For as there was water on both sides they attacked in safety with no fear of those who were fleeing to the land. When we attacked them they jumped into the water, so that they received very little hurt except that there were so many that some of them fell on each other and were killed. With great danger and difficulty I led all my men to the city of Tacuba, without a single Indian or

Spaniard being killed or wounded save for one horseman who came with me in the rear guard. The people in the front and on the sides fought no less fiercely, although the worst attack came from behind where the enemy pursued us out of the great city.[92]

When I arrived in Tacuba I found all my people crowded together in a square not knowing where to go. I therefore made haste to move them out into the countryside before more of the enemy arrived in the city and occupied the roof tops, from which they could do us great harm. The vanguard said they did not know which road to take, so I sent them to the rear and took the lead myself until we had left the city, and then waited in the fields. When the rear guard arrived I saw that they had received some damage and that some of the Spaniards and Indians had been killed; and also that much of the gold had been lost by the road and captured by the enemy. I remained behind until all the men had passed, holding the Indians in check so that the foot soldiers might take a hill on which stood a tower and a fortified house.[93] They succeeded without being injured, but God alone knows how exhausted I was in keeping back the Indians until the tower was taken, for of the twenty-four horses that remained not one could gallop, nor was there a horseman who could raise his arm nor barely a foot soldier well enough for action. When we arrived at the aforementioned house we barricaded ourselves in, and there the enemy surrounded us until nightfall without letting us rest for a single hour. We discovered that 150 Spaniards had died in the rout and forty-five horses and more than two thousand Indians, who had helped the Spaniards, among whom were the son and daughters of Mutezuma and all the other lords we had held prisoner.[94]

That night, at midnight, thinking that we were unobserved, we quit that house very silently, leaving behind many fires; and we knew no road nor where we were going, save that an Indian from Tascalteca led us, saying that he would take us to his land if the road was free. But there were some guards close by who saw us and raised all the people from the villages thereabouts, who pursued us

until daybreak. At dawn, five horsemen who were riding ahead as scouts came across a squadron of the enemy on the road and killed several of them, whereupon the rest fled, believing that more horsemen and foot soldiers were coming up behind.

When I saw that the enemy was massing on all sides, I concentrated my people there, and from those who were still capable of action made squadrons, placing them in front and behind and on the sides with the wounded in the middle; and I distributed the horsemen likewise. In this manner we marched all that day, fighting on all sides and so fiercely that we covered no more than three leagues during a whole day and night. Just at nightfall our Lord showed us a tower and fortified house on a hill where we barricaded ourselves as before.[95] That night they left us in peace, although shortly before dawn the alarm was raised, though for no reason save the fear which we all had of the great multitude of people who continued to follow us.

On the following day I left an hour after daybreak in the formation already mentioned, keeping my rear guard and vanguard well protected; and still they pursued us on both sides, shouting and calling to arms all that land which is thickly populated. Those of us who were on horseback, although we were few, attacked them but did them little harm, for as the land there was somewhat uneven they retreated into the hills. In this manner we traveled that day close by some lakes until we reached a good town[96] where we expected to have some encounter with the inhabitants. But as we arrived they abandoned it and fled to other villages which were thereabouts. I remained there that day and the following because all the men, both the wounded and the fit, were exhausted and weary with hunger and thirsty, as indeed were the horses. We also found some maize there which we ate boiled and roasted for the journey.

We left the next day, still pursued by the enemy, who, with terrible cries, attacked us from time to time in front and behind. We followed the directions of the Indian from Tascalteca, suffer-

ing many hardships, for we were often obliged to leave the road. When it was already late we reached a plain with some small houses[97] where we camped that night, in great need of food. On the morning of the following day we began to depart, but even before we had reached the road the enemy was pursuing us, and skirmishing with them we reached a large village,[98] which was two leagues from there, and to the right of it were some Indians on a small hill.[99] Intending to take them, for they were very close to the road, and also to discover if there were more people behind the hill, I went with five horsemen and ten or twelve foot soldiers and circled the hill. Behind it lay a great city of many inhabitants,[100] with whom we fought fiercely, but as the ground was strewn with boulders, and the Indians were many and we were few, I considered it wise to withdraw to the village where our people were.

In the fighting I had been very badly wounded in the head from two stones. After having bound up my wounds, I made the Spaniards leave that village, for it did not seem a safe place for us to camp. Thus we left, the Indians still following in great numbers, and fighting so fiercely with us that they wounded four or five Spaniards and as many horses. One horse was killed and, although God knows how much we needed it, and how sorry we were to have lost it, for after God we had no help save from the horses, its flesh was some consolation, for we ate it, leaving neither the skin nor any other part of it. For we were very hungry as we had eaten nothing since we left the great city save boiled and roasted maize—and there was not always even enough of that—and herbs which we picked in the fields.

When I saw how each day the enemy grew in number and became more daring while we were weakening, I ordered crutches and other aids to be made for the wounded and the sick, whom we had hitherto carried on the haunches and backs of the horses, so that they could stand and walk, and leave the horses and the Spaniards who were well free to fight. And it seemed, from what happened the following day, that the Holy Spirit had inspired me in

this, for, after we had struck camp in the morning and traveled on a league and a half, there came to meet us such a multitude of Indians that the fields all around were so full of them that nothing else could be seen. We could hardly distinguish between ourselves and them, so fiercely and so closely did they fight with us.[101] Certainly we believed that it was our last day, for the Indians were very strong and we could resist but feebly, as we were exhausted and nearly all of us wounded and weak from hunger. But Our Lord was pleased to show His power and mercy, for with all our weakness we broke their great arrogance and pride, and many of them died, including many important persons, for they were so many that they got in each other's way, and could neither fight nor run. We spent most of that day in the fight until God ordained that one of their chieftains should die, and he, it seemed, was of such importance that the battle ended. So we proceeded more easily but still somewhat harassed, until we reached a small house[102] in the plain, and there, and in the fields round about, we camped that night. From there we caught sight of some mountains of the province of Tascalteca, which brought no small joy to our hearts, for we knew the land and where we had now to go, although we were not very certain that we would find the natives of that province still our friends. For we believed that on seeing us so dispirited they would seek to put an end to our lives and regain their former liberty. This thought distressed us as much as the fighting with the Culuans.

On the following day, when it was light, we began to travel along a very flat road which led directly to the aforementioned province of Tascalteca. Here very few of the enemy followed us, although there were several large towns nearby; and those who did remained far in the rear and shouted after us from some hills. And so that day, which was Sunday, the eighth of July, we left Culua and reached a town of the province of Tascalteca, called Gualipán,[103] which had some three or four thousand inhabitants by whom we were well received; and there we were, in some measure able to satisfy our great hunger and need for rest, although they

gave us many of our provisions only in exchange for money and would accept nothing but gold, which, on account of our great need, we were obliged to give them. In this town I remained three days, and here Magiscacin and Sicutengal came to see me together with all the chiefs of the province and some of those from Guazucingo. They all seemed much distressed by what had happened to us, and tried hard to console me, saying that many times they had told me that the people of Culua were traitors, and I should beware of them, but I had not wished to believe it. But I had escaped alive, for which I should be thankful, and they would die to help me avenge the harm which I had been done, for apart from the duty they owed Your Highness as his vassals, they grieved for their sons and brothers who had been killed in my company.

In times past they had received many other injuries from the Culuans, and I might be certain that they would remain faithful to me until death. As I was wounded and all those in my company exhausted, they said we should go to the city which is four leagues from this town, and there we could rest, and they would attend to our wounds and restore us after our exhaustion. I thanked them and accepted their offer and gave them some few jewels that had escaped, which greatly pleased them. Thus I accompanied them to the aforementioned city, where we were likewise very well received. And Magiscacin brought me a finely made wooden bed with some of the bedclothes they use, in which I slept, for we had brought none with us; and he gave to every one of us all that he had and could.

When I set out for Temixtitan I had left behind in this city some who were wounded and some of my servants with silver and clothing of mine and other personal effects which I was carrying, so that I might be less burdened should anything befall us. All the written agreements I had made with the natives of these parts were lost. Likewise all the Spaniards' clothing had been left behind, and they brought nothing save what they were wearing and their cloaks.

I now learnt how another of my servants had come from the

town of Vera Cruz,[104] accompanied by five horsemen and forty-five foot soldiers, with provisions and other things for me; and how he had taken back with him all the people whom I had left behind with the silver and clothes and other things belonging to me and my companions, together with seven thousand *pesos de oro* which I had left in two chests, not to mention other valuables, and also fourteen thousand *pesos de oro* which, in the province of Tuchitebeque, had been given to that captain whom I had sent to build the town of Quacucalco. And there were many other things besides, worth in all more than thirty thousand *pesos de oro*. But the Indians of Culua had killed them on the road and taken all they were carrying. Likewise I learnt that many other Spaniards had been killed on the road to Temixtitan, believing that the city was at peace and the roads safe as they had been before. I assure Your Majesty that this caused us the greatest sadness, for in addition to the loss of these Spaniards and the others, this reminded us of how many had died and how much had been lost in the city and on the bridges and on the road; it also made me suspect that they might have attacked the people in Vera Cruz, and that those whom we held as allies, when they learnt of our defeat, might have rebelled against us. Then I sent certain messengers to learn the truth, with some Indians to guide them, and I ordered them to return as swiftly as possible but not to travel by the usual roads. It pleased Our Lord, however, that they should find all the Spaniards quite safe and the natives loyal. And this made up greatly for our losses, although the Spaniards were very distressed to hear of our rout.

In this province of Tascalteca I remained twenty days to heal my wounds, which on account of the journey and the ill treatment I had received had greatly worsened, especially those in the head;[105] and likewise to recover from the toil of the days past and to heal the wounds of my companions. Some of them died and others were crippled, for they were very badly wounded and we had few means by which to cure them. I myself lost two fingers of my left hand.

When those of my company saw that many had died and that those who remained were weak and wounded and discouraged by the dangers they had endured, and being afraid of those who might very soon come, they many times begged me to return to Vera Cruz, where we could make ourselves secure before the natives of the land, whom we held as our allies, on seeing our defeat and feeble strength, could join with our enemies, seize the mountain passes by which we were to travel, and fall on us and on those in Vera Cruz. Once we were all together and had ships, we would be stronger and better able to defend ourselves, should they attack us, until such time as we sent for help from the islands. But I saw that to show the natives, especially those who were our allies, that we lacked courage would suffice to turn them against us the sooner, and I remembered that Fortune always favors the bold, and furthermore that we were Christians who trusted in the great goodness of God, who would not let us perish utterly nor allow us to lose so great and noble a land which had been, or was to be, subject to Your Majesty; nor could I abandon so great a service as continuing the war whereby we would once more subdue the land as it had been before. I determined, therefore, that on no account would I go across the mountains to the coast. On the contrary, disregarding all the dangers and toil that might befall us, I told them that I would not abandon this land, for, apart from being shameful to myself and dangerous for all, it would be great treason to Your Majesty; rather I resolved to fall on our enemies wherever I could and oppose them in every possible way.

After I had been in this province twenty days, although my wounds were not fully healed and those in my company were still rather weak, I departed for another province which is called Tepeaca, which belongs to the league and confederation of Culua, our enemies, and where, I was informed, ten or twelve Spaniards had been killed on the road, which passes through there, from Vera Cruz to the great city. This province of Tepeaca is very large and in part borders on Tascalteca and Churultecal. When we crossed

the border many of the natives came out to fight with us and defend the road against us as best they could, attacking us from strong and dangerous positions. But so as not to give an account of all the details of what befell us in this battle, which would be too lengthy, I will say only that after we had made our demands for peace on Your Majesty's behalf and they had not complied, we made war on them and they fought many times with us. With God's help and the Royal fortune of Your Majesty we always routed them and killed many, without their killing or wounding a single Spaniard. And, although, as I have said, this province is very large, within twenty days we had subdued and pacified many towns and villages, and the lords and chieftains have come and offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals. Furthermore, I have driven from these provinces many of the people of Culua who had come to help the natives of Tepeaca make war on us and to assure that they did not become our allies, willingly or unwillingly. Thus I have been engaged in this war, which is still not finished, for there are still some towns and villages to be pacified, which with the aid of Our Lord will soon, like these others, be subject to Your Majesty's Royal command.

In a certain part of this province,[106] where they killed the ten or twelve Spaniards, the natives have always been very warlike and rebellious. I made certain of them slaves of which I gave a fifth part to Your Majesty's officers, for, in addition to their having killed the aforementioned Spaniards and rebelled against Your Highness's service, they are all cannibals, of which I send Your Majesty no evidence because it is so infamous.[107] I was also moved to take those slaves so as to strike some fear into the people of Culua and also because there are so many people that if I did not impose a great and cruel punishment they would never be reformed. In this war the natives of Tascalteca, Churultecal and Guasucingo have fought with us, and by so doing have so assured us of their friendship that we are certain they will always serve Your Highness as loyal vassals.

While I was in this province of Tepeaca I received letters from Vera Cruz, informing me of how there had arrived in the port in disarray two ships belonging to Francisco de Garay, who, it seems, had sent them back with more men to that great river, of which I have already rendered Your Highness account, and that the natives had fought with them and killed seventeen or eighteen Christians and wounded many others. Likewise seven horses had been killed, but the Spaniards who remained swam out to the ships and only escaped because they had strong legs. The captain and the others were in a sorry state and wounded, but the lieutenant whom I had left in the town had welcomed them and ordered their wounds to be attended to. So that they might recover in greater comfort, he had sent some of them to the land of a friendly chieftain that lay close by, and there they were very well cared for. All of which distressed us as much as our past hardships; but perhaps such misfortune would never have befallen them if they had joined me on that first occasion, about which I have already written to Your Highness, for, as I was very well acquainted with these parts, I could have advised them and this disaster would have been avoided, especially as the chieftain of that river, which is called Pánuco, had offered himself as Your Majesty's vassal, in recognition of which he had sent certain gifts with his messengers to me in the city of Temixtitan, as I have already said. I have written to Vera Cruz saying that if Garay's captain and his people wish to leave they should give them every assistance in dispatching both themselves and their ships.[108]

After having pacified all that which in this province of Tepeaca has now been pacified and subjected to the service of Your Royal Highness, Your Majesty's officers and I many times discussed the manner by which the security of this province was to be maintained. Seeing that the natives, having offered themselves as Your Highness's vassals, had rebelled and killed many Spaniards, and seeing that the road inland from the seacoast passes through here, we considered that if this province were left unattended as before, the

natives of Culua, their neighbors, might once again incite these others to rebel, from which great harm would follow and hindrance to the subjection of these parts and to the service of Your Highness, for the road would be closed, especially as there are only two mountain passes leading to the sea, both of which are very steep and rocky and could be easily defended by the natives. So for these and for many other reasons touching this matter, we decided that to avoid these evils we would have a town built in the best part of this province of Tepeaca, where conditions were best suited to the needs of the settlers. When this had been decided, I, in Your Majesty's name, called this town Segura de la Frontera, and appointed alcaldes, regidores and other officials as is customary. For the greater security of the inhabitants of this town, I have ordered a fortress to be built in a place which I indicated, and building materials to be brought, as these are very good hereabouts; and all possible haste will be made to complete it.

While engaged in writing this report there came to me several messengers from the chief of a city five leagues from this province, called Buacachula,[109] and situated at the entrance to one of the passes into the province of Mesico. These messengers told me, on behalf of their lord, that some while previously they had come and offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals. And so that I should not accuse them of complicity, they were informing me that several captains from Culua were quartered in their city, and that in it and one league away thirty thousand men were garrisoned to prevent us from crossing by that pass, and also to prevent the inhabitants of the city or of any of the surrounding provinces from becoming Your Highness's vassals or our allies. They said that some of those would have come to offer themselves in Your Royal service had they not been prevented. They told me this so that I should remedy it, for in addition to preventing all those of goodwill from coming, the Culuans had done great harm to the inhabitants of that city and to the people thereabouts. For, as there were many warriors, their people had been greatly injured and ill treated and their women and

belongings and other things had been taken from them. If I would grant them protection, they promised to do as I commanded. Then, after thanking them for their information and their offer, I sent thirteen horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers[110] to accompany them together with some thirty thousand of our Indian allies. We agreed that they should travel by roads where they would not be discovered, and once they were outside the city the chief and inhabitants and all his other vassals and supporters would be alerted and would surround the place where the captains were quartered, so they might seize and kill them before their people had time to come to their assistance. When they did come the Spaniards would already be in the city and would fight with them and set them to rout.

So they left and went by way of the city of Churultecal and through some of the province of Guasucingo, which borders on the land of Buacachula four leagues from the city. In a village of the aforementioned province of Guasucingo it is said that they told the Spaniards that the natives of that province had plotted with the people of Buacachula and Culua to trick the Spaniards into going to that city, where, once they were all together, they would fall on the Spaniards and kill them. As they had not yet dispelled the terror with which they had been filled by the Culuans, this intelligence terrified the Spaniards; their captain made investigations as well as he could, and seized all the chiefs of Guasucingo he had with him, together with the messengers from the city of Buacachula, and returned to the city of Churultecal, which is four leagues from there, and sent me the prisoners accompanied by several horsemen and foot soldiers to inform me of what had happened. The captain also wrote to me saying that our men were alarmed and dispirited, and that the expedition now seemed very hazardous.

When the prisoners arrived I questioned them most diligently through my interpreters to learn the truth, and it appeared that the captain had misunderstood them. I at once set them free and placated them, saying that I believed them to be loyal vassals of

Your Sacred Majesty and that I would go in person to rout the Culuans, for, in order to show no weakness before the natives of this land, whether friends or enemies, it seemed to me that we should not abandon an enterprise we had begun. To dispel some of the fear of the Spaniards I decided to lay aside all other business and the dispatch which I was writing for Your Majesty, and departed that same hour with the greatest possible speed. I arrived that day at the city of Churultecal, which is eight leagues from this city [Segura de la Frontera], and there I found the Spaniards who still believed firmly in the treachery.

On the following day I slept at the town in Guasucingo where the chiefs had been seized. The next day after having agreed with the messengers from Buacachula as to where and how we were to enter the city, I set out an hour before dawn and arrived there just before ten o'clock. When I was still about half a league distant certain messengers from the city came out to meet me on the road; they told me how everything was prepared and how the Culuans knew nothing of our arrival, for certain inhabitants of that city had seized the spies which the captains from Culua had placed on the roads, and likewise those who had been sent to the walls and towers of the city to survey the countryside. The enemy was therefore unprepared, confident that they were well protected by their spies and scouts; and so my advance would pass unnoticed. Thus I hastened to enter the city without being discovered, because we were marching across a plain where they could easily have seen us. When the inhabitants of the city saw how close we were they surrounded the houses where the captains were quartered and began to attack the others scattered throughout the city. When I came within a crossbowshot of the city they brought me some forty prisoners, and I made all the more haste to enter. There was a great uproar throughout all the streets of the city. While fighting with the enemy I was guided by a native to the place where those captains were quartered, which I found surrounded by more than three thousand men who had captured the roofs and high places and were

fighting to get in. But the captains and their men fought so well and so fiercely that although they were few they repulsed their attackers. For not only were they most valiant men but also the building they were in was very strong. As soon as I arrived we entered, but so many natives came with us that I was unable to save those captains from being killed almost immediately. I had wished to take some alive in order to learn of the affairs of the great city and who was lord now that Mutezuma was dead, and other things besides; but I was only able to capture one, more dead than alive, who informed me as I shall hereafter relate.

Many of those Culuans who were quartered in the city were killed and the rest, as soon as they heard of my arrival, began to flee to where the others were garrisoned; but many of them died in their attempt to escape. The disturbance was soon heard by the garrison, which commanded a height overlooking the city and the surrounding plain. They came to see what it was and to help, almost at the same time as the others arrived who had fled from the city. They were more than thirty thousand men and the most magnificent we have ever seen, for they wore many jewels and much gold and feathers. As the city is large, they began to set fire to it in the place where they had entered; this was soon discovered by the inhabitants, however, and I went out with only the horsemen, for the foot soldiers were very exhausted. We broke through them and they retreated to a pass which we took and then pursued them, overtaking many on an upward slope so steep that when we reached the top of the hill neither the enemy nor ourselves could either retreat or advance. Thus many of them fell suffocated by the heat without receiving a single wound. Two horses also fell, one of which died. In this manner we did great harm, for we had with us many of our Indian friends who, as they were refreshed and the enemy half dead, killed many of them: so in a short while the battlefield was empty of the living, though somewhat cluttered with the dead. We reached the quarters and shelters they had recently built in the countryside: these were in three groups, each, it seemed, as

large as a small village, for in addition to the warriors, there were many servants and supplies for their camp, because, as I learnt afterwards, they had had some persons of high rank with them. All this was plundered and burnt by our Indian allies of whom, I assure Your Majesty, there were more than a hundred thousand altogether. Having with this victory now driven the enemy from the land to beyond some difficult mountain passes which they still held, we returned to Buacachula, where we were very well received and accommodated by the inhabitants; and in that city we rested for three days, for we were in great need of rest.

At this time there came to offer themselves in Your Majesty's Royal service the inhabitants of a large town called Ocupatuyo,[111] which stands two leagues above the hills where the enemy camp was, and at the foot of that smoking mountain. They said that their chief had fled with the Culuans when we had pursued them, believing we would not stop at his town; and that for some while they had desired my friendship and would have come to offer themselves as Your Highness's vassals, but their chief would not permit it, although they asked him many times. They now wished to serve Your Majesty; and there remained behind a brother of that chief, who had always been of their opinion and still was. They begged me, therefore, to approve his succession, and that if the other lord returned not to receive him as such, for they themselves would not do so. I told them that as they had until now been allied with the Culuans and in revolt against Your Majesty's service, they deserved great punishments, which I had intended to execute on their persons and possessions; but as they had come and told me that the cause of their rebellion had been their lord, I, in Your Majesty's name, forgave them their past errors and admitted them to Your Royal service. But I cautioned them that if another such crime were committed they would be punished; promising them on the other hand that if they were loyal vassals they would be much honored and assisted by me in Your Royal name.

This city of Guacachulla [*sic*] is situated in a plain bounded

on the one side by some high and rugged mountains and on the others by two rivers about two crossbowshots apart which run through large and deep ravines. Thus the approaches to the city are few, and all of them are so steep that the horses can barely pass either up or down them. The whole city is surrounded by a very strong wall built of stone and mortar which is as high as twenty-four feet on the outside and almost level with the ground on the inside. All along the top of this wall runs a battlement three feet high to protect them while fighting. And there are four gateways wide enough for a man to enter on horseback. At each entrance there are three or four bends in the wall, doubling back on one another; and there are also battlements on each of these bends. On this wall they keep a great number of stones, both small and large and of various shapes, which they use for fighting. This city has some five or six thousand inhabitants, and there are as many more in the hamlets which are subject to it. It occupies a very large area, for within the city are many gardens with fruit and sweet-smelling flowers as is their custom.

When I had rested in this city three days I went to another which is called Yzçucan[112] and is four leagues from Buacachula, because I was told that there also many Culuans were garrisoned, and that the inhabitants of the city and of the towns and other places subject to it appeared to be closely allied with the Culuans, for their lord was a native of that country and a relative of Mutezuma too. I was accompanied by such a great number of the natives, Your Majesty's vassals, that they covered the fields and hills for almost as far as we could see; indeed, we must have been more than 120,000 men.

We arrived at that city of Yzçucan at ten o'clock, and found it empty of women and children, but there remained as many as five or six thousand warriors, all very well armed. When the Spaniards who had taken the vanguard arrived, the enemy began to defend their city somewhat, but soon abandoned it because it was easy for us to enter by the place we had been led to. We pursued them through the city until they were forced to jump over the parapet

into a river which ran alongside all that part of the wall. As they had destroyed the bridges, we spent a little time in crossing, but then pursued them for a league and a half or more; and I think that few of those who remained escaped.

When we returned to the city I sent two of the native prisoners to speak to the men of rank, for their lord had gone with the Culuans, to persuade them to return to the city; and I promised them in Your Majesty's name that if they became Your Highness's loyal vassals, they would thenceforth be well favored by me and their past errors would be forgiven.

These messengers departed, and after three days some chieftains came and begged forgiveness for their crimes, pleading that they could not have done otherwise because their lord had so commanded them; but they promised that as their lord had fled and abandoned them they would thenceforth serve Your Majesty most loyally. I reassured them and told them to return to their homes and bring back their women and children who had been taken to towns and other places of their allies; likewise I told them to speak to the inhabitants of those places so that they should come to me, for I forgave them for what had happened. Otherwise I would be obliged to move against them and would surely do them much harm, which would distress me greatly. Thus it was done, and within two days the city of Yzçucan was repopulated, and all the dependencies thereof had offered themselves as Your Highness's vassals; and that province remained very secure, in friendship and alliance with both ourselves and the people of Buacachula.

Some dispute arose about whom the sovereignties over the city and province of Yzçucan belonged to in the absence of the lord who had gone to Mesico. There had arisen some controversy between a bastard son of the rightful lord of the land (whom Mutezuma had put to death, and in his stead placed the present lord, marrying him to one of his nieces) and a grandson of the same rightful lord, son of his legitimate daughter and the ruler of Buacachula. At last it was decided that as the son of the ruler of Buacachula

came from the legitimate line, he should inherit, because, although the other was the lord's son, he was a bastard and therefore should not rule. In my presence they paid homage to that boy, who is some ten years old; and they decided that as he was not of age to rule that his illegitimate uncle and three other chieftains, one from the city of Buacachula, and the other two from Yzçucan, should govern the land and care for the boy until he came of age.

This city of Yzçucan has some three or four thousand citizens, and its streets and marketplaces are very well ordered; it had a hundred temples and shrines, well fortified with towers, all of which were burnt. It is in a plain at the foot of a medium-sized hill where there is a very good fortress. On the other side, which faces toward the plain, it is bordered by a deep river that runs very close to the walls and is surrounded by the deep gorge of the river, on the edge of which they have built battlements two yards high which run all the way around the city; and all along this wall they have piled many stones. The valley is circular and very fertile in fruit and cotton, which does not grow anywhere above the passes on account of the great cold; but here the land is warm, for it is well sheltered by mountains. The whole valley is irrigated by well-built channels which are well dug and laid out.

I remained in this city until it was secure and all the inhabitants had returned; and while I was there the lord of the city of Guasucingo and the lord of another which is ten leagues from Yzçucan, both of which share borders with Mesico, came to me offering themselves as Your Majesty's vassals. Chieftains also came from eight of the towns in the province of Coastoaca,[118] which I have mentioned in previous chapters, as the province which those Spaniards visited who went to look for gold in Cucula, and Tamazula nearby, where there were very large towns, better built than any seen in these parts. This province is forty leagues from Yzçucan; and the natives of the aforementioned eight towns likewise offered themselves as Your Highness's vassals and said that four others from the same province who had remained behind would come

very soon. They asked me to forgive them for not having come before, but they had not dared to for fear of the Culuans. They had never taken arms against me, however, nor killed any Spaniard, and after they had offered to serve Your Highness they had always been loyal and true vassals, but had not dared show it. So Your Highness may be assured that if it please Our Lord to favor Your Royal good fortune, all that was lost, or a great part of it, will shortly be regained, for each day many of the provinces and cities which had been subject to Mutezuma come and offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, for they see how those who do so are well received and favored by me, whereas those who do not are destroyed daily.

From those who were captured in the city of Bacachula [*sic*], and especially from that wounded captain, I learnt in great detail of all that had happened in the great city of Temixtitan, and how, after the death of Mutezuma, a brother of his, called Cuetravacin,[114] lord of the city of Yztapalapa, had inherited the land because Mutezuma's son and heir had been killed on the bridges;[115] of his other two sons they said that one was mad and the other palsied. For these reasons the brother succeeded him, and also because he had made war on us and they held him to be a wise and valiant man. I learnt also how they were fortifying that city and all the others in the land and had built many walls and earthworks and trenches and every type of weapon. I learnt above all how they had made long lances like pikes for the horses, and indeed we have already seen some of these, because in the province of Tepeaca we found some with which they had been fighting; and in the houses where the Culuans had been quartered in Buacachula we likewise found many of them. Many other things I learnt besides but will not mention them lest I bore Your Majesty.

I sent to the island of Hispaniola four ships to bring at once horses and men to aid us; and likewise from Hispaniola and the city of Santo Domingo horses, arms, crossbows and powder, for those are what we most require in this country, for the foot soldiers with

bucklers can do very little alone, as the enemy are so numerous and have such great and strong cities and fortresses. I have also written to the licenciado Rodrigo de Figueroa and to Your Highness's officials who reside on that island asking them to give all the help they can. For it will be a great service to Your Majesty and to the security of our persons, since I intend, as soon as such help arrives, to return to that country and its great city, and I believe, as I have already told Your Majesty, that it will shortly be restored to the state in which I held it before, and thus all our past losses shall be made good.

Meanwhile I am building twelve brigantines with which to cross the lake, and already the decks and other parts are being constructed, so that they may be carried overland in pieces and swiftly assembled on arrival. Likewise nails, pitch, tow, oars and sails and other essential things are being made. I assure Your Majesty that until I have achieved this I shall not rest, nor leave untried any way or means open to me, ignoring all the hardships, danger and expense that this may cost me.

Three days or so ago I learnt in a letter from the lieutenant[116] whom I had left at Vera Cruz how there had arrived at the port a small caravel with some thirty sailors and soldiers aboard, who said that they had come in search of the people whom Francisco de Garay had sent to this land and about whom I have already given Your Highness an account. They had arrived in great want of provisions, so much so indeed that had they not found help there they would have died of hunger and thirst. From them I learnt how they reached the Pánuco River and anchored there for thirty days during which time they saw no one on land or on the river; and from this we believe that the people have abandoned the land because of what happened. The men from this caravel also said that two other ships belonging to Francisco de Garay were to have followed them with men and horses, but were thought to have sailed on down the coast. It seemed to me therefore to be in Your Highness's service, in order that the ships and their passengers might not be lost, to send

that caravel in search of them, to warn them of all that had happened, for, being ignorant of this land, they might receive greater harm from the natives than the first party, and once they had found them to bring them to Vera Cruz, where the first captain sent by Francisco de Garay awaited them. I pray to God that they may be found before they land, because, as the natives are already prepared and the Spaniards are not, I fear they may be much harmed, and this would be a great disservice to the Lord our God and Your Highness; because it would enrage those curs still further and give them the courage and daring to attack those who may follow after.

In a previous chapter I told how I had learnt that, on the death of Mutezuma, Cuetravacin, his brother, had become lord and had stored up all manner of arms and fortified the great city and others by the lake. And a little while ago, I learnt how he has sent word throughout all the provinces and cities in his domain that he will grant his vassals exemption for one year from all tributes and services they are obliged to render him, provided that they, by every possible means, wage very savage war on the Christians until they are all killed or driven from the land; and to do likewise with all the natives who are our friends and allies. Although I trust in the Lord God that in nothing will they achieve their purpose, I find myself in great need of help, for each day the Indians who are our friends come from many cities and towns and villages to seek our aid against the Culuans, their enemies and ours, who make war on them because they are our allies, and I am unable to help them as I desire. But, as I have said, I pray to God to assist our small forces and speedily to send us His help as well as that I have asked for from Hispaniola.

From all I have seen and understood touching the similarity between this land and that of Spain, in its fertility and great size and the cold and many other things, it seemed to me that the most suitable name for it was New Spain of the Ocean Sea,[117] and so in Your Majesty's name I called it that. I humbly entreat Your Highness to look favorably on this and order it to be so called.

I have written to Your Majesty, although in poor style, the truth about all that has happened in these parts and all that is most necessary for Your Highness to know. And in another letter which I send with this one, I beg Your Royal Excellency to send a trustworthy person to make an examination and inquiry of everything and to inform Your Sacred Majesty thereof. In this report I likewise humbly entreat the same, for I would hold such a singular favor as giving entire credit to all I say.

Very High and Most Excellent Prince, may Our Lord God preserve for very many years the life and Very Royal Person and Most Powerful Estate of Your Sacred Majesty and grant You the increase of much greater Kingdoms and Dominions, as Your Royal heart so desires. From the town of Segura de la Frontera in New Spain on the thirtieth day of October, 1520. From Your Sacred Majesty's very humble servant and vassal, who kisses the Very Royal feet and hands of Your Highness—FERNÁN CORTÉS.[118]

After this, there came on the first of the month of the March past news from New Spain, of how the Spaniards had taken by storm the great city of Temixtitan, in which there had died more Indians than Jews in Jerusalem during the destruction of that city by Vespasian and, even so, there were more people in it than in the Holy City. They found little treasure because the natives had thrown it deep in the water; in all only 200,000 pesos de oro *were taken. But the Spaniards, of whom there are at present fifteen hundred foot soldiers and five hundred horsemen, are very well fortified in that city, and they have more than a hundred thousand Indian allies in the countryside.*

These are great and wonderful things and it is without doubt like another world, which we who live beyond are most envious merely to see. This news is all that we here have for certain up to the beginning of April, 1522.[119]

The Third Letter

Sent by Fernando Cortés, Captain and Chief Justice of Yucatán, called New Spain of the Ocean Sea, to the Most High and Powerful Caesar and Invincible Lord, Don Carlos, Ever August Emperor and King of Spain, Our Sovereign Lord.

Concerning the very remarkable things which took place during the reconquest of the very great and marvelous city of Temixtitan and of the other provinces subject thereto which had rebelled. In which city and provinces the aforementioned captain and the Spaniards achieved great and notable victories worthy of perpetual memory. Likewise he relates how he discovered the South Sea and many more great provinces, very rich in gold and pearls and precious stones; and how he has even heard tell that there are spices.

MOST HIGH AND POWERFUL PRINCE, MOST CATHOLIC AND INVINCIBLE EMPEROR, KING AND SOVEREIGN:

With Alonso de Mendoza, a native of Medellín whom I dis-

patched from New Spain on the fifth of March of last year, 1521, I sent a second report to Your Majesty of all that had happened here; which report I completed on the thirtieth of October, 1520. But on account of bad weather and the loss of three ships, one of which was to have carried the aforementioned report to Your Majesty, and the other two I wished to send to Hispaniola for help, the aforementioned Mendoza's departure was much delayed, as I explained at length to Your Majesty in a letter which was also sent with him. Toward the end of this same report I informed Your Majesty how, after the Indians of Temixtitan had driven us from the city by force, I had come upon the province of Tepeaca, which was subject to Temixtitan which had rebelled, and with the remaining Spaniards and our Indian allies I had made war upon it and had brought it to the service of Your Majesty; and how I said that as the past treachery and the great harm we had been done, and the death of the Spaniards were so recent in our hearts, I had determined to return against the people of that great city which had been the cause of all our misfortune. For this purpose I had begun to build thirteen brigantines to do them every possible damage from the lake if they persisted in their evil intent. I wrote to Your Majesty that while the aforementioned brigantines were being built, and I and our Indian allies were fitting ourselves out to return against the enemy, I wrote to Your Majesty's officials who reside in the island of Hispaniola for supplies of men, horses, artillery and arms and sent sufficient money to cover the cost. I assured Your Majesty that until I had triumphed over my enemies I would not rest nor cease to direct my every effort toward that end, putting aside whatever dangers, hardships and expense I might have to face; and that, so determined, I was preparing to depart from the aforementioned province of Tepeaca.

I likewise informed Your Majesty how a caravel from Francisco de Garay, lieutenant governor of the island of Jamaica, had arrived in the port of Vera Cruz, in great need of help, with some thirty men on board, who said that two other ships had left for the

Pánuco River, where one of Garay's captains had been routed, and it was feared that if they put into the river they too would be attacked by the natives. I also wrote to Your Majesty that I had sent a caravel in search of those two ships to warn them of all that had happened. After I had written this it pleased God that one of these ships, in which there was a captain with some 120 men, should arrive at Vera Cruz, where they were informed of how Garay's men who had come previously had been defeated. They spoke with the captain who had been defeated, and he assured them that if they went to the river it was almost certain they would be much harmed by the Indians. And while they were in the port, still resolved to go to that river, a storm blew up which drove the ship out to sea, breaking the rigging and then driving them into a port which is called Sant Juan, twelve leagues further up the coast. There, after having disembarked all the men, and the seven or eight horses and as many mares which they had brought with them, they beached the ship because it was leaking badly. When I was informed of this, I wrote to the captain telling him how sorry I was at what had befallen him, and that I had given orders to my lieutenant in Vera Cruz to make him and his men welcome, to give them whatever they might require, and to ascertain what they now intended to do; and, furthermore, if all or some of them wished to return in the ships which were anchored there, to grant them leave and send them on their way as they wished. But the captain and those who came with him resolved to join me; of the other ship we have heard nothing, and as so much time has passed we hold little hope of its safety. I pray God that it may have reached a good harbor.

As I was about to depart from that province of Tepeaca, I learnt how two provinces, which are called Cacatamy and Xalaçingo[1] and are subject to the lord of Temixtitan, had rebelled and

14. Title page to Letter III from the Latin translation of Cortés's letters published in Nuremburg in 1524. *Courtesy of the British Museum.*

Tertia Ferdinādi Cor-
tesii Sac. Caesar. et Cath. Maiesta.

IN NOVA MARIS OCEANI HYSPANIA GENE-
ralis praefecti p̄clara Narratio, In qua Celebris Ciuitatis Temix
titan expugnatio, aliarūq; Prouinciarū, quę defecerant recupe-
ratio continetur, In quarū expugnatione, recuperationeq; Praefe
ctus, una cum Hyspanis Victorias aeterna memoria dignas con
sequutus est, pręterea In ea Mare del Sur Cortesium detexisse re-
cēset, quod nos Australe Indicū Pelagus putam9, & alias innume
ras Prouincias Aurifodinis, Vnionibus, Variisq; Gemmarum
generibus refertas, Et postremo illis innotuisse in eis quoq; Aro-
mata contineri, Per Doctorē Petrum Sauorgnanū Foroiuliensem
Reuerē. in Christo patris dñi Io. de Reuelles Episcopi Viēnensis
Secretarium Ex Hyspano ydiomate In Latinum Versa.

had killed some Spaniards on the road between here and Vera Cruz, which passes through there. Thus, to ensure the safety of that road and to punish those Indians in some manner if they refused to submit peaceably, I sent a captain with twenty horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers and some of our allies; and I charged this captain and commanded him in Your Majesty's name to require the natives of those provinces to come in peace and offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, as they had done before; and to be as mild with them as possible; but if they would not receive him in peace to make war on them. And once this had been done and those two provinces were subdued, I told him to return with all his company to the city of Tascalteca where I would await him. He departed at the beginning of the month of December, 1520, and proceeded to the aforementioned provinces which are twenty leagues hence.

Having completed this, Most Powerful Lord, I departed from the town of Segura [de] la Frontera, which is in the province of Tepeaca, in mid-December of the same year, leaving behind a captain[2] with sixty men because the inhabitants begged it of me. I sent all the foot soldiers to the city of Tascalteca, where the brigantines are being built, which is some nine or ten leagues from Tepeaca, while I, with twenty horsemen, went that day to spend the night in the city of Cholula, for the inhabitants desired my presence, as many of their lords had died of the smallpox, which also affects those of the mainland as it does the islanders; and they wished me to appoint new ones on their advice. When we arrived we were very well received by them. And after we had concluded this business to their satisfaction, I informed them that I intended to go in arms against the province of Mexico and Temixtitan and asked them, as they were Your Majesty's vassals, to stand fast in their friendship with us until death, as we would with them. I therefore requested them to provide me with men for the war when the time came, and to welcome and treat the Spaniards who came and went through their lands as friends are bound to do; and they promised to do so.

I remained with them two or three days and then left for the city of Tascalteca, which is six leagues from there; when I arrived all the Spaniards and the inhabitants of the city were very pleased to see me. On the following day all the chiefs of that city and province came to speak with me and told me how Magiscacin, who was their overlord, had died of the smallpox; they knew well how much this would grieve me, as he was a great friend of mine. There remained, however, a son of his who was twelve or thirteen years of age, and it was to him that his father's dominion now belonged; they entreated me, therefore, to recognize him as heir; and I did so in Your Majesty's name, and they were all very gratified.

When I arrived in this city I found that the craftsmen and carpenters working on the brigantines were making great haste to complete the crossbeams and the planking and had achieved much of the work. I then sent to Vera Cruz for all the iron and nails they had, and also for sails and rigging and other necessary things, and as we had no pitch I had certain Spaniards make it on a hill close by. All the equipment for the brigantines was thus made ready so that when, God willing, I arrived in the province of Mexico and Temixtitan I might send for them from there, a distance of some ten or twelve leagues from the city of Tascalteca. And during the fifteen days I remained in that city I concerned myself only with urging on the carpenters and with preparing arms for our journey.

Two days before Christmas the captain who had gone to the provinces of Cacatamy and Xalaçingo returned with the horsemen and foot soldiers. I learnt how certain of the Indians had fought with him but that in the end they had all sued for peace, some willingly, some by force. He also brought me several of the lords of those provinces whom, although they clearly deserved punishment for rebellion and causing the death of Christians, I pardoned in Your Royal name and sent back to their lands, for they promised that from then on they would serve Your Majesty as loyal and true vassals. Thus this task was ended and Your Majesty was well served,

for not only were the natives of this province pacified, but also the safety of the Spaniards who had to pass that way to the town of Vera Cruz was assured.

Two days after Christmas I reviewed my company in the aforementioned city of Tascalteca; there were forty horsemen and 550 foot soldiers, eighty of whom were crossbowmen and harquebusiers; and there were eight or nine field guns but very little powder. I formed the horsemen into four troops of ten, and of the foot soldiers made nine companies of sixty men each. When they had all assembled on parade I addressed them and told them that they already knew how they and I had, in Your Sacred Majesty's service, settled in this land and how the inhabitants thereof had offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, and had remained as such for some time, receiving many benefits from us and we from them. Likewise I reminded them how, for no good reason, all the natives of Culua, that is, those from the great city of Temixtitan, and those from all the other provinces which are subject thereto, had not only rebelled against Your Majesty, but moreover had killed many men who were our friends and kinsmen and had driven us from their land. I urged them to remember the dangers and hardships we had undergone, and to consider how much it would benefit the service of God and Your Majesty if we were to return and recover all that had been lost, for we had just cause and good reason for it. First, because we were fighting against a barbarian people to spread our Faith; second, in order to serve Your Majesty; third, we had to protect our lives; and, last, many of the natives were our allies and would assist. All of which were very powerful reasons why we should be strong in heart: I therefore urged them to be joyful and courageous. In Your Majesty's name I had drawn up certain ordinances for good government and other matters[3] concerning war which I then had publicly announced. I likewise urged them to abide by these ordinances, for they would render a great service to God and Your Majesty by so doing. They all promised to do so, declaring that they would very gladly die for our Faith,

and in Your Majesty's service, or recover all we had lost and avenge the great treachery which the people of Temixtitan and their allies had perpetrated against us. I thanked them in Your Majesty's name, and we all returned to our quarters in high spirits.

On the following day, which was the feast of St. John the Evangelist, I called together all the lords of the province of Tascalteca, and when they were assembled told them that, as they knew, I was to leave the next day for the land of our enemies, and that they had seen how the city of Temixtitan could not be won without those brigantines which were being built there; so I asked them to give the carpenters and all the other Spaniards whom I left there all they might require, and to treat them as well as they had always treated us. I asked them also to be ready for when I sent from the city of Tesuico, if God should grant us victory, for the crossbeams and planking, and for the other equipment of those brigantines. This they promised to do, and furthermore said they wished to send some warriors with me, declaring that once the brigantines were finished they would all go, for they wanted to die where I died, or be revenged on the people of Culua, their mortal enemies. And so, on the following day, which was the twenty-eighth of December, the Feast of the Innocents, I departed with my company in good array, and we put up for the night six leagues from Tascalteca in a village called Tezmoluca,[4] which lies in the province of Guasucingo, and whose inhabitants have always maintained their friendship and alliance with us like the people of Tascalteca; we slept there that night.

Most Catholic Lord, in the earlier account I said that I had learnt that the people of the province of Mexico and Temixtitan were storing up arms and building walls and earthworks and forts to prevent us from entering their lands, for they knew now that I intended to return against them. And I, knowing this and knowing also how cunning and astute they are in war, had often considered how we might invade and attack them relatively unprepared; for they knew that we had been informed of the three roads by which

we might enter their land. I therefore determined to go by way of Tezmoluca, as the pass there was steeper and rougher than the others, and we would, no doubt, encounter little resistance and find them unprepared.

Thus on the day after the Feast of the Innocents, having heard Mass and commended ourselves to God, we left that village of Tezmoluca; I led the vanguard with ten horsemen and sixty lightly armed foot soldiers, all skilled in battle. We followed the road up the pass in the best order we could and spent the night four leagues from the above-mentioned village, on top of the pass and already on the border with Culua. Although it was very cold, we managed to warm ourselves with the great quantity of firewood we found there; and on the following morning, which was a Sunday, we began to descend to the plain. I sent four horsemen and three or four foot soldiers on ahead to spy out the land, and then, as we were leaving the pass, I ordered the rest of the horsemen to advance, then the harquebusiers and crossbowmen, and finally the others, for no matter how unprepared we might find the enemy, they were certain to set an ambush or some other trap to attack us on the road. As the four horsemen and the foot soldiers proceeded on their journey, they found the road blocked with trees and branches; very large and thick pine and cypress trees, which seemed to have been cut very recently, had been felled across it. Thinking that the road ahead would not be so obstructed, they continued, but the farther they went the more they found it obstructed with pine trees and branches. As, in addition to this, the path was lined on both sides with very dense trees and large bushes, they proceeded with great difficulty. When they saw how the road was, they were greatly alarmed and imagined that the enemy was hidden behind every tree. Because of these dense woods they were unable to make use of the horses, and the farther they went the more afraid they became.

When they had gone for some while in this fashion, one of the four horsemen said to his companions: "Brothers, if you agree,

let us go no further, but return to our captain and inform him of the obstruction we have encountered and the great danger in which we all find ourselves because we are unable to use the horses; if, however, you do not agree to this proposal, let us proceed, for I am as willing as you to surrender my life to accomplish our task." The others replied that although they thought his advice sound they did not think it a good idea to return until they had sighted the enemy, or discovered how far the road continued in that manner. So they began to proceed, but, when they saw that it continued for a long way, they halted and sent one of the foot soldiers to inform me of what they had seen. When I came up with the vanguard, we continued on that bad road, commending ourselves to God, and I sent word to the rear guard urging them to make haste and not to be afraid, for soon we would reach open ground. I caught up with the four horsemen, and we went on together, although with great difficulty, and after half a league it pleased God that we should begin to descend across open ground. There I halted to wait for the others, and when they arrived I told them to give thanks to Our Lord for having carried us that far in safety. From there we could see before us the province of Mexico and Temixtitan, which lies in the lakes and by their shore. Although we were greatly pleased to see it, recollecting how much harm we had suffered there, we were somewhat sad and all swore never to leave that province alive if we did not do so victorious. And with this resolution we moved on as joyfully as if we were on an outing. The enemy, who had already observed us, now suddenly began to send up great smoke signals all over the land; and I begged and entreated the Spaniards again to do as they had always done, and as was expected of them; no one should leave the path, but all should keep together and in formation on the road.

Already the Indians were shouting at us from some nearby farms and villages, calling on all the people of the land to unite and attack us at some bridges and narrow stretches which lay ahead. We made such haste, however, that we had reached the plain be-

fore they had time to gather their forces. Then certain troops of Indians came out to meet us on the road, and I ordered fifteen horsemen to break through them; this they did, spearing some of them without receiving any hurt. Then we continued on our way toward Tesuico, which is one of the largest and most beautiful cities in these parts; but as the foot soldiers were somewhat tired and it was getting late we slept in a village called Coatepeque,[5] which is subject to Tesuico and three leagues away from it; we found it deserted. That night it occurred to us that as the city and its province, which is called Aculuacán, is very large and thickly populated, there might well be at that time more than 150,000 men waiting to fall on us, so I, with ten horsemen, took the first watch and ordered all the men to be well prepared.

On the following day, Monday, the last day of December, we continued on our journey in the usual order, and a quarter of a league from that village of Coatepeque, while we were all wondering and discussing amongst ourselves whether the people of Tesuico would come in war or peace, believing that war was more likely, there came toward us four Indian chieftains with a flag of gold, which weighed some four gold marks, on a pole, and by this they gave us to understand that they came in peace; God knows how much we desired and needed peace, being, as we were, so few, so far from help and so deep into the land of the enemy. When I saw those four Indians, one of whom I knew, I halted my men, and went toward them. After we had greeted each other they told me that they had come on behalf of the lord of that city and province, who is called Guanacacin,[6] and begged me, on his behalf, to do no damage in their land nor to countenance any, for the people of Temixtitan, not they, were responsible for the hurt I had suffered previously. They wished to be Your Majesty's vassals and our friends, as they would always preserve our friendship; they asked us to enter their city, where we might judge their sincerity by their deeds.

I welcomed them through the interpreters and replied that I welcomed their offer of peace and friendship, but, though they sought to exculpate themselves from the war which had been made on me in Temixtitan, they well knew that in certain of their subject villages five or six leagues from the city of Tesuico they had killed five horsemen and forty-five foot soldiers, and more than three hundred Indians from Tascalteca who were carrying much gold and silver and clothing and other things, all of which they had taken. As they could not therefore excuse themselves from all blame, their punishment would be to return what belonged to us, and if they did so, although they all deserved to die for having killed so many Christians, I would make peace with them because they begged me to do so. But if they did not, I would proceed against them with all severity. They answered that the lord and chieftains of Temixtitan had taken everything they had stolen, but that they would search for all they could find and return it to me. They then asked me if I was going that day to the city or would camp in one of the two villages called Coatinchan and Guaxuta.[7] which are like suburbs to the city, and lie a league and a half from it, though the space between is all built up; this it later appeared was what they wished me to do. I told them in reply that I would not stop until I had reached Tesuico; they agreed to this and said that they would go on ahead to prepare quarters for the Spaniards and myself; and so they departed. When we reached the aforementioned villages some of their chieftains came out to meet us and brought us food; and at midday we reached the center of the city, where we were to be quartered in a large house which had belonged to the father of Guanacacin, chieftain of the city. But before we settled in I called together all my people and commanded them, under pain of death, not to leave the house without my permission. The house was so large that had we Spaniards been twice as many we could still have put up there very comfortably. I did this so that the natives might be reassured and return to their homes, for it seemed to

me that we had not seen a tenth of the people who are normally to be found in the city, nor any women or children, which was a rather alarming sign.

The day we entered this city, which was New Year's Eve, we arranged our quarters, and although we were still somewhat perturbed at seeing so few people, and those whom we did see very well wrapped up, we suspected that it was out of fear that they did not appear on the streets, and this relieved us somewhat. Toward sunset, certain Spaniards climbed onto some high roofs from where they could survey the whole city, and they saw how all the natives were leaving; some, with their possessions, were going out into the lake in canoes, which they call *acales*, and some up into the mountains. Although I immediately ordered their flight to be halted, it was already so late that night soon fell, and they made such haste that we could not prevent them. Thus the chief of the city, whom I dearly wished to have in my power, escaped with many of the chieftains and all their belongings to the city of Temixtitan, which is six leagues away across the lake. For this reason, to carry out their plans in safety, those messengers whom I mentioned above came to meet me, hoping to detain me awhile so I should do them no harm; later that night they abandoned us, and their city also.

We remained in the city for three days, without any encounter with the Indians, for they dared not come to meet us nor were we disposed to go far in search of them, for my considered intention was always, when they wished it, to receive them in peace, and always to require it of them. At this time the lords of Coatynchan and Guaxuta and Autengo,[8] which are three large villages near to the city and, as I have said, incorporated and joined with it, came to speak to me; and, weeping, they begged me to forgive them for abandoning their land, but said that for the rest they had not fought against me or at least not willingly, and from now on would do all I commanded them in Your Majesty's name. I replied through the interpreters that they knew how well we had always treated them and that in leaving their land and everything

else they were to blame; and so if they wished to be our friends they must return to their homes and bring also their women and children, for we would treat them according to their actions. And so they departed not much pleased, as it seemed to us.

When the lord of Mexico and Temixtitan and all the other lords of Culua (for the name Culua comprises all the lands and provinces in this region subject to Temixtitan) heard that the lords of those villages had come to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, they sent some messengers to tell them that they had behaved very badly; and if they had done this through fear, they should have been well aware that they were many and had such strength that they must very soon kill me and the Spaniards and all the Indians of Tascalteca; and that if they had done it so as not to have to leave their lands, they should indeed leave them and go to Temixtitan, where they would be given bigger and better villages to live in.

These lords of Coatinchan and Guaxuta seized these messengers and bound them and brought them to me. They confessed that they had come on behalf of the lords of Temixtitan, but it was only to persuade those chieftains, as they were my friends, to go to the capital as mediators, to negotiate peace terms between us. This the chiefs of Guaxuta and Coatinchan denied, saying that the lords of México and Temixtitan wanted nothing but war, and although I believed them—and what they said was indeed the truth—because I wished to persuade the people of Tesuico to become our friends, because on that depended whether we had peace or war with the other provinces which were in revolt, I freed these messengers and told them not to be afraid, for I would send them back to Temixtitan. I begged them to tell their lord that, although I had every reason to do so, I did not wish to fight them, but to be their friend as I had been once before. And so as to assure them further and bring them to the service of Your Majesty, I sent to say that I was well aware that the chieftains who had made war on me before were now dead, and that the past should be forgotten, and they

should not give me cause to destroy their lands and cities, for I would be very sorry to have to do so. With this I freed the messengers and they departed promising to bring me an answer. The lords of Coatinchan and Guaxuta and I were by this good deed more closely united, and I, in Your Majesty's name, forgave them their past misdeeds, and thus they were satisfied.

After having remained in this city of Tesuico seven or eight days without any disturbance or conflict with the inhabitants, during which time we fortified our quarters and prepared other things necessary for our defense and for attacking the enemy, I saw that they were not going to take the offensive and left the aforementioned city with two hundred Spaniards, among whom were eighteen horsemen, thirty crossbowmen and ten harquebusiers, together with three or four thousand of our Indian allies.[9] I marched along the lake shore to a city called Yztapalapa, which by water is two leagues from Temixtitan and six from Tesuico; it has some ten thousand inhabitants and half, or perhaps even two-thirds of it, is built over the water.

The lord of the city, who was Mutezuma's brother, had, after his brother's death, been made king by the Indians, and was the chieftain most to blame for making war on us and driving us from the great city. For this reason, and because I had heard that the inhabitants of Yztapalapa were ill-disposed toward us, I determined to march against them. When they saw me more than two leagues from the city some came out into the fields and others appeared on the lake in canoes. Thus for two leagues we struggled both with those on land and those who landed from the canoes until we reached the city. They then opened a causeway some two-thirds of a league outside the city, which served as a dike between the salt and fresh-water lakes, as Your Majesty may have seen from the map of Temixtitan which I sent. When this dike was opened the salt water began to flow into the fresh with tremendous force, although the lakes are more than half a league apart. We were so

eager for victory we did not notice this subterfuge and passed on until, still fighting with the enemy, we entered the city. As the inhabitants had already been alerted, all the houses on the land had been abandoned and the people with their belongings had taken refuge in the houses over the lake; and there all those who had fled rallied and fought with us very fiercely. But Our Lord gave so much strength to His own that we drove them back into the water, some up to their chests and others swimming, and we took many of the houses on the water. More than six thousand of them, men, women and children, perished that day, for our Indian allies, when they saw the victory which God had given us, had no other thought but to kill, right and left.

Because it was now growing dark, I collected my men together and set fire to some of those houses; and while they were burning it seemed that Our Lord inspired me and brought to my memory that causeway or dike we had seen broken, and revealed to me the great danger we were in. So I left the city as swiftly as possible with all my men, although it was now quite dark. When I reached the water, which must have been at about nine o'clock, it was so deep and it flowed with such force that we had to leap across it; some of our Indian allies were drowned, and we lost all the spoil we had taken in the city. I assure Your Majesty that if that night we had not crossed the water, or had waited but three hours more, none of us would have escaped, for we would have been surrounded by water with no means of escape.

When day broke we saw that the water from the one lake was level with that of the other and flowed no more; the salt lake was full of warriors in canoes expecting to seize us there. I returned that day to Tesuico, fighting at times with some who landed from the lake, although we could do them little harm, for they retreated immediately to their canoes. When I reached Tesuico I found the people I had left there quite safe, having had no encounters at all with the enemy; and they were greatly pleased by our return and

the news of our victory. The day after we returned, a Spaniard who had been wounded died, and he was the first of my company to be killed by the Indians on this campaign.

On the following day there came to this city several messengers from the city of Otumba and four other cities which are near it: these cities are five or six leagues from Tesuico. These messengers entreated me to pardon them for the part they had played in the past war, because Otumba was the place where all the forces of Mexico and Temixtitan had gathered when we were fleeing the city, intending to put an end to us. These people of Otumba well knew that they could not avoid blame, although they excused themselves by saying that they had been under orders; but in order to incline me to leniency they told me how the chiefs of Temixtitan had sent messengers to persuade them to join their cause and to make no alliance with us because, if they did so, they would be destroyed. They said, however, that they would rather be Your Majesty's vassals and obey my commands. I told them in reply that they were well aware how much they were to blame for what had happened, and before I would pardon them or believe what they said, they must bring those messengers to me as captives and all the other natives of Mexico and Temixtitan who were in their land; otherwise I would not pardon them. I told them to return to their homes and show me by their deeds that they were Your Majesty's true vassals. Although we argued at length, they could extract nothing from me, and so they returned to their land, assuring me that they would in future do all that I commanded them, and from then on they have been loyal and obedient to Your Majesty's service.

Most Fortunate and Excellent Prince, as I told Your Majesty in the second report, when we were defeated and driven from the city of Temixtitan, I took with me one son and two daughters of Mutezuma, together with the lord of Tesuico, who was called Cacamacin, two of his brothers and many other chiefs whom I held captive, and all of them had been killed by the enemy (although

they were all of the same race, and some of them were their chiefs) except the two brothers of Cacamacin, who by great good fortune were able to escape. One of these brothers, called Ypacsuchyl, or by another name Cucascacin,[10] whom I, in Your Majesty's name and with Mutezuma's accord, had made lord of that city of Tesuico and of the province of Aculuacán, had escaped from captivity at the time of my arrival in Tascalteca, and returned to the aforementioned city of Tesuico. But as another of his brothers, called Guanacacin, of whom I have spoken earlier, had been chosen as chief, this brother had Cucascacin killed in the following manner: When he arrived in the province of Tesuico he was seized by the guards who informed their lord, Guanacacin, who likewise informed the lord of Temixtitan, who, unable to believe that Cucascacin could have escaped from us, thought that he must be acting on our behalf to give us information about what was happening in that province. He therefore ordered the aforementioned Guanacacin to kill his brother, and he obeyed at once. Guanacacin, the youngest of the brothers, stayed with me, and, as he was only a boy, our conversation made a greater impression on him and he became a Christian, and we gave him the name of Don Fernando. When I departed from the province of Tascalteca for Mexico and Temixtitan I left him behind with certain Spaniards; and I shall relate hereafter to Your Majesty what happened to him afterwards.[11]

On the day following my arrival in Tesuico from the city of Yztapalapa, I resolved to send Gonzalo de Sandoval, Your Majesty's alguacil mayor, as captain of twenty horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers, among whom were crossbowmen, harquebusiers and bucklers, for two very necessary purposes: first, to escort from this province certain messengers whom I was sending to Tascalteca to discover in what state the thirteen brigantines were which were being built there, and to provide for other things which both the people of the town of Vera Cruz and those of my company required; second, to make safe that region so the Spaniards might come and go in safety, for until then neither could we leave this

province of Aculuacán without passing through enemy land, nor could the Spaniards in Vera Cruz and other places come to us without being in great danger of attack. I commanded the aforementioned alguacil mayor that, once he had conducted the messengers to safety, he was to go to a province which is called Calco and borders on this of Aculuacán, for I had been assured that the natives thereof, although of the league of Culua, wished to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals but had not dared do so by reason of a garrison which had been stationed near them by the Culuans.

This captain then departed, taking with him all the Indians of Tascalteca who had carried our baggage, and others who had come to help us and had gained some spoils from the fighting. These Indians went some way ahead, for the captain believed that, as the Spaniards were marching in the rear, the enemy would not dare attack; but when the inhabitants of the towns and villages on the lake and by the lake shore saw them, they fell on the rear of the Tascaltecans and robbed them of their spoils, even killing some. But when the captain arrived with the horsemen and the foot soldiers he attacked them fiercely and many were speared and killed; and those who remained were routed and fled into the water and to villages nearby. The Indians of Tascalteca, accompanied by my messengers, returned to their country with all that they had left. Once they had all reached safety, Gonzalo de Sandoval continued his journey to the province of Calco, which is close by there. Early on the following morning a large number of the enemy gathered to do battle with the Spaniards; and once they were both in the field our men opened the attack and the horsemen routed two of their squadrons so that they soon fled the field, and the Spaniards pursued them killing and burning. When this was done and the road cleared, the people of Calco came out to welcome the Spaniards and both sides welcomed each other.

The lords said that they wished to come and see me; so they left and came to spend the night at Tesuico. When they arrived

they came before me accompanied by two sons of the chief of Calco, who gave me some three hundred pesos de oro and told me that their father had died, and how at the time of his death he had told them that the greatest grief he had to bear was that of not having seen me before he died, for he had been expecting me for many days. He had commanded them to visit me as soon as I arrived in this province and to look upon me as their father. So when they heard that I was in the city of Tesuico, they had wished to come and see me but had not dared do so for fear of the Culuans. Nor would they now have dared had the captain I sent not arrived in their land, and, they added, I would have to send many Spaniards with them when they returned to ensure that they arrived in safety. They said that I well knew how they had never been against me either in battle or otherwise, and that I also knew how, when the Culuans were attacking our quarters in Temixtitan and the Spaniards I had left there when I went to Cempoal to see Narváez, there were two Spaniards in their land guarding some maize which I had sent them to collect. They had taken these Spaniards to the province of Guaxoc[a]ngo, since they knew that the people of that province were our friends, to save them from being killed, as the Culuans had killed all the Spaniards they found outside Temixtitan. They told me this and many other things, weeping all the while, and I thanked them for their loyalty and their good deeds, promising that I would do always as they wished and that they would be very well treated. They have always until now shown great goodwill, and have been most obedient to all that I, in Your Majesty's name, have commanded them.

These sons of the lord of Calco and those who had come with them remained with me for one day, and then told me that they wished to return to their land and asked me to give them some of my people to conduct them in safety. Gonzalo de Sandoval, with several horsemen and foot soldiers, escorted them, with orders that, once he had taken them to their land, he should thence proceed to the province of Tascalteca, and bring back with him certain Span-

iards who were there, and Don Fernando, brother of Cacamacin, whom I have already mentioned. After four or five days this alguacil mayor returned, bringing the Spaniards and Don Fernando with him. A few days later I discovered that as he was a brother of the lords of this city the sovereignty belonged to him, although there were other brothers. For this reason, and also because the province was without a ruler, for Guanacacin, his brother, had left it and gone to Temixtitan, and, moreover, because Don Fernando was a very good friend of the Christians, I, in Your Majesty's name, ordered that he should be acknowledged as the lord. The inhabitants of the city, although at that time there were few present, did so, and from thenceforth obeyed him. Many of the people who had fled now began to return to the city and province of Aculuacán, and they also obeyed and served Don Fernando; from then on the city began to be rebuilt and reinhabited.

Two days after this the lords of Coatinchán and Guaxuta came to me and said that they knew for certain that all the forces of Culua were proceeding against the Spaniards and the land was full of the enemy. They asked if they should bring their women and children to where I was or should take them into the mountains, because they were very much afraid. But I encouraged them, and told them not to be afraid and to remain where they were in their houses, for I desired nothing so much as to meet the Culuans on the field. I told them to be watchful and send spies and scouts out all over the land; and once they knew the enemy was coming to advise me. Thus they departed much concerned with my orders. That night I alerted my men and positioned watchmen and sentries in every place where it was necessary; we did not sleep at all that night, nor think of anything save the matter in hand. Thus, believing what we had been told by those lords of Guaxuta and Coatinchán, we waited all that night and the following day. The day after, I learnt how some of the enemy were moving along the lake shore, making surprise attacks and hoping to seize some Indians from Tascalteca who fetched and carried things for the camp. I

learnt also how they had been joined by two towns, subjects of Tesuico, which were close by the water's edge, whence they would do us all the harm they were able. They had barricaded themselves in with ditches and earthworks and other things for their defense. After I heard this I set out on the following day with twelve horsemen, two hundred foot soldiers and two small field guns, and rode to the place where they were camped, which lay about a league and a half from the city. As I was leaving, I came across certain scouts and others of the enemy who were waiting to attack, and we scattered them, killing some in the pursuit, while the rest fled into the water. We then burnt a part of those towns and returned to the camp very pleased with our victory.

On the following day three chieftains from those towns came begging my forgiveness for what had happened and asking me to destroy nothing more, for they promised that they would never again receive anyone from Temixtitan. And because these were men of little consequence, and vassals of Don Fernando, I pardoned them in Your Majesty's name. Then, on the following day, several Indians from those towns came to me, injured and ill-treated, saying that when the people of Mexico had returned to their town and had not received the welcome to which they were accustomed, they had turned on them and had taken some of them prisoners; and if they had not defended themselves they would all have been seized. They begged me to be well prepared, so that when the Culuans returned I might know in time to go to their relief; and so they departed home.

The people whom I had left in the province of Tascalteca to construct the brigantines received news that a ship had arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, in which there came, besides the sailors, thirty or forty Spaniards, eight horses, and some crossbows, harquebuses and powder; but as they did not know how the war was going for us, nor were certain of being able to reach me in safety, they were very anxious; and some of the Spaniards stayed there not daring to come, although they desired to bring me such

good news. When a servant of mine, whom I had left there, heard that some of them wished to make an attempt to join me, he had it announced that no one, under pain of the most severe punishments, should leave until I had sent orders to do so. But one of my lads, who knew that nothing in the world would give me such pleasure as to learn of the arrival of this ship and the aid it brought, set out by night, although the road was dangerous, and came to Tesuico. We were very surprised to see him arrive safely and greatly pleased by his news, for we were in extreme need of help.[12]

That same day, Most Catholic Lord, there arrived in Tesuico several reliable messengers from the people of Calco, and they told me that on account of their having offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals the people of Mexico and Temixtitan were intent on destroying them, and for this purpose had called together and alerted all their neighbors; they asked me to help them in such great danger, for if I did not, they expected to find themselves in the direst straits. I assure Your Majesty that, as I said in my previous letter, apart from our own hardships and privations, the greatest distress was caused us by not being able to help our Indian allies, who, for being Your Majesty's vassals, were harassed and ill-treated by the Culuans, although I and my companions wished always to do our utmost in this, for we believed that in no way could we better serve Your Caesarean Majesty than in helping and supporting Your vassals. But the people of Calco found me in such circumstances that I was unable to do for them all I wished; and so I told them that as I now wanted to send for the brigantines, and for that purpose had alerted the whole province of Tascalteca, whence the parts were to come, I must send horsemen and foot soldiers for that purpose and so could spare them none of my men. I also told them, however, that as they knew the natives of Guaxocingo, Churultecal and Guacachula[13] were also Your Majesty's vassals and our allies they should go to them, for they live close by, and request them on my behalf to give them help and succor, and to garrison troops there until such time as I was able to help them, for

at present I could give them no other assistance. Although they were not so content as if I had given them some Spaniards, they thanked me and begged me to give them a letter so that they might be believed, and might venture to ask in greater safety, because between Calco and the two other provinces, as they belonged to different alliances, there had been some strife.

While I was occupied in this, certain messengers happened to arrive from the aforementioned provinces of Guaxocingo and Guacachula, and in the presence of the people at Calco, they told me how they had neither seen nor heard of me since I left Tascalteca, even though they had placed lookouts on all the hills which circle their land and overlook Mexico and Temixtitan, so that, should they see many smoke signals, which are the signs of war, they might come to help me with their own people and with their vassals. And because a short while previously they had seen more smoke signals than ever before, they had come to discover how I was and if I required anything, so that they might send me their warriors. I thanked them greatly, and told them that, God be praised, the Spaniards and I were all well, and had always triumphed over the enemy; and that besides being much pleased by their presence and their goodwill, I would be still more pleased to form an alliance and bond of friendship between them and the people of Calco, who were there present; so I requested them, as both parties were Your Majesty's vassals, to become good friends, and help each other against the Culuans, who were wicked and perverse; especially now, as the people from Calco were in need of help, because the Culuans were preparing to attack them; and thus they became firm friends and allies. And after staying with me for two days, they departed well pleased, and thenceforth gave each other assistance.

Three days later, having heard that the work on the thirteen brigantines had been finished and the people who were to bring them were ready to depart, I sent Gonzalo de Sandoval, alguacil mayor, with fifteen horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers to bring them to me. I also commanded him to raze to the ground a

large town,[14] subject to Tesuico, which stands on the borders of Tascalteca, because the inhabitants had killed five horsemen and forty-five foot soldiers who had been coming from Vera Cruz to Temixtitan when I had been besieged in that city, not suspecting that such a treacherous act could be perpetrated against us. When we entered Tesuico this time we had found in their temples or shrines the skins of the five horses with their hoofs and shoes, sewn up and as well tanned as anywhere in the world; and as a sign of victory they had offered these and much clothing and other things belonging to the Spaniards to their idols. Likewise we found the blood of our companions and brothers sacrificed and spilled in all those towers and temples, and it was such a pitiful sight that all our past tribulations were revived. The traitors of that town and of others in the neighborhood had received the Christians well when they passed by there, in order to make them feel secure and then inflict on them the greatest cruelty that has ever been done, for when the Spaniards were going down through a steep pass, every one on foot and leading their horses so that they were unable to use them to advantage, the Indians ambushed them from both sides of the path; some they killed and others were taken alive to Tesuico, where they were sacrificed and their hearts were torn out before the idols. This seemed to be what had happened, for when the alguacil mayor passed by there, some of the Spaniards who were with him found in a house, in a village which lies between Tesuico and the place where the Christians were killed, a white wall with these words written in charcoal: "Here the unhappy Juan Yuste was held prisoner." [15] He was one of the five horsemen. Surely a sight fit to break the hearts of all who saw it. When the alguacil mayor arrived at the town, the inhabitants, conscious of their great crime and guilt, began to flee, but the Spaniards and our Indian friends overtook them and killed many, and took many women and children as slaves. But Sandoval was moved by compassion and chose not to kill and destroy all he might have, and before he departed from there he even ordered

those who survived to be led back to the town; and so now it is inhabited once again and very repentant of the past.

The alguacil mayor then proceeded five or six leagues to the town in Tascalteca which is closest to the borders of Culua, and there he met the Spaniards and the people who were bringing the brigantines. And the day after he arrived they left there with the timbers and planks, which were carried by more than eight thousand men, all in perfect array; and it was a remarkable sight to see and I think even to hear of: thirteen ships carried overland for eighteen leagues. I assure Your Majesty that there were more than two leagues from the vanguard to the rear. And when they set out there went in front eight horsemen and a hundred Spaniards, and with them and on the flanks went more than ten thousand warriors who had as their captains Yutecad and Teutipil, who are two of the principal lords of Tascalteca. In the rear guard came another hundred or so Spaniards, and with them another ten thousand men, all very well armed, who had as their captain Chichimecatecle,[16] who is one of the principal lords of that province; and he also brought with him other captains.

When they set out, this Chichimecatecle had gone in the vanguard with the deck planks, while the other two captains remained in the rear with the cross timbers. But when they passed over into Culua the masters of the brigantines ordered the cross timbers to be brought to the fore, and the deck planks to be sent behind because they were the more clumsy of the two, and if anything should happen it would happen in front. But Chichimecatecle, who went with the deck planks, and until then had always gone with his warriors in the vanguard, took this as an affront, and it was a matter of some difficulty to quieten him and persuade him to remain in the rear, for he wished to meet any danger that might present itself. When he finally agreed to this, he asked that no Spaniards should remain accompanying him, for he is a most valiant man and wished to keep all the glory for himself. These captains had

brought with them two thousand Indians to carry their provisions. After proceeding in this order for three days, on the fourth they entered this city with much rejoicing and noise of drums as I went out to greet them.[17] And as I said above, there were so many people in this train that from the moment the first one had entered until the arrival of the last more than six hours passed, and not once was that long line broken. When those lords had arrived I thanked them for the good service they had done us and ordered that they be quartered and provided for as well as we were able. They told me that they wished to meet the Culuans and that I should see, when I commanded them, that they and their people were determined to avenge themselves or die with us. I thanked them but told them to rest, for soon I would be giving them plenty to do.

When all these warriors from Tascalteca, who for Indians are certainly very fine men, had rested for three or four days in Tesuico, I prepared twenty-five horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers and fifty crossbowmen and harquebusiers and six small field guns, and without telling anyone where I was going left this city at nine in the morning; and with me went the captains already mentioned, with more than thirty thousand men, all very well organized into battalions, after their fashion. When it was already late, we came upon a group of enemy warriors some four leagues from the city, but the horsemen broke through and routed them, and as the warriors of Tascalteca are very agile they followed us and together we killed many of our foes; that night we slept in the open, under careful guard.

On the following morning we continued our journey, and still I had not said where I intended to go, which I did because I distrusted some of those from Tesuico who were with us, for as yet I had no confidence in them and feared they might betray my intention to the people of Mexico and Temixtitan. We now reached a town called Xaltoca,[18] which is situated in the middle of the lake, and all around were a great many channels full of water, which made the town very strong because the horsemen could not cross

them. The enemy yelled at us loudly and attacked us with darts and arrows, but the foot soldiers succeeded in entering the town, although with some difficulty, and drove them out and burnt much of the place. That night we put up a league from there. When it was light we continued on our way and soon came upon the enemy, who began to shout at us from afar as they do in war, which is truly a terrifying thing to hear. We followed them and came upon a very large and beautiful city called Goatitan;[19] this we found deserted and so slept there that night.

On the following day we moved on and came to a city called Tenayuca,[20] where we encountered no resistance whatever and then proceeded to another called Acapuzalco,[21] also by the lake shore; but we did not stop there either because I greatly wished to reach another city which is close by; this city is called Tacuba[22] and is very near to Temixtitan. When we came close to it we found that there also the enemy had dug a great number of ditches and were well prepared for our arrival. When we saw them, we and our allies attacked them, entered the city, killed some, and drove the inhabitants out. But as it was now late we did nothing more that night and lodged in a house which was so large that we were all very comfortable. At dawn our Indian allies began to sack and burn the whole city except for the house where we were quartered, and they were so diligent in this that they destroyed a quarter of it. They did this because after we had been driven from Temixtitan before, we had passed through this city, and the inhabitants, together with those of Temixtitan, had attacked us fiercely and killed many Spaniards.

Of the six days which we spent in Tacuba, not one passed without many engagements and skirmishes with the enemy. The captains of the Tascaltecans and their men many times challenged those of Temixtitan and fought most beautifully with them; they argued at length, shouting insults and threats at each other, all of which was a truly remarkable sight. During all this time many of the enemy were killed without any of our people being endan-

gered, for many times we entered by the causeways and bridges of the city, although as their defenses were very good they resisted us fiercely. Often they pretended to open a way for us, saying, "Come in, come in and enjoy yourselves!" or, at other times, "Do you think there is now another Mutezuma to do whatever you wish?" Once, while they were engaged in these exchanges, I approached a bridge which they had raised, they being on the other side of the water. I signaled my men to be silent; and they also, when they saw I wished to speak to them, silenced their men. I called to them, asking if they were mad and wished to be destroyed. I asked if amongst them there was a lord of the city to whom I might speak. They replied that all the multitude of warriors I saw there were lords, so I might say what I wished. But as I made no answer they began to insult me. And one of my men, I do not know which, told them that they would die of hunger, for we would not let them escape in search of food. They replied that they were not short of food, and that when they were they would eat us and the Tascaltecans. One of them took some maize loaves and threw them toward us saying, "Take these and eat them if you are hungry, for we are not." And then they began to yell and fight with us.

As the reason for my coming to Tacuba had been principally to have talks with the Indians from Temixtitan and discover their intentions, I saw that by remaining I was achieving nothing; and so after six days had passed I decided to return to Tesuico in order to hasten the assembly of the brigantines, so as to be able to surround the enemy both by land and water. The day of our departure we put up for the night in the city of Goatitan, which I have already mentioned, and the enemy followed us continuously, though from time to time the horsemen turned to attack them, with the result that some of them fell into our hands.

On the following day we set out again, and when the enemy saw us leaving they believed it was out of fear, so they gathered together a great number of their people and began to pursue us. When I saw this I ordered the foot soldiers to march on ahead

without stopping, and sent five horsemen to bring up their rear, while twenty remained with me. Six of these I placed in ambush in one place, and six in another and five in another, while I went with three to another. I ordered that as the enemy passed, believing that we were all going on ahead, and on hearing me shout "Señor Santiago" they should come out and fall on them from behind. When it was time we emerged and rode down on them with our lances; the chase continued for nearly two leagues over land as flat as the palm of a man's hand; and it was a most beautiful sight. Thus a great many died by our hands and by those of our Indian allies. Those who remained pursued us no farther, and we hastened to join the rest of our people. That night we slept in a pleasant village called Aculman[29] that lies two leagues from Tesuico, for which we departed the following day and arrived about noon. We were very well received by the alguacil mayor, whom I had left there as captain, and by all the other people, who rejoiced greatly at our coming, for since the day we had left they had heard nothing of us or of what had happened, and they were very eager to know. The day after we arrived the lords and captains of the Tascaltecans asked my permissions to depart; and they went away to their land very pleased and with some spoils from the enemy.

Two days after my return to Tesuico there came to me certain messengers from the lords of Calco who told me that they had been ordered to inform me that the people of Mexico and Temixtitan were coming to destroy them. They again begged me to send help, as they had done before. Immediately I arranged to send Gonzalo de Sandoval with twenty horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers. I urged him to make haste, and once he arrived to do all he was able to assist Your Majesty's vassals and our friends.

When he arrived in Calco he found awaiting him many people from that province and from those of Guajocingo and Guacachula. And once he had left orders as to what was to be done, he departed for a town called Guastepeque,[24] where the Culuans had a garrison and from where they were attacking the people of

Calco. At a town on the way there appeared a great number of the enemy; but as our allies were many and furthermore had the advantage of the assistance of Spaniards and the horsemen, together they broke through them and, driving them from the field, killed many of them. They spent that night in a village outside Guastepeque and set out again on the following day. As they drew close to the aforementioned town of Guastepeque, the Culuans began to fight with the Spaniards, who soon, however, scattered them and, killing some, drove them from the town. The horsemen then dismounted so as to feed their horses and accommodate themselves, and while they were thus unprepared the enemy returned to the square where their quarters were, and shouting and screaming ferociously attacked them with stones and arrows and spears. The Spaniards armed themselves and together with our allies dashed out against them. Once again they drove them out, and pursuing them for more than a league killed a large number. They were very tired when they returned that night to Guastepeque, where they rested for two days.

At this time the alguacil mayor discovered that there were many enemy warriors in a town called Acapichtla,[25] and he resolved to go there and require them to surrender peacefully. This town was very strong and built on a high place such that the horses could not reach it. As soon as the Spaniards arrived the people of the town immediately began to attack them and throw stones down on them. And although many of our allies were with the alguacil mayor, when they saw the strength of the town they dared not attack the enemy. When the alguacil mayor and the Spaniards saw this they determined to take the heights of the city or die in the attempt, and with a shout of "Señor Santiago" they began to climb; and it pleased God to grant them so much strength that despite fierce resistance they took the town, although many were wounded in the attempt. When the enemy saw they were defeated and began to flee, our Indian allies followed them, and there was such a massacre at the hands of our allies and through their being thrown

down from the heights that all who were there agree that the small river which runs past that village was dyed with blood for more than an hour, and they were unable to drink from it, although it was hot and they badly needed to. Having brought this assault to a conclusion, and leaving those two towns in peace, although severely punished for their having earlier refused it, the alguacil mayor returned to Tesuico with all his men; and Your Catholic Majesty may be assured that this was a most notable victory, in which the Spaniards showed singular courage.[26]

When the people of Mexico and Temixtitan heard how the Spaniards and the people of Calco had done them such harm they resolved to send several captains with a large force against them. When the people of Calco heard of this they sent me a request to send aid as quickly as possible. Again I sent the same alguacil mayor with several horsemen and foot soldiers, but when he arrived the Culuans and the people of Calco were already engaged in a fierce struggle. It pleased God, however, that the people of Calco should be victorious, and they killed many of the enemy and captured some forty persons, among whom was a Mexican captain and two other chieftains, all of whom the people of Calco handed over to the alguacil mayor so that he might bring them to me. Some of these he sent to me and others he kept, because, for the greater safety of the people of Calco, he remained with all his men in a Calco village on the border with Mexico. Afterwards, when he thought his presence was no longer needed, he returned to Tesuico and brought with him the remaining prisoners. Meanwhile we had had many encounters with the Culuans, which, to avoid prolixity, I shall not recount.

As the road between this city of Tesuico and Vera Cruz was now safe, those in Vera Cruz received news of us every day, and we of them, which was not possible before. They now sent me a messenger with some crossbows, harquebuses and powder, which pleased us greatly. Then, two days later, they sent me another messenger to say that three ships had arrived at the port bringing many

men and horses, and that they would be sent to me at once; and so, miraculously, God granted us assistance in proportion to our need.[27]

I have always sought, Most Powerful Lord, by all the means at my disposal, to bring the people of Temixtitan into friendship with us; partly so that they might not be destroyed, and partly so that we might rest from the hardships of all the past battles, but principally because I knew that it would promote the service of Your Majesty. Whenever I captured anyone from the city I always sent him back to require and demand that they make peace. So on Wednesday of Holy Week, which was the twenty-seventh of March, 1521, I had the lords of Temixtitan whom the people of Calco had captured brought before me. I asked if there were any among them who would go to the city and speak on my behalf to their lords and entreat them to cease the war and submit themselves as Your Majesty's vassals as they had been before, because I did not wish to destroy them but to be their friend. And although they took it badly, for they were afraid they would be killed if they took such a message, two of those prisoners resolved to go and asked me for a letter because, though they would not understand what was in it, they knew it was the custom among us, and by carrying it they would be given more credence by the people in the city. Through my interpreters, however, I explained to them what was in the letter, which was what I had said to them personally. Thus they departed, and I commanded five horsemen to escort them to safety.

On Easter Saturday the people of Calco and some of their friends and allies sent to tell me that the Mexicans were marching against them, and on a large white cloth they showed the symbols for all the towns which were to attack them and the routes they were to follow. They asked me at all costs to send them assistance, and I answered that within four or five days I would send it, and that if in the meanwhile they found themselves in great need they were to tell me and I would help them. On the third day after Easter they returned and entreated me to send help at once, because

the enemy was advancing rapidly. I replied that I would help them and ordered that twenty-five horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers should be ready for the following Friday.

On the Thursday before, certain messengers from the provinces of Tuzapan, Masicalcingo and Nautan[28] and from other cities in that neighborhood came to Tesuico and told me they wished to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals and our allies, for they had never killed any Spaniard nor risen against Your Majesty's service. They brought with them some cotton clothes, for all of which I thanked them and promised that if they behaved well they would be well treated; with this they left well pleased.

On Friday, which was the fifth of April of the same year, 1521, I left Tesuico with the thirty [*sic*] horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers who had been prepared, and I left behind there another twenty horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers. As their captain I appointed Gonzalo de Sandoval, the alguacil mayor. More than twenty thousand men from Tesuico came with me, and we marched in good order until we reached a town of Calco called Tlamanalco,[29] where we were well received and quartered; and there we spent the night. As there are good defenses there, ever since the people of Calco became our friends they have maintained a garrison there, for it lies on the borders of Culua. We arrived at Calco on the following day at about nine in the morning, but stopped no more than to speak with their chiefs and explain my intention, which was to follow a route around the lakes, for I believed that once I had finished this task, which was most important, I would find the brigantines completed and ready for launching. After I had spoken to the people of Calco I left that day at vespers and reached a village where more than forty thousand of our allies joined us in arms and we slept there that night. And because the inhabitants of this village told me that the Culuans were waiting in the fields, I ordered that the men should rise and be prepared by a quarter before dawn.

On the following day, after hearing Mass, we set out. I took

the vanguard with twenty horsemen, while ten others rode in the rear, and in this fashion we crossed some very steep mountains. At about two o'clock we reached a very high and steep rock on top of which were many women and children. The slopes were covered with warriors, who soon began to howl and make smoke signals, attacking us with stones, which they hurled down by hand or from slings and with spears and arrows, so that in approaching them we received much harm. Even though we had seen that they dared not face us in the field, it seemed to me that, although our road led elsewhere, it would be cowardly to pass by without giving them a lesson, and our allies might think we were afraid; so I began by examining the circumference of the foot of the hill, which was almost a league round. Certainly it was so strong that it seemed madness to attempt to take it, for I could not spare the time to lay siege to it and force them to surrender from hunger. Being thus perplexed, I resolved to scale the slopes in three places that I had seen, and so I ordered Cristóbal Corral, ensign [*alférez*] of sixty foot soldiers, whom I kept always in my company, to scale the steepest part with his flag, with certain harquebusiers and crossbowmen behind him. The captains Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte and Francisco Verdugo I sent to attack in the second place with some harquebusiers and crossbowmen, and the captains Pedro Dircio and Andrés de Monjaraz with another few harquebusiers and crossbowmen were assigned the third place. I told them that when they heard a harquebus fired they should ascend, and triumph or die.

When the harquebus was fired they immediately began to ascend, and captured from the enemy two sides of the slope but could advance no farther, for the steepness and roughness of that crag was without compare and they could not find hand- or footholds. A large number of stones were hurled and rolled down on them, which shattered into fragments doing infinite harm. So fierce was the defense that two Spaniards were killed and more than twenty wounded, and in no manner could they advance farther. When I saw that they could do no more than what they had al-

ready done, and that large numbers of the enemy were arriving to reinforce those on the crag, so that the countryside was full of them, I ordered the captains to withdraw. When the horsemen had descended we fell upon those in the plain and drove them from the field, spearing and killing many of them during a chase which lasted for more than an hour and a half. As there were a large number of them, the horsemen had spread out on either side, and when they re-formed again I learnt from some how they had come upon another rock with many people on it about a league and a half from there, but this one was not so strong as the other; and there were many people in the plain thereabouts. Furthermore, we would find there two things which we lacked at the first crag: one was water, and the other that the hill was not so well defended, and we might capture it without danger. Although we were greatly saddened by not having won a victory, we left and slept that night close to the other rock, where we endured considerable hardship and privation for we found no water there, and neither we nor the horses had drunk all day. Thus we passed that night to the sound of drums and trumpets and the shouts of our enemies.

When it was light I took with me certain captains and began to examine the slopes of the rock, which seemed to us almost as strong as the other, save that before it there were two hills which were higher but looked easier to climb; these were defended by many warriors. Those captains and myself together with some other gentlemen took our bucklers and went on foot (for the horses had been taken to drink at a place a league from there) toward the hill merely to see how strong the crag was and where we might best attack; yet when the rest of our people saw us go, they followed, although we had said nothing to them. When we reached the foot of the crag those who defended the two hills, believing we planned to attack in the center, rushed to the assistance of their companions. When I saw the mistake they had made, and that once those two hills had been captured we might do much harm from them, I quietly ordered a captain to quickly climb and capture the

steepest of the two hills which they had abandoned; and so it was done. I took the rest of the men and began to climb the hill where the enemy was strongest; and it pleased God that we should take one side of it and reach a height almost level with where they were fighting, which had seemed an impossible thing to do, at least without extreme danger. One of the captains had already placed his banner on the highest point of the hill, and from there he began to assail the enemy with crossbows and harquebuses. When they saw the harm they were suffering and that all hope was lost, they signaled that they wished to surrender, and laid down their arms. And as it has always been my intent to persuade these people that we wish them no harm, no matter how guilty they may be, especially if they wish to be Your Majesty's vassals, and they are so intelligent a people that they understand this very well, I ordered that they should be done no further harm, and welcomed them well. When they saw how well they were treated, they informed those of the other crag, who, although they were victorious, likewise resolved to become Your Majesty's vassals and came to me asking forgiveness for what had occurred.

For two days I remained in this town by the rock, and from there I sent the wounded back to Tesuico and later departed myself, reaching Guastepeque, which I have mentioned above, at ten in the morning. There we were all quartered in a chief's country house amid the most beautiful and refreshing gardens ever seen. They are two leagues round about and through the middle of them runs a pleasant stream. There are summer houses spaced out at distances of two crossbowshots, and very bright flower beds, a great many trees with various fruits, and many herbs and sweet-smelling flowers. Certainly the elegance and magnificence of this garden make a remarkable sight. We rested there that day and the natives provided us with all the services and pleasures that they could.

On the following day we departed and at eight o'clock in the morning reached a fine town called Yautepeque,[30] where large numbers of the enemy were awaiting us. As we arrived, however, it

seemed as if they wished to make some sign of peace, either through fear, or in the hope of deceiving us, but immediately after, without more ado, they began to flee, abandoning their town. I had no desire to remain there and so pursued them with thirty horses for some two leagues, until we trapped them in another town which is called Gilutepeque,[31] where we speared and killed many. We found the people in this town unprepared, for we had arrived ahead of their spies; some were killed and many women and children were taken, and all the rest fled. I stayed there two days, thinking that the lord would come and offer himself as Your Majesty's vassal, but as he did not come I ordered the town to be set on fire before I left. Before I did so, however, certain persons from the previous town of Yautepeque came, begging me to forgive them and offering themselves as Your Majesty's vassals. I received them willingly, for they had already been well punished.

On the day I departed, at nine o'clock, I came within sight of a very strong town called Coadnabacad,[32] in which a large force of enemy warriors had gathered. So strong was the town and surrounded by so many hills and ravines, some of which were sixty feet in depth, that the horsemen could not enter except by two places, which were unknown to us at that time, and even they required that we make a detour of a league and a half to reach them. There were also entrances across wooden bridges, but they had raised them, and were thus very strong and so safe that had we been ten times our number they could have held us with scorn. As we approached, they propelled many arrows and javelins and stones at as at their ease. While they were thus engaged with us an Indian from Tascalteca crossed over a ravine in a manner so dangerous that at first he was unobserved,[33] but when at last they did catch sight of him they believed that the Spaniards were coming the same way and fled in terror, with the Indian following behind. Three or four youths, who were servants of mine, and two from another company saw the Indian cross, followed him and reached the other side. I then went with the horsemen up into the mountains to find an

entrance into the town, and all the while the enemy attacked us with arrows and javelins, for between us and them there was only a narrow ravine. As they were so busy fighting with us they had not seen the five Spaniards who took them suddenly from behind and began to attack them with their swords. They were so surprised and unprepared that they were quite unable to turn and defend themselves, for they did not know that their people had abandoned the path by which the Indian and the Spaniards had come. They were so terrified they dared not fight, and the Spaniards killed many of them until, realizing the trick, they began to flee. Our foot soldiers were already in the town and had begun to set it on fire; the Indians all fled before them and retreated to the mountains, although the horsemen pursued and killed many.

When, at about midday, we discovered a way into the town, we lodged in some houses in a garden, although the place was almost entirely burnt. When it was already very late, the chief and other chieftains, seeing that they had been unable to defend themselves despite the strength of their town, and fearing that we would go and kill them in the mountains, decided to come and offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, and as such I received them, and they promised me that thereafter they would always be our friends. These Indians and the others who came to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, after we had destroyed and burnt their houses and land, explained that they had delayed their coming in the belief that they might atone for their wrongs by allowing us to do them harm; thus they hoped that once we had finished we would not be so angry with them.

We slept that night in the town and in the morning continued our journey through pine forests without habitation or drinking water, and a pass which we crossed with much difficulty, without being able to drink, so that some of the Indians in our company died of thirst. Seven leagues from the town we camped for the night in some farms. When it was light we set out again and came within sight of a pleasant city called Suchimilco, which is built on

the fresh-water lake.[34] As the inhabitants had been warned of our coming, they had constructed many earthworks and ditches and had raised all the bridges leading into the city, which is three or four leagues from Temixtitan. Within the city there were very many brave-looking people all resolved to defend themselves or die.

As soon as we arrived, and all our men had been collected and drawn up in good array, I dismounted and, followed by certain of the infantry, advanced toward a dike which they had made, on the far side of which were an infinite number of warriors. When we began to attack the dike the crossbowmen and harquebusiers did them so much harm they abandoned it, whereupon the Spaniards threw themselves into the water and crossed to the other side. After fighting with them for half an hour we captured the greater part of the city and forced them back along the waterways in their canoes. They fought until dusk, however, when some of them sued for peace, but the rest did not cease fighting for all that, and they made so many overtures without fulfilling them that at last we realized that they were doing it for two reasons: first, so that they might salvage their property while we talked, and, second, to gain time for help to arrive from Mexico and Temixtitan. This day they killed two Spaniards who had separated themselves from the others in order to pillage and found themselves cut off from all hope of assistance.

In the evening the enemy debated as to how they might cut off our retreat and prevent us leaving their city alive. They collected together a large number of their men and came against us in the place where we had entered. As we saw them advancing so rapidly, we were alarmed at their cunning and speed; six horsemen and myself, who were more prepared than the others, broke through the middle of them. They were frightened by the horses and began to flee, so we rode out of the city, killing many of them, although we found ourselves hard pressed, for they were courageous men, many of whom dared to face the horses with their shields and bucklers. While we were engaged with them and in great confusion, the

horse I rode collapsed from exhaustion; and when some of the enemy saw me on foot they rushed upon me. I had begun to defend myself with my lance, when an Indian from Tascalteca saw the danger I was in and came to my aid; together with a servant of mine[35] who arrived soon after, we raised the horse. Meanwhile the Spaniards arrived, whereupon the enemy fled the field altogether, and as I and all the other horsemen were very weary we returned to the city. Although it was now almost night and time to rest, I ordered that all the bridges which had been removed should be filled up with stones and adobes which were at hand, so that the horses might enter and leave the city without hindrance; and I did not leave there until all those dangerous crossings had been well repaired. That night we were most vigilant and kept special watch.

On the following day all the natives of Mexico and Temixtitan, who already knew that we were in Suchimilco, resolved to come with great forces by land and water and surround us, for they believed that this time we could not escape their clutches. I then climbed one of the towers where they keep their idols, to see how they were coming and where they would attack us, so that I might make preparations accordingly. When I had completed all the preparations there arrived from across the water a fleet of canoes so large that I think there were more than two thousand of them; in these canoes were more than twelve thousand warriors, and over the land came such a multitude of people that all the fields were covered with them. Their captains went in front, carrying our captured swords and crying the names of their provinces, "Mexico! Mexico! Temixtitan! Temixtitan!" They hurled insults at us, saying that they would kill us with those swords which they had taken from us before in the city of Temixtitan.

When I had allotted to each captain his position, I took twenty horsemen and five hundred Indians from Tascalteca and went out against a horde of the enemy gathered on the mainland. We divided into three companies, and I ordered them, as soon as they had broken through the enemy, to rally at the foot of a hill

which was half a league away, where there was also a large number of the enemy. When we separated, each company pursued the enemy on its own side; and once we had routed them and killed many we regrouped at the foot of the hill. I then ordered certain foot soldiers, servants of mine, who had served me and were very able, to attempt to scale the hill in the steepest part. I, with the horsemen, would circle around behind, where the ground was more even and we would take them in the middle. Thus, when the Indians saw the Spaniards climbing the hill, they turned their backs, thinking that by so doing they were safe and encountered us, who were some fifteen horsemen. We fell on them and those of Tascalteca did likewise, so that, in a brief while, more than five hundred of the enemy were killed and the rest fled to the mountains. The other six horsemen determined to follow a very wide flat path and attack the enemy with their lances. Half a league from Suchimilco they met a company of Indians in very bright array who were coming to the help of their companions; these the horsemen routed, killing some with their lances. Now that all the horsemen were together—it was about ten o'clock in the morning—we returned to Suchimilco, and at the entrance to the town I found many Spaniards who desired our return and wished to know how it had gone with us. They told me they had been hard pressed, but had done all they could to drive out the enemy, many of whom had been killed. They gave me two of our own swords that they had recaptured, and told me how the crossbowmen had no bolts nor any supplies whatsoever. While we were thus occupied, before we had even dismounted, a large number of the enemy appeared on a broad causeway, screaming fiercely; we attacked them at once and drove them into the water on either side of the causeway. Thus we routed them, and once the men had collected we returned, much exhausted, to the city, where I ordered everything except the house in which we were quartered to be burnt. We remained three days in that city and not once did the fighting cease. In the end we left it burnt and ruined, and it was a notable sight, for there had been many houses

and towers for their idols all built of stone and mortar; but in order not to be prolix I shall forbear to list the many remarkable things in this city.[36]

On the day I departed I went out into a square on dry land, where the inhabitants hold their markets, and I gave orders that ten horsemen should ride in front; another ten went in the middle with the foot soldiers, while I, with a further ten, brought up the rear. When the inhabitants of Suchimilco saw that we were leaving, they thought that it was through fear of them, and, shouting fiercely, they fell on us from behind. The ten horsemen and myself turned and drove them into the water; thus they troubled us no further and we were able to continue our journey. At ten o'clock in the morning we reached the city of Cuyoacan, which is two leagues distant from Suchimilco, and near to Temixtitan, Culuacan, Uchilubuzco, Yztapalapa, Cuitaguaca and Mizqueque,[37] all of which are built on the water, the most distant lying about a league and a half away. We found it deserted and lodged in the chief's house, where we remained that day and the next.

As I intended to surround the city of Temixtitan as soon as the brigantines were complete, I wished first to know the plan of the city, its entrances and exits and where the Spaniards could make an attack or might receive one. On the following day, therefore, I took six horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers and went down to the lake, which is close by, along a causeway that leads into the city of Temixtitan; and there we saw a great many canoes on the water and an infinite number of warriors in them. Then we came to a barricade which they had built across the causeway, and the foot soldiers began to fight; and although it was very strong and well defended, and ten Spaniards were wounded, at last they captured it and killed many of the enemy, although the crossbowmen had no bolts, nor had the harquebusiers any powder. From there we could see how the causeway led over the water straight into Temixtitan, a full league and a half away, and both on that one and the other, which goes to Yztapalapa, there were countless numbers of people.

As soon as I had seen all I needed to see, and had decided that a garrison of horsemen and foot soldiers would have to be established in this city, I called together my men and we returned, burning the houses and towers where they keep their idols.

On the following day we left Cuyoacan for Tacuba, which is some two leagues distant, and we arrived at nine in the morning, attacking with our lances in one place or another as the enemy came from the lake to assail the Indians who carried our baggage; finding themselves worsted, however, they soon left us in peace. Because, as I have already said, my prime intent was to make a reconnaissance tour of all the lakes in order to inspect and acquaint myself better with the land, and also to give assistance to some of our allies, I did not wish to stop in Tacuba. When the inhabitants of Temixtitan, which is so close to there that it almost reaches dry land at Tacuba, saw us leaving they recovered much of their courage and with intrepidity fell upon our baggage train; but as the horsemen were well placed, and the ground was level, we were able to take advantage of the enemy without placing ourselves in danger. As we galloped hither and thither, some youths, servants of mine, had been accustomed to follow us, but on that occasion two failed to do so, and found themselves trapped and were captured, and we feared that the enemy would put them to death in the most cruel fashion, as was their custom.[38] God alone knows how grieved I was, for not only were they Christians but also most courageous men who had served Your Majesty well in this campaign.

After leaving this city we proceeded on our journey through other towns close by and drew near to the enemy. Here I learnt how the Indians had taken those youths, and to avenge their death, and also because the enemy was following us with the greatest arrogance possible, I concealed myself with twenty horsemen behind some houses. As the Indians saw the remaining ten horsemen with all the men and baggage moving on ahead, they followed them fearlessly along a very broad and level road. When we saw that some of them had passed, I cried out the name of the apostle St.

James (Santiago) and we fell upon them most fiercely. Before they could escape into the canals nearby we had killed more than a hundred chieftains, all brilliantly arrayed, and they followed us no farther. This day we spent the night two leagues farther on in a city called Coatinchán, which we found deserted; we were tired and wet, for it had rained heavily that afternoon. On the following day we set out again, charging from time to time at some Indians who came and yelled at us; and we slept in a town called Gilutepeque, which we likewise found deserted. On the following morning at twelve o'clock we reached the city of Aculman, which lies within the domain of Tesuico, where we slept that night. We were very well received by the Spaniards, who rejoiced exceedingly at our arrival as if we had brought them their salvation, because after my departure they had had no word of me until the day I returned. There had been several disturbances in the city, whose inhabitants had told them daily that the people of Mexico and Temixtitan would fall on them while I was away. Thus, by the Grace of God, this undertaking was completed, and it was a very great achievement by which Your Majesty was well served for many reasons, which I shall explain later.

Most Powerful and Invincible Lord, when I was in the city of Temixtitan on the previous occasion I ordered, as I informed Your Majesty in a previous account, that certain farms should be built for Your Majesty, in two or three of the most suitable provinces, and that each farm should produce grain and other things according to the disposition of the province. To accomplish this I sent two Spaniards to one of these provinces, which is called Chinantla,[39] and is not subject to Culua. In the others, which were subject, they killed the Spaniards on the farms at the same time as they were making war against me in Temixtitan, and seized all that was there which, after the manner of this land, was a substantial amount. Of the Spaniards who were in Chinantla, however, I knew nothing for almost a year, because as all those provinces were in

revolt, we could not hear from them, nor they from us. The natives of Chinantla, as they were Your Majesty's vassals and enemies of the Culuans, had told those Christians that on no account should they leave that land, because the Culuans had been fighting us fiercely, and they believed that few or none of us remained alive. So these two Spaniards stayed in that land, and one of them, who was a youth and of warlike disposition, was made their captain; and at that time he went out with them to fight their enemies and often returned victorious. Later, when it pleased God that we should reorganize, and obtain some victories over those who had routed and driven us from Temixtitan, the people of Chinantla told those Christians that they had heard there were Spaniards in the province of Tepeaca, and that if they wished to learn what was really happening, they would risk two Indians, who, although they must travel a long way through the lands of their enemies, would journey by night and off the main roads until they reached Tepeaca. With those two Indians, the more reliable of the two Spaniards[40] sent a letter, the substance of which was the following:

> Noble Sirs, I have written two or three letters to Your Lordships but do not know if they ever reached you; and as I have received no reply from the others I doubt that I will receive one now. I wish to make it known to you that all the natives of the land of Culua have rebelled and are in arms and many times have attacked us; but always, praise be to God, we have been victorious. Likewise we fight daily with those of Tuxtepeque who are allies of the Culuans. Seven towns in Tenez still serve His Highness and remain his vassals, and Nicolás and I have remained in Chinantla, which is the capital. I would greatly like to know where the captain is, so that I may write and inform him of all that has happened here. If by chance you should reply and tell me where he is, send me twenty or thirty Spaniards and I will come with two chieftains from here who desire to see and speak with the captain. It would be well for them to come now for it is time

to harvest the cacao and the Culuans hinder us with the fighting. May Our Lord watch over and preserve Your Lordships. From Chinantla, I do not know what day of the month of April, 1521. At Your Lordships' service: Hernando de Barrientos.

When the two Indians arrived in the aforementioned province of Tepeaca with this letter, the captain whom I had left there with several Spaniards sent it on to me at Tesuico. When it arrived we were all greatly pleased, for although we had always trusted in the friendship of the people of Chinantla, we thought that if they had allied themselves with the Culuans, they might have killed those two Spaniards. I then wrote to them telling all that had happened and urging them to have hope for, although they were surrounded by the enemy on all sides, if it pleased God, they would soon be freed and might come and go in safety.

Once I had made a tour of the lakes and learnt thereby many things which would be useful in laying siege to Temixtitan by land and water, I returned to Tesuico, equipped myself as best I could with men and arms, and hastened to finish the brigantines and a canal by which they were to be transported to the lake. This had been begun as soon as the planks and crossbeams had arrived. It reached from our quarters right down to the lake, and was fully half a league in length from the place where the brigantines were constructed to the lake shore. More than eight thousand natives from Aculuacán and Tesuico provinces worked for fifty days on this task because the canal was more than twelve feet deep and as many wide. It was well lined with stakes, so that it would fill with water from the lake, and thus the brigantines might be transported without danger or effort; it was certainly a magnificent achievement and a notable sight.

When, on the twenty-eighth of April of the same year, the brigantines were ready and launched into the canal,[41] I called all my men out on parade and reckoned eighty-six horsemen, 118 crossbowmen and harquebusiers, some seven hundred foot soldiers with swords and bucklers, three large iron guns, fifteen small bronze

field guns and ten hundredweight of powder. When I had finished the inspection I charged and exhorted all the Spaniards to abide, as far as they were able, by the ordinances which I had drawn up concerning war, and to take fresh courage and fight hard, for they had seen how Our Lord was guiding us to victory over our enemies. They knew well how we had entered Tesuico with no more than forty horsemen, and that God had helped us more than we had hoped, and ships had come with horses, men and arms, as they had seen. Above all, they were fighting to increase and spread our Faith and to submit to Your Majesty's service all those lands and provinces which had rebelled; this should fill them with courage and the desire to conquer or die. They all responded readily, showing that they were most willing in all this; and so that day we spent rejoicing, hoping soon to see ourselves engaged in the siege whereby this war, which would decide whether or not these parts would be subdued, would be brought to an end.

On the following day I sent messengers to the provinces of Tascalteca, Guaxocingo and Churultecal to inform them that the brigantines were ready and that I and all my people were prepared to surround the great city of Temixtitan. I requested them, therefore, that, as they had already been advised by me and had alerted their own people, they should come, as many and as well armed as possible, to Tesuico, where I would wait ten days for them; and that on no account should they exceed this, for it would most seriously disconcert my plans. When the messengers arrived the natives of these provinces were already prepared and eager to face the Culuans; those from Guaxocingo and Churultecal came to Calco, for so I had ordered them to do, as the siege was to begin close by there. The captains from Tascalteca with all their men, well armed and in splendid array, arrived in Tesuico four or five days before Whitsunday, which was the time I had assigned to them. As I knew that they were arriving on that day, I went joyfully out to meet them; and they arrived so confident and well disciplined that none could be better. According to the count which the captains gave us,

there were more than fifty thousand warriors, who were all very well received and well quartered by us.

On the day after Whitsun, I ordered all the foot soldiers and the horsemen to gather in the square of Tesuico, and there I allotted them to three captains who were to lead them to three cities close to Temixtitan. I made Pedro de Alvarado captain of one company, and gave him thirty horsemen and eighteen crossbowmen and harquebusiers, and 150 foot soldiers with swords and bucklers, and more than 25,000 warriors from Tascalteca; these were to encamp in the city of Tacuba.

I made Cristóbal de Olid captain of another company and gave him thirty-three horsemen, eighteen crossbowmen and harquebusiers, 160 foot soldiers with swords and bucklers and more than twenty thousand warriors of our allies; these were to quarter themselves in the city of Cuyoacán.

I made Gonzalo de Sandoval, the alguacil mayor, captain of the third company, and I gave him twenty-four horsemen, four harquebusiers and thirteen crossbowmen, and 150 foot soldiers with swords and bucklers, fifty of whom were chosen from those of my own company, together with all the people from Guaxocingo, Churultecal and Calco, who numbered more than thirty thousand men. They were to go by way of the city of Yztapalapa and destroy it, and thence continue along a causeway over the lake, supported by the brigantines, until they met with my garrison at Cuyoacan, so that after I had entered the lake with the brigantines the alguacil mayor might set up camp where he saw fit.

For the thirteen brigantines with which I was to cross the lake, I left three hundred men, most of whom were sailors and very able, so that there were twenty-five Spaniards in each brigantine, and each one had a captain, a lookout and six crossbowmen and harquebusiers.

When I had given these orders the two captains who were to go to Tacuba and Cuyoacan, after they had received their instructions, left Tesuico on the tenth of May and spent the night

two leagues and a half from there in a good town called Aculmán.[42] That day I learnt that there had been a dispute between the captains over their quarters, so, that night, in order to settle this dispute and make peace, I sent someone to reprove and pacify them.[43] On the following morning they left there and spent the night in a city called Gilutepeque, which they found deserted, for they were now on enemy soil. On the following day they continued their journey as instructed and slept in a city called Guatitlan, of which I have already written to Your Majesty, which they likewise found deserted. That day they also passed through two other cities and towns, and found no people in them. At the hour of vespers they entered Tacuba, which was also deserted, and quartered themselves in the houses of the chieftain of the city, which are very large and beautiful. And although it was already late, the Indians of Tascalteca went to examine the entrance of two causeways leading into the city of Temixtitan; they fought valiantly for two or three hours with its inhabitants, and when the night separated them they returned to Tacuba in safety.

On the following morning the two captains arranged, as I had ordered them, to cut off the fresh water which flowed along the aqueducts to the city of Temixtitan. One of them, with twenty horsemen and some crossbowmen and harquebusiers, went to the source, which was a quarter of a league away, and destroyed the pipes, which were made of wood and stone and mortar. He fought and defeated the enemy, who tried to prevent him by land and from the water, thus succeeding in his purpose, which was to deprive the city of fresh water, which was a cunning stratagem.

That same day the captains had some bad places on the causeways, bridges and channels in the vicinity leveled, so that the horses might pass freely from one part to another.

This occupied them for three or four days, and during that time they had many encounters with the people of the city, in which some Spaniards were wounded and many of the enemy killed and many bridges and barricades taken. Many arguments and

insults were exchanged between the Tascaltecans and the Culuans which were most remarkable and worthy of note. Then the captain Cristóbal de Olid left together with those who were to proceed to Cuyoacan, which is two leagues from Tacuba. Meanwhile, Pedro de Alvarado remained with the garrison at Tacuba, where he had daily battles and skirmishes with the Indians. Cristóbal de Olid arrived at ten in the morning in Cuyoacan and lodged in the house of the lord of that city, which they found abandoned.

On the following morning they went to examine the causeway leading to Temixtitan with about twenty horsemen and some crossbowmen, and with six or seven thousand Indians from Tascalteca. They found that the enemy was prepared and had broken the causeway and put up many barricades. They fought with them, the crossbowmen killing and wounding some; and this continued for six or seven days, on every one of which there were many skirmishes and encounters. One night, at about midnight, certain enemy scouts from the city came and shouted close to the camp; the Spanish sentries sounded the alarm, whereupon our men rode out but found none of them, for the shouting which had caused the scare had been far from the camp. As our force was divided into so many parts, the people in those two garrisons dearly desired my arrival with the brigantines as if it were to be their salvation; with this hope they held out those few days until I arrived, as later I will relate. The people from those garrisons met on every one of those six days, for they were very close to each other; the horsemen overran the countryside, spearing many of the enemy, and in the mountains collected much maize which is the staple food of these parts, and much superior to that of the Islands.

In previous chapters I have told how I remained in Tesuico with three hundred men and the thirteen brigantines, for, as soon as I knew that the garrisons had set up their camps, I would embark and inspect the city and do some harm to the canoes. Although I greatly wished to go overland to take command of the camps, as the captains were men who could well be trusted with what they had in

hand, I resolved to embark in the brigantines, which were of the greatest importance and required much care and discipline; furthermore, I expected to encounter the greatest dangers and risks on the water. Nevertheless, I was requested by certain officers of my company to go with the soldiers, for they believed that they would bear the greatest risks. On the day following the feast of Corpus Christi,[44] on Friday at dawn, I sent Gonzalo de Sandoval, alguacil mayor, with all his men, out of Tesuico and ordered him to go straight to the city of Yztapalapa, which is rather less than six leagues from there. They arrived a little after midday and began to burn the city and to fight with the inhabitants. But when they saw the superior forces of the alguacil mayor, for more than thirty-five or forty thousand of our allies had gone with him, they took to the water in their canoes. The alguacil mayor, with all his forces, lodged in that city, remaining there that day to await my orders and discover what had happened to me.

When I had dispatched the alguacil mayor I immediately boarded one of the brigantines and we set out using both sail and oar. At the time the alguacil mayor was burning the city of Yztapalapa we came within sight of a large and well-fortified hill [45] near the city, surrounded by water; on it were many people who had come from Temixtitan and all the villages around the lake; they knew that our first encounter would be with the people of Yztapalapa, and so they had gathered there to defend themselves and attack us if possible. When they saw the fleet approaching they began to shout and make smoke signals, so that the other cities by the lakes should know and be prepared. Although my intention had been to attack that part of the city which is in the water, we turned back to that hill or knoll, and I landed with 150 men, although it was very steep and high. With great difficulty we began to climb, and at last captured the fortifications which they had built for their defense on the top. We broke through them in such a manner that none of them escaped, save the women and children; in the struggle twenty-five Spaniards were wounded, but it was a most beautiful victory.

As the inhabitants of Yztapalapa had made smoke signals from some temple towers that stood on a very high hill close to the city, the people of Temixtitan and the other cities on the water knew that I was already crossing the lake in the brigantines and quickly gathered a large fleet of canoes to attack us and discover what sort of thing these brigantines were; as far as we could judge there were more than five hundred canoes. When I saw that they were sailing straight for us, I and all the men who were on the hill embarked with great haste, but I ordered the captains of the brigantines not to move, so that the canoes, thinking that we did not go out to them through fear, might themselves attack us; and indeed they began to direct their fleet toward us with considerable force. But when they had come within some two crossbowshots of us they stopped and remained motionless. I was anxious that this first encounter with them should result in a great victory, so that they would be inspired with a terror of the brigantines, for the key to the war lay with them, as both the Indians and ourselves were most exposed on water. And it pleased God that as we were watching one another a land breeze, very favorable to attacking them, sprang up, and I ordered the captain to break through the fleet of canoes and to drive them back into the city of Temixtitan. As the wind was good, we bore down through the middle of them, and although they fled as fast as they were able, we sank a huge number of canoes and killed or drowned many of the enemy, which was the most remarkable sight in the world. We then pursued them for three leagues or more until we had confined them among the houses of the city; and so it pleased Our Lord to grant us a greater and better victory than we could have asked or desired.

The garrison of Cuyoacan, which was better able than the one at Tacuba to witness the arrival of the brigantines, assured me afterwards that there was to them nothing in the world so desirable nor anything which gave them so much joy as to see all thirteen sails over the water with a fair wind, and us scattering the enemy canoes. For, as I have said, they and those at Tacuba eagerly

awaited my arrival, and with good reason, for both garrisons were in the midst of a multitude of the enemy. But Our Lord miraculously gave them courage and quelled the spirits of the enemy so that they did not attack the camp; for, had they done so, the Spaniards would most certainly have suffered greatly, although they were always well prepared and determined to conquer or die, realizing that they were cut off from all help save that which they hoped to receive from God.

When the garrison at Cuyoacan saw us pursue the canoes they set out with most of the horsemen and foot soldiers, proceeding toward Temixtitan, and fought very bravely with the Indians on the causeway. They reached and took the barriers that the enemy had built, and on foot and on horseback, with the support of the brigantines, which sailed close to the causeway, crossed many channels where the bridges had been removed by the defenders. The Spaniards and our Tascaltecan allies pursued the enemy, killing some, while others threw themselves into the water on the far side from where the brigantines were sailing. In this fashion they advanced for more than a league along the causeway until they arrived where I had stopped with the brigantines, as I shall hereafter relate.

We chased the canoes with the brigantines for fully three leagues, and those that escaped us sought refuge among the houses in the city. As it was late and already after vespers, I collected the brigantines together and sailed with them up to the causeway, and there I resolved to land with thirty men and seize two small temple towers which were surrounded by a low stone enclosure.[46] When we landed, they fought most fiercely to defend those towers, but at last with great danger and much effort we captured them. I then ordered three heavy iron guns to be landed; and as the rest of the causeway from there to the city, which was half a league, was full of the enemy, and the water on either side of the causeway covered with canoes full of warriors, I had one of the guns loaded and discharged along the causeway, which did much damage to the

enemy. Owing to the carelessness of our gunner, however, all the powder we had in that place was ignited. It was no great quantity, however, and that night I sent a brigantine some two leagues to Yztapalapa, where the alguacil mayor was, to bring all the powder that was there.

At first my intention, once I had embarked with the brigantines, had been to go to Cuyoacan and ensure that the garrison there was well protected and might do the enemy every possible harm, but, after I had landed that day on the causeway and captured those two towers, I decided to set up camp there and keep the brigantines close by the towers. I ordered half of the people at Cuyoacan together with fifty of the alguacil mayor's foot soldiers to come there the following day. Having made these provisions, we kept careful watch that night, for we were in great danger and all the people from the city had gathered there on the causeway and on the water. At midnight a great multitude of people arrived in canoes and poured along the causeway to attack our camp; this caused us great fear and consternation, especially as it was night, and never have they been known or seen to fight at such an hour unless they were certain of an easy victory. But as we were all well prepared, we began to fight with them, and the brigantines, each of which carried a small fieldpiece, began to fire at them and the crossbowmen and harquebusiers likewise. After this they dared advance no further, nor did they even come close enough to do us any harm;[47] and so they left us in peace for what remained of the night and attacked us no more.

On the morning of the following day there arrived at my camp fifteen crossbowmen and harquebusiers and fifty soldiers with swords and bucklers and seven or eight horsemen from the garrison at Cuyoacan; and, even as they were arriving, the people from the city fought with us on the causeway and from their canoes. So great was the multitude that neither by land nor water could we see anything but people, shouting and screaming so it seemed the world was coming to an end. We began to fight with

them up the causeway and gained a channel whose bridge they had removed and an earthwork which had been built behind it. We did them so much harm with the guns and from horseback that we drove them back almost as far as the first houses of the town. As on the far side of the causeway, where the brigantines could not go, there were many canoes from which they did us much harm with the arrows and javelins they hurled at us, I ordered a breach to be opened in the causeway near to our camp and sent four brigantines through. These drove the canoes in among the houses of the city so that in no place dared they come out into the open. On the other side of the causeway the remaining eight brigantines fought with the canoes and drove them in amongst the houses, even pursuing them there, which they had not dared do before, for there were so many stakes and shallows to hinder them. But as now they found canals by which they might enter in safety, they fought with those in the canoes, taking some of them and burning many houses in the suburbs of the city. We spent the whole day fighting the enemy in this manner.

On the following day the alguacil mayor, together with all the people he had in Yztapalapa, Spaniards as well as allies, departed for Cuyoacán, which is joined to the mainland by a causeway, a league and half long. After the alguacil mayor had covered about a quarter of a league he reached a small town, which is also built on the water, but it is possible to ride through it in many places; the inhabitants began to attack him, but he routed them, killing many, and destroyed and burnt their town. When I learnt that the Indians had destroyed much of the causeway so that the men could not cross without difficulty, I sent two brigantines to help them cross, which they used as bridges for the foot soldiers. When they had crossed they set up camp at Cuyoacan, and the alguacil mayor with ten horsemen took the road to the causeway where we had pitched our camp, and when he arrived he found us fighting. He and his men then began to fight alongside us with the Indians on the causeway. While the aforementioned alguacil mayor was fighting he was

pierced through the foot with a javelin; but although he and some others were wounded that day, we did so much harm to the enemy with the heavy ordnance, the crossbows and harquebuses, that neither those in the canoes nor those on the causeway dared approach us very close, and showed more fear and less arrogance than before. In this manner six days were spent, and on each day we fought them; the brigantines burnt all the houses they could around the city, having discovered a canal whereby they might penetrate the outskirts and suburbs. This was most advantageous and kept back the canoes, which now dared not come within a quarter of a league of our camp.

The following day Pedro de Alvarado, who was captain of the garrison at Tacuba, informed me how on the other side of the city the people of Temixtitan came and went as they chose along a causeway, and another smaller one which joined it, to some towns on the mainland. He believed that once they were hard pressed they would all abandon the city by these causeways. Although I desired them to leave more than they did themselves, for we could take greater advantage of them on the mainland than in that huge fortress on the water, I thought it wise to surround them on all sides so that they might avail themselves of nothing on the mainland. I ordered the alguacil mayor, wounded though he was, to move his camp to a small town at the end of one of these causeways. He left with twenty-three horsemen, a hundred foot soldiers and eighteen crossbowmen and harquebusiers, leaving me the other fifty foot soldiers which I kept in my company. On the following day, he arrived and set up camp as I had ordered, and thenceforth the city of Temixtitan was surrounded at all the points where it might be possible to escape along the causeways.

Most Powerful Lord, I had in the camp on the causeway two hundred Spanish foot soldiers among whom were twenty-five crossbowmen and harquebusiers, without counting the men on the brigantines who numbered more than 250. As we had the enemy somewhat confined, and many warrior allies, I resolved to penetrate

along the causeway as far as possible into the city, with the brigantines covering us on either side. I sent word for some horsemen and foot soldiers from Cuyoacan to come to the camp and join us in the assault, and that ten horsemen should remain at the entrance to the causeway guarding our rear. Some others were to remain behind in Cuyoacan, for the natives of the cities of Suchimilco, Culuacan, Yztapalapa, Chilobusco, Mexicalcingo, Cuitaguaca and Mizqueque, all of which are on the lake, had rebelled in support of Temixtitan; should they attempt to take us from behind, we were protected by those ten or twelve horsemen I ordered to guard the causeway, and the same number who remained in Cuyoacan with more than ten thousand of our Indian allies. Likewise I ordered Pedro de Alvarado and the alguacil mayor to attack from their positions at the same time, because I wished to gain as much as possible on my side.

I left the camp in the morning, and moved up the causeway on foot. There we found the enemy in defense of a breach in the causeway as wide and as deep as a lance, and they had built a barricade. We fought with them and they with us, both very courageously, but at last they were defeated and we proceeded up the causeway until we reached the entrance to the city, where there was a temple tower, at the foot of which had been a very large bridge which they had removed, over a broad channel of water, with another strong earthwork. When we arrived they began to fight with us, but as the brigantines attacked from both sides we were able to capture it without danger, which would have been impossible without them. As the enemy began to abandon the barricade, the men from the brigantines came ashore and we crossed the water together with the Indians of Tascalteca, Guaxocingo, Calco and Tesuico, who numbered more than eighty thousand men. While we filled in that broken bridge with stone and adobes, the Spaniards took another barricade on the principal and widest street in the city, and as there was no water nearby it was easier to capture. They then pursued the enemy up the street until they reached

a bridge which had been destroyed save for a broad beam over which the Indians crossed, and, once they were on the other side and protected by the water, they drew it after them. On the far side of the bridge they had built another great earthwork with clay and adobes. When we arrived we found that we could not cross without throwing ourselves into the water, which was very dangerous as the enemy fought most bravely. On both sides of the street there was an infinite number of them, who attacked us very fiercely from the roof tops, but when the force of crossbowmen and harquebusiers arrived and we fired two guns up the street we were able to do them great harm. When we saw this certain of the Spaniards threw themselves into the water and struggled toward the other side, which took more than two hours to capture. But when the enemy saw them cross they abandoned the earthwork and the roof tops and fled up the street, whereupon all our people crossed over. I then ordered the earthworks to be destroyed and the channel filled up. Meanwhile the Spaniards and our Indian allies continued for about two crossbowshots, until they reached another bridge which was next to the square containing the principal dwellings of the city. But this bridge they had not removed nor had they built any earthwork in front of it, for they had not believed that we could have gained any part of what we had won that day, nor had we imagined that it would be even half as much.

At the entrance to the square I had a gun placed, and with it we did much harm to the enemy, who were so many that there was no room for them all in the square. When the Spaniards saw that there was no water there, the thing by which they were most endangered, they resolved to enter the square. When the inhabitants of the city saw them put this into effect and beheld the great multitude of our allies—although without us, they would have had no fear of them—they fled, and our allies pursued them until they were confined in the enclosure where they keep their idols, which is surrounded by a stone wall, and, as I explained in my earlier account, is large enough to hold a town of four hundred inhabitants.

They soon abandoned it, and the Spaniards and our allies captured the place and remained inside it and inside the towers for a considerable while.[48] But when the enemy saw that there were no horsemen they returned and drove the Spaniards out of the towers and the courtyard and the enclosure, where they found themselves hard pressed and in great danger; and as they were retreating rather too hastily, they turned and faced them beneath the arches of the forecourt. But the enemy attacked them so fiercely that they were forced to withdraw to the square, whence they were driven down the main street, abandoning the gun which was there.[49] The Spaniards, as they were unable to resist the enemy, continued to retreat in great peril of their lives, and indeed they would have been much harmed had it not pleased God that at that moment three horsemen arrived. When the enemy saw them enter the square they thought that there were more and began to flee. The horsemen then killed some of them and regained the courtyard and enclosure that I have mentioned. Ten or twelve of the principal lords of the city barricaded themselves into the largest and highest of the towers, which has a hundred or more steps to the top; but four or five Spaniards fought their way up and killed them all, although they fought most bravely in their defense.[50] Afterwards, another five or six horsemen arrived, and they and the others prepared an ambush in which they killed more than thirty of the enemy.

As it was already late I ordered my people to collect and withdraw, and in withdrawing we were assailed by such a multitude of the enemy that were it not for the horsemen the Spaniards would have been much injured. But as I had had all those dangerous crossings in the street and on the causeway, where we expected most danger, filled in and leveled by the time we withdrew, the horsemen could come and go with ease. When the enemy attacked us in our rear they charged them, killing some with the lances; as the street was very long they were able to do this four or five times. Although the enemy had witnessed the hurt they received, they came at us like mad dogs, and in no way could we halt them or

prevent them from following us. The whole day would have been so spent had they not already recaptured many of the roof tops overlooking the street, and so placed the horsemen in great danger. For this reason we retreated up the causeway to our camp, and no Spaniard was endangered, although some were wounded. We set fire to most of the better houses in that street, so that when we next entered they might not attack us from the roof tops. This same day the alguacil mayor and Pedro de Alvarado fought very fiercely from their own positions; and at the time of the fighting we were about a league from the one, and a league and a half from the other, but the built-up area of this city extends so far that it made these distances seem less. Our allies who were with them in infinite numbers fought very well and withdrew that day without loss.[51]

In the meantime, Don Fernando,[52] lord of the city of Tesuico and the province of Aculuacan, whom I have already mentioned to Your Majesty, had attempted to win over to our friendship all the inhabitants of his city and province, especially the chieftains, who were not then so firm in their friendship as they afterwards became; and every day there came to Don Fernando many chiefs and brothers of his, all resolved to join us and fight against Mexico and Temixtitan. As Don Fernando was only a boy and bore a great love for the Spaniards, for he recognized that he had been granted his great dominion by favor of Your Majesty, because there were others who took precedence over him, he did all he could to persuade his vassals to come and fight against Temixtitan and expose themselves to the same danger and hardships as ourselves. He spoke with his brothers, who were six or seven in number and all well-disposed youths, and entreated them to go to my assistance with all the people in their domains. He sent as captain one of them called Istlisuchil, a very valiant youth of twenty-three or twenty-four years, loved and respected by all. He arrived at the camp on the causeway with thirty thousand warriors, all well armed after their fashion, while another twenty thousand went to the other camps. I received them joyfully, thanking them for their

good intention and for having come so readily. Your Caesarean Majesty may well imagine how valuable this help and friendship of Don Fernando was to me, and what the people of Temixtitan must have felt on seeing advance against them those whom they held as vassals and friends, relatives and brothers, even fathers and sons.

Two days after this was the battle in the city, as I have related, and when these people had come to our assistance, the natives of Suchimilco, which is on the water, and certain of the Utumies[58] who are a mountain people more numerous than those of Suchimilco, and were once slaves of the lord of Temixtitan, came to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, begging me to forgive them for having delayed so long. I received them very well and was much pleased by their coming, for had the garrison at Cuyoacan received any harm it would have been from them.

As we had burnt many houses in the outskirts of the city from the brigantines operating from the camp on the causeway, and now no canoe dared venture near us there, it seemed to me that seven brigantines were sufficient to guard our camp, and so I decided to send three brigantines each to the alguacil mayor and Pedro de Alvarado. I instructed their captains to cruise by night and day from one camp to the other, for thereabouts the natives obtained much support from the land, and carried water, fruit and other supplies in their canoes; I told them, moreover, to cover the rear of the people from the camps every time they attacked the city. So these six brigantines departed for the other two camps; this was a necessary and advantageous move, for each day and night they made remarkable raids, taking many of the enemy and their canoes.

When this had been seen to, and all the peoples I have mentioned had come willingly to our assistance, I spoke to them all, telling them that two days later I intended to enter the city, and therefore they should all be prepared for war by that time, for by this I would know whether they were truly our friends; and they promised to do as I said. On the following day I prepared and

equipped my men, and wrote informing the camps and the brigantines of all I had arranged and of what they had to do.

On the following morning, after I had heard Mass and instructed the captains in what they were to do, I left the camp with fifteen or twenty horsemen and three hundred Spaniards and all our Indian allies of whom there was an infinite number. When we had gone three crossbowshots along the causeway from the camp we found the enemy awaiting us with loud cries. As we had not attacked them for three days they had undone all we had achieved by filling up the breaches in the causeway, and had made them very much stronger and more dangerous to capture than before. But the brigantines arrived on both sides of the causeway, and as they could come in close to the enemy with their guns, crossbows and harquebuses they did them much harm. When our men saw this they landed and captured the first earthwork and the bridge; and we crossed over to the other side and began to pursue the enemy, who barricaded themselves in behind other breaches and earthworks which they had made. These we also captured, although with greater difficulty and danger than before, and we drove them from the street and the square containing the principal houses of the city. I then ordered the Spaniards to advance no farther, while I went with our allies filling in with stones and adobes the breaches in the causeway, which were so many that, although more than ten thousand Indians were engaged in this task, by the time we had finished it was already the hour of vespers. During all this time the Spaniards and our allies were fighting and skirmishing with the people of the city and setting ambushes for them in which many of them were killed.

I rode with the horsemen for a while through the city, and in the streets where there was no water we attacked with our lances all those whom we met, and drove them back so that they dared not venture onto dry land. When I saw how determined they were to die in their defense I deduced two things: that we would regain little, or none, of the riches which they had taken from us, and

that they gave us cause, and indeed obliged us, to destroy them utterly. On this last I dwelt with more sorrow, for it weighed heavily on my soul, and thus I sought to find a way whereby I might frighten them and cause them to recognize their error and the harm they would receive from us; so for this reason I burnt and tore down the towers of their idols and their houses. In order that they should feel it the more, I commanded my men to set on fire those big houses in the square where the Spaniards and I had previously been quartered before we were expelled from the city. These were so large that a prince with more than six hundred people in his household and his retinue might be housed in them. There were also some others next to them which, though somewhat smaller, were very much prettier and more delicate; Mutezuma had kept in them every species of bird found in these parts. Although it distressed me, I determined to burn them, for it distressed the enemy very much more; and they showed great grief, as did their allies from the cities on the lakes, for they never believed that our force was sufficient to penetrate so far into the city, and this greatly dismayed them.

Once we had burnt these houses, I called together the men, as it was late, and returned to the camp; and when the people of the city saw that we were withdrawing, an infinite number fell upon us and attacked our rear guard with enormous force. But as the horsemen could gallop the whole length of the street we turned to attack them, killing many at every charge; but for all that they did not cease to come, shouting loudly at our backs. That day they showed great dismay, especially when they saw us enter their city, burning and destroying it, and with us the people of Tesuico, Calco and Suchimilco,[54] and the Utumies, each calling out the name of his province, and in another part the Tascaltecans, who all showed them their countrymen cut to pieces, saying that they would dine off them that night and breakfast off them the following morning, which in fact they did. Thus we returned to our camp to sleep, for we had labored hard that day; moreover the seven brigantines I had

with me had sailed up the canals in the city and burnt a large part of it. The captains of the other camps and the six brigantines all fought very well, and I could speak at length of their exploits, but to avoid prolixity I will state only that they returned to their camps victorious and without having received any harm.

Early on the following morning,[55] after having heard Mass, I returned to the city with my people in the same order so that the enemy should have no time to open the breaches and put up the barricades. Early as we were, however, of the three canals that cross the street which runs from our camp to the great houses in the square, two were as they had been on the previous days, and were so hard to capture that we fought from eight in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon, during which time nearly all the bolts, ammunition and shot which the crossbowmen and harquebusiers had were expended. Your Majesty may well believe that the dangers we encountered each time we captured these bridges were beyond compare, for to take them the Spaniards were required to swim across to the other side, and many were unable or unwilling to do this, for the enemy thrust us back with the blades and butts of their spears to prevent us from reaching the other side. But as they now had no roof tops from which to do us harm and we, being but a stone's throw away, showered them with bolts, the Spaniards became each day less afraid and more determined to cross; they also saw how determined I was and that, sink or swim, it could not be avoided. Your Majesty may think that once we had gained those bridges at such risk we were negligent in not holding them, so that we were obliged to return each day to the same danger and toil, which were indeed great; and thus it would appear to all who were not present. But I assure Your Majesty that in no manner could it have been done, for to achieve it two things would have been necessary—either for us to move our camp to the square and enclosure of the temple towers, or to mount a guard on the bridges by night, both of which were most dangerous, and indeed impossible, for once we had set up our camp in the city we would have had to fight

15a. PLATE 9. The Massacre at Cholula. In the middle of the drawing a priest tells two Tlaxcalteca of a plot and they in turn warn Marina. The mounted horseman to the left of Marina looks like Sandoval but may have been intended to be Cortés though he is usually depicted with a beard. The figures in the top right-hand corner are the Tlatoque of Cholula.

15. Plates 9, 14, 18, 28, and 48 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* from the edition published by Alfredo Chavero in *Antigüedades Mexicanas*, Mexico, 1892, 2 vols. (For a description of the *Lienzo* and its history see Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*,

15b. PLATE 14. The attack upon Alvarado's forces in the palace of Axayacatl. The legend reads: *Icquinyaocaltzacca*, "They have shut them into the palace with war."

15c. PLATE 18. The flight from Tenochtitlan on the *noche triste*. The horseman is presumably Cortés. The legend reads: *Tlotecaacalotli ypanoncan micovac*, "In the breach called *Tlotecaacalotli* there they died."

15d. PLATE 28. The arrival of the Spaniards in Hueyotlipan. Cortés is received by Maxixcatzin (?) who is carrying a bunch of flowers and is accompanied by a number of Tlaxcalteca nobles. The legend reads: *Quenamicque intlatoque quemacaque yxquechqualoni*, "Here they went out to meet the Tlatoque (the Spaniards) and gave them all manner of foods."

15e. PLATE 48. The fall of Tenochtitlan and the surrender of Cuauhtemoc. Cortés is shown with some outlandish feathers in his cap seated on the roof of the house of Aztacoatzin whose glyph, a white urn and water, appears beneath it. According to Chavero the figures in the bottom right-hand corner are the defeated Mexica warriors; to me they look more like the victorious Tlaxcalteca. Marina is standing behind Cortés and above the heads of Cuauhtemoc and his companion are those of a group of women. Only the queen Tecuhichpoch is distinguished by a glyph. (The head of an old woman, *tecul*, a cotton flower, *ichcatl* and the symbol for smoke *poch*[*tli*].) The legend reads, *Yc palinque Mexica*, "Here ended the Mexica."

with them all night long; they would have caused us intolerable difficulty and attacked us on all sides, for we were few and they were many. As for placing guards by night, the Spaniards were so tired with fighting during the day that we could spare no one for the night; thus we were obliged to capture them again each day we entered the city.

That day, as we spent so long in recapturing and repairing those bridges, there was little time left for anything else, save that on another main street which leads to the city of Tacuba two other bridges were captured and filled in and many good houses were burnt. By then it was late and time to withdraw, which was hardly less dangerous than capturing the bridges, for once they saw us retreat they recovered as much strength as if they had won the greatest victory in the world and we were fleeing before them. For this withdrawal it was necessary that the channels should be well filled in and level with the road, so that the horses might gallop freely across them. Sometimes, when we were thus withdrawing and they pursued us so eagerly, the horsemen would pretend to be fleeing, and then suddenly turn on them; we always took a dozen or so of the boldest. By these means and by the ambushes which we set for them, they were always much hurt; and certainly it was a remarkable sight for, even though they well knew the harm they would receive from us as we withdrew, they still pursued us until we had left the city. With this we returned to our camp, and the captains of the other camps informed me that they had done very well that day and that many people had been killed on land and in the water. Pedro de Alvarado, who was captain in Tacuba, wrote informing me that he had won two or three bridges, for, as he was on the causeway which runs from the market in Temixtitan to Tacuba, and the three brigantines which I had given him could tie up on one side of the causeway, he had not been in such danger as previously. Where he was, there were more bridges and gaps in the causeway than in other places but fewer roof tops.

During all this time the natives of Yztapalapa, Uchilubuzco,

Mexicalcingo, Culuacan, Mizqueque and Cuitaguaca, which, as I have recounted, are on the fresh-water lake, would never come peaceably to us, although we had never been attacked by them. But as the people of Calco were Your Majesty's very loyal vassals and saw that we were fully occupied with the people in the great city, they joined forces with some other towns which are around the lake and did as much harm as they were able to the aforementioned towns who, seeing that we were each day victorious over the people of Temixtitan, and realizing the injuries they were suffering and might further suffer from our allies, decided to submit.[56] When they reached our camp they begged me to forgive them the past and to command the people of Calco and their other neighbors to do them no more harm. I told them that I was well pleased and harbored anger against no one save the people of the city, but so that I might have proof of the sincerity of their friendship, I asked them, as I would not raise the siege until the city surrendered, or was captured, and as they had many canoes with which they might help me, to make ready as many as they could, with all the warriors in their towns, in order to help us thenceforth on the water. I also asked them, as the Spaniards had for their quarters but a few ruinous huts, and it was now the rainy season, to build as many houses as possible in the camp and to carry adobes and timber in their canoes from the houses in the city which were nearest to the camp. They replied that the canoes and the warriors would be ready each day; and they were so diligent in building the houses that on both sides of the two towers on the causeway where I was encamped they built so many that from the first to the last was a distance of more than three or four crossbowshots. From this Your Majesty may see how wide this causeway is which traverses the deepest part of the lake, for these houses were built on both sides of it, and yet there still was space for us to pass most comfortably between them on horseback. There were continuously more than two thousand people in the camp, counting the Spaniards and the Indians who served them. All the other warriors, our allies, were stationed at Cuyoacan, a league

and a half from the camp. The people from those towns, which I have already mentioned, also supplied us with provisions, of which we were in great need, especially with fish and cherries, of which latter there are such quantities hereabouts that in the six months which their season lasts they are sufficient for twice the population of this land.

As we had entered the city from our camp two or three days in succession, besides the three or four previous attacks, and had always been victorious, killing with crossbow, harquebus and field gun an infinite number of the enemy, we each day expected them to sue for peace, which we desired as much as our own salvation; but nothing we could do would induce them to do it. In order to put them in greater difficulties and to see if we might oblige them to surrender, I proposed to enter the city each day and to attack the inhabitants in three or four different places. I therefore commanded all the people from those cities on the water to come in their canoes; and on the morning of that day there gathered in the camp more than a hundred thousand of our allies. I then ordered that four brigantines with half the canoes, of which there were as many as fifteen hundred, should approach on one side, while the other three brigantines, with the same number of canoes, were to go to the other; and they were all to circle the city and burn and do all the damage they could. I entered along the main street and found it free from obstruction right up to the great houses in the square; nor had any of the breaches been reopened. I then advanced to the street which led to Tacuba, where there are six or seven bridges. From there I ordered a captain to enter another street with sixty or seventy men. Six horsemen went to guard his rear, and with them went more than ten or twelve thousand of our Indian allies. I then ordered another captain to do the same along another street, and I myself, with all the men who were left, proceeded up the road to Tacuba, where we won three bridges. These we filled in, but because it was already late we left the others for another day when they could be better taken, for I greatly desired to capture that

street so that the people from Pedro de Alvarado's camp might communicate with ours and pass from one camp to the other, and the brigantines likewise. That day was one of great victory both on land and in the water, and we took some spoil from the city. The alguacil mayor and Pedro de Alvarado were also victorious.

On the following day I re-entered the city in the same order as before, and God granted us such a victory that in the places where I entered with my people there seemed to be no resistance, and the enemy retreated so swiftly that we appeared to have won three-quarters of the city. Pedro de Alvarado also drove them quickly back, and I was certain, on this day as on the previous one, that they would sue for peace, which, I assured them in every possible way, I greatly desired, with or without a victory; but, for all that, they never gave any sign of peace. That day we returned joyfully to our camp, although we could not but be saddened by their determination to die.

In these days past Pedro de Alvarado had won many bridges, and in order to hold them had placed a guard of foot soldiers and horsemen on them during the night, while the rest of his men returned to the camp, which was three-quarters of a league from there. But because this task became intolerable, he decided to move his camp to the end of the causeway leading to the marketplace of Temixtitan, which is a square much larger than that of Salamanca, and all surrounded by arcades. To reach this he had only to capture two or three bridges, but the channels there were very broad and dangerous, so he had to fight for several days, although he was always successful. On that day, of which I have already spoken, when he saw the enemy weaken, and saw how I constantly attacked them with great ferocity, he became so enamored of the taste of victory, with all those bridges and fortifications he had captured, that he resolved to cross and take a breach where more than seventy paces of causeway had been torn up and replaced by water to a depth of eight or nine feet. As they attacked that same day and were greatly assisted by the brigantines, they

crossed the water, gained the bridges and pursued the enemy who fled. Pedro de Alvarado then made haste to fill in that breach so that the horses might also cross over, and because I had cautioned him each day, both in writing and in person, not to take an inch of ground without first making it safe for the horsemen, who were the mainstay of the fighting. When the people of the city saw that there were only forty or fifty Spaniards and some of our allies on the other side, and that the horsemen were unable to cross, they turned on them so swiftly that they drove them back into the water. Three or four Spaniards were taken alive to be sacrificed and some of our allies were killed.[57]

Finally Pedro de Alvarado succeeded in retreating to his camp, and when that day I returned to mine and heard of all that had happened it distressed me more than anything else in the world, because it might have encouraged the enemy and led them to believe that we dared not enter the city again. The reason why Pedro de Alvarado wished to capture that dangerous breach was partly because, as I have said, he had defeated a great part of the enemy forces and they had shown some weakness; but above all he did it because his men were urging him to capture the marketplace, for, once that was taken, the city was almost won, as all the Indian forces had gathered there and placed all their hopes in it. As Alvarado's men saw how I continually defeated the Indians, they feared that I might capture the marketplace before they did, and, as they were closer to it than we, they held it a point of honor to take it first. For this reason Pedro de Alvarado was much importuned, and the same happened to me in my camp, for all the Spaniards greatly urged me to enter by one of the three streets leading to the marketplace, for we should meet with no resistance and, once it was captured, we would have less trouble thereafter. I made every possible excuse for not doing this, although I concealed the real reason, which was the disadvantages and dangers which I had observed; for in order to reach the marketplace we would have had to pass an

infinite number of roof tops and broken roads and bridges, so that every house on our way would be like an island.

When I returned to my camp that afternoon and learned of Alvarado's defeat, I decided to go to his camp on the following morning to rebuke him, and to see what he had gained and where he had moved his camp, advising him as to what he must do for his own defense and for an attack on the enemy. When I reached his camp, however, I was truly astonished to see how far into the city he had gone and the dangerous bridges and passes which he had won, and I no longer blamed him as much as he had seemed to deserve. And when I had discussed with him what was to be done, I returned to my camp that same day.[58]

Once this was over I made several sorties into the city in the usual places. The brigantines and canoes attacked in two places while I fought in the city in four others. We were always victorious and killed great numbers of the enemy, for every day a multitude of people came to join our forces. I hesitated, however, to advance farther into the city, because the enemy might still abandon their stubborn resistance; furthermore, our entry could not be effected without much danger, for they were all united, full of courage and determined to die. But when the Spaniards saw this delay, for they had been fighting without cease for more than twenty days, they urged me strongly, as I said above, to enter and take the marketplace; for once that was captured the Indians would have very little left to defend and would be forced, if they did not surrender, to die of hunger and thirst, there being nothing left to drink except salt water from the lake. When I excused myself, Your Majesty's treasurer told me that the whole camp demanded it and that I must therefore comply. To him and to the other good people who were there I replied that their intention and desire were commendable, and that no one wished to see this business finished so much as I; but I would not attempt it for the reason which his demands had forced me to reveal, namely, that although he was

willing there would be others who, on account of the dangers, would not be. But finally they pressed me so much that I agreed to do all I could once I had spoken to the people in the other camps.

The following day I conferred with some of the officers among us, and we agreed to inform the alguacil mayor and Pedro de Alvarado that next day we would enter the city and attempt to take the marketplace. I wrote telling them what they were to do on the Tacuba side, and as well as writing, I sent two of my servants to inform them of the entire operation. The order they were to follow was that the alguacil mayor should go with ten horsemen, a hundred foot soldiers and fifteen crossbowmen and harquebusiers to Alvarado's camp, leaving ten horsemen behind in his own. With these he should arrange that on the following day they should lie in ambush behind some houses; he would then remove his baggage as if he were breaking camp; when the enemy began to pursue him, the horsemen would fall on them from behind. The alguacil mayor, with three of his brigantines and three of Pedro de Alvarado's, was to take that dangerous breach where Alvarado had been driven back, and fill it in with all haste, and then continue his advance; but on no account was he to leave a bridge which he had won without having it repaired and leveled. I also told them that if they could reach the marketplace without exposing themselves to extreme danger, they should make every effort to do so, for I would do the same; but they should note that, although I told them to do this, it did not oblige them to take any step that might lead to their defeat or misfortune; this I told them, for I knew that they would follow where I led, even if they knew it might cost them their lives. My two servants then went with my message to the camp, where they found the alguacil mayor and Pedro de Alvarado, whom they informed of the plan, as we had agreed in our camp. As they were to fight only in one place, but I in many, I sent asking for seventy or eighty foot soldiers to enter with me the following day; these arrived that same night with my servants and slept in our camp, as they had been ordered.

Everything having been arranged as mentioned, on the following day, after Mass, the seven brigantines left our camp with more than three thousand allied canoes; I, with twenty-five horsemen and the other men I had, together with those seventy from the camp at Tacuba, marched forward into the city. When we arrived I disposed my men in this manner: From where we were, three roads led into the marketplace, which the Mexicans call Tianguizco[59] (and the whole place where it is located is called Tlatelulco). I told Your Majesty's treasurer and *contador*[60] to take the principal one with seventy men and more than fifteen or twenty thousand of our allies and to place in the rear guard seven or eight horsemen. As soon as he captured the canals and earthworks he was to level them, for which purpose he took a dozen men with picks, as well as some of our allies whose task it was to fill up breaches. The other two streets, which ran from the Tacuba causeway to the marketplace, were narrower and consisted more of causeways, bridges and canals. I sent two captains with eighty men and more than ten thousand of our Indian allies along the broader of the two, at the entrance to which I placed two large guns with eight horsemen to guard them. With eight horsemen and some hundred foot soldiers, among whom were more than twenty-five crossbowmen and harquebusiers, and a huge number of our allies, I continued my march and moved as far up the other, narrower road as I was able. But at the entrance to it I halted the horsemen and ordered them on no account to move from there, nor to follow me unless I first ordered them to do so. I then dismounted and we arrived at a barricade they had built at the end of a bridge which we took with a small field gun, supported by the crossbowmen and harquebusiers. We then moved on along a street which they had breached in two or three places.

Apart from these three attacks which we made on the inhabitants of the city, our allies who attacked them on the roof tops and other places were so numerous it seemed that nothing could resist us. When we had taken these two bridges, the barricades and the

causeway, our allies followed up the street without any protection from us while I remained on a small island with some twenty Spaniards, for I had seen that certain of our allies were engaged with the enemy and were sometimes driven back into the water; with our help they might return to the attack. In addition to this, we took care that the enemy was prevented from attacking the Spaniards in the rear from certain side streets in the city. These same Spaniards sent to inform me at this time that they had gained much ground and were not far from the marketplace; they greatly wished to press on, for they could already hear the attack being made by Sandoval and Alvarado on their side. I sent to tell them that on no account should they advance a step until they had first made certain that all the bridges were well filled in; thus, should they be obliged to retreat, the water would not hinder them at all, for it was there, as they knew, that the greatest danger lay. They answered that all they had won was well repaired, and I might go there and see for myself if it was so. And I, fearing that they might have been thoughtless and not taken enough care in filling up the bridges, went there and discovered that they had crossed a breach in the road ten or twelve paces wide, in which the water was more than eight feet deep. When they crossed they had thrown wood and reed grass into the breach, and because they had passed over one at a time and with great care this had not sunk; now they were so drunk with the joy of victory they imagined that they had made it quite safe. But at the very moment I arrived at that feeble bridge I saw the Spaniards and many of our allies in full retreat, with the enemy like hounds at their heels; and as I could see the impending disaster I began to cry, "Stop! Stop!" But when I reached the bank I found the water full of Spaniards and Indians as though not a straw had been thrown into it. The enemy attacked so fiercely that in attempting to kill the Spaniards they leapt into the water after them. Then some enemy canoes came up the canals and took some of the Spaniards away alive. As this affair happened so suddenly and I saw that my men were being killed, I determined to make a

stand and die fighting. The best that I and my companions could do was to help out some wretched Spaniards who were drowning; some of these were wounded, some half-drowned and others had lost their weapons. I sent them on ahead, at which point we were attacked by such a multitude of the enemy that I and another twelve or fifteen were surrounded on all sides. As I was so intent on rescuing the drowning, I neither saw nor gave a thought to the harm I might receive. Certain Indians then came to seize me and would have carried me off were it not for a captain of fifty men, who always accompanied me, and a youth in his company, who, after God, was the one to save my life, and in doing so, like a valiant man, gave his own.[61]

Meanwhile, the Spaniards who had escaped the rout were retreating along the street, which was narrow and level with the water, the dogs having made it so on purpose; as many of our allies were also fleeing that way, the road was soon so blocked with people who moved so slowly that the enemy was able to attack them from the water on both sides and kill and capture as they chose. The captain who was with me, who was called Antonio de Quiñones, said to me: "Let us go and save at least your own person, for you know that if you are killed we are all lost," but he could not persuade me to go away. When he saw this, he seized me by the arms to turn me back, and, although I would have rather died than escape, as a result of the insistence of that man and other companions of mine who were close by, we began to retreat, fighting with swords and bucklers against the enemy, who pursued us and wounded some of us. At this moment a servant of mine arrived on horseback and cleared a little room; but they speared him through the throat from a low roof top and forced him to retreat. While we were engaged in this desperate struggle to detain the enemy until our men had passed up that narrow street to safety, there came a servant of mine with a horse for me to ride; the people who had escaped from the water had brought so much mud onto the street that no one could stand upright, especially as we were being pushed

about by those who were trying to escape. I mounted, but not to fight, because that was impossible then on horseback; had it not been so, those eight horsemen whom I had left on a small island farther up the causeway would have been there, whereas they were unable to do anything except retreat. Retreat, however, was so perilous that two mares, ridden by two of my servants, fell from that causeway into the water, one of which was killed by the Indians and the other saved by the foot soldiers. Another of my servants, a youth named Cristóbal de Guzmán, took a horse which they had given him on that island to bring to me so that I might escape, but both he and the horse were killed by the enemy before they could reach me. His death caused such sorrow to the entire camp that those who knew him still bear the grief to this day.

Now, after all our hardships, it pleased God that those of us who remained should reach the Tacuba causeway, which was very wide. There I mustered my men and took the rear guard myself with nine horsemen. The enemy came after us so swollen with the pride of victory that it seemed not one of us would escape alive; and withdrawing as best I could I sent word to the treasurer and contador to retire to the square in as orderly a fashion as possible. I sent the same orders to the other two captains who had gone along the street which led to the market; both parties had fought most bravely and captured many bridges and barricades, which they had also leveled very well, which was the cause of their being able to retreat unharmed. Before the treasurer and contador began to retreat, the people of the city had thrown, over the barricade where they were fighting, two or three of the heads of the captured Christians, although they did not at that time know whether they came from Pedro de Alvarado's camp or our own. When we had all gathered in the square, the enemy pressed upon us from every quarter, and in such numbers that it was all we could do to resist them, and in places where before our defeat they would never have dared attack. Then suddenly in a high temple tower close to the square they offered up to their gods as a sign of victory many per-

fumes and incense of a gummy substance which is found in these parts and resembles resin.[62] And although we greatly desired to put a stop to this we were unable to do so, for our people were already retreating to the camp as fast as possible.

In this rout the enemy slew thirty-five or forty Spaniards, and more than a thousand of our Indian allies; more than twenty Christians were wounded, I myself being injured in the leg; we lost a small field gun and many harquebuses, crossbows and other arms.[63]

Once they had gained their victory, the people of the city, in order to terrify the alguacil mayor and Pedro de Alvarado, took all the Spaniards they had captured dead or alive to Tlatelulco, which is the market, and on some high towers which are there sacrificed them naked, opening their chests and tearing out their hearts as an offering to the idols. The Spaniards of Alvarado's camp could see this clearly from where they were fighting, and recognized those who were being sacrificed as Christians by their white naked bodies. And, although they were grieved and greatly dispirited by the sight, they retreated to their camp, having fought very well that day and won through almost to the marketplace, which would have been taken if God, on account of our sins, had not permitted such a great disaster. We returned to our camp somewhat earlier than usual, and much saddened, for we had heard that the brigantines were lost, as the enemy canoes had fallen on us from behind, but, thank God, this was not true, although the brigantines and the canoes of our allies had been in great difficulties. So much so, indeed, that one brigantine was almost lost, and the captain and master were both wounded; the captain died within a week. All during that day and the following night the enemy celebrated with drums and trumpets so loudly it seemed as if the world was coming to an end. They opened all the streets and canals as before, and lit fires and posted sentries only two crossbowshots from our camp. And as we were so sorely defeated and wounded and without weapons, we needed to rest and recuperate.

In the meantime the people of the city sent messengers to many subject provinces, informing them of how they had won a great victory and had slain many Christians and that shortly they would have done with us, and advising them on no account to discuss terms with us. The proof they sent of their victory was the heads of those two horses which they had killed and of some Christians. These they carried about and displayed wherever they saw fit, which served further to confirm the rebels in their obstinacy. In order, however, that our enemies should not become too arrogant or perceive our own weakness, each day some Spaniards on horse and foot, together with many of our allies, went to fight in the city, although they could never gain more than a few bridges in the first street before reaching the square.

Two days after our defeat, news of which had now spread throughout the countryside, the natives of a town called Cuarnaguacar,[64] who were once subjects to Temixtitan but had declared themselves our allies, arrived in the camp. They told me how the inhabitants of Malinalco, who were their neighbors, were doing them much harm and ravaging their land, and had now allied themselves with the province of Cuisco,[65] which is a large one, and intended to fall upon them and kill them for having offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals and our allies; furthermore, they said that once they had destroyed the people of Cuarnaguacar they would attack us. And although our defeat was so recent and we needed help more than we could give it, I determined to go to their aid because they entreated me with such insistence; so, in the face of opposition from some who claimed that I would destroy us all by reducing our numbers in the camp, I sent back with those messengers eighty foot soldiers and ten horsemen under the command of the captain Andrés de Tapia. I greatly urged him to do whatever was most convenient to Your Majesty's service and our safety, since he saw the difficulties in which we found ourselves, and therefore to return within ten days. He departed, and arriving at a small town between Malinalco and Coadnoacad he found the enemy

awaiting him. Then he and his men together with the people of Coadnoacad began the battle in the fields, and our men fought so well that they routed the enemy and drove them back to Malinalco, which is situated on top of a very high hill where the horsemen could not follow. When the Spaniards saw this, they destroyed all they found on the plain and returned victorious to our camp within ten days. In the upper part of this town of Malinalco are many springs of good clear water, which is most refreshing.

While this captain was away some Spaniards on horse and on foot, together with our allies, entered the city, as I have already said, and reached close to the great houses in the square; but they could advance no farther, for the enemy had opened a deep broad canal at the entrance to the square, and on the far side had built a large and strong barricade where fighting took place until night overtook them.

A chieftain of the province of Tascalteca, called Chichimecatecle, of whom I have already spoken, the man who brought the planks for the brigantines from that province, had, since the beginning of the war, been staying with all his people in Alvarado's camp; when he saw that after our defeat the Spaniards did not fight as well as before, he determined to enter the city alone with his own people. He posted four hundred archers at a dangerous bridge which he had won from the enemy (though he could never have done so without our help), and then advanced at the head of his men, who made a terrible noise, screaming and calling out the name of their province and lord. They fought very fiercely that day and there were many wounded and many killed on both sides. The people of the city, however, believed they had trapped their enemies, for as they are a people who, whether they are victorious or not, pursue their adversaries in retreat with great determination, they thought that once the Tascaltecans came to cross the water, where the danger was greatest, they would make good their revenge. For this reason Chichimecatecle had stationed his four hundred archers at this point. As soon as the people of the city saw that

their enemies were retreating, they at once charged down on them, whereupon the Tascaltecans threw themselves into the water, and with the help of the archers reached the other side. The enemy, faced with such resistance, halted, much surprised by Chichimecatecle's daring.

Two days after the Spaniards had returned from fighting the people of Malinalco—as Your Majesty will have seen in the chapter before—there arrived at our camp ten Indians of the Utumies who were slaves of the Culuans and, as I have said, had offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals and each day fought by our side. They now told me that the chieftains of the province of Matalcingo, who are their neighbors, were making war on them and laying waste their land; they had burnt a village and carried off some of its inhabitants and were now advancing, destroying all they could, and intending to come to our camps and attack us, so that those within the city could come out and have done with us forever. We were all the more ready to believe their story because, for the past few days, each time we entered the city the enemy had threatened us with the arrival of reinforcements from this province of Matalcingo, of which we had heard little, save that it was large and lay some twenty-two leagues from our camps. From the complaints these Utumi people made against their neighbors, we were given to understand that they required assistance, and although the request came at a most difficult time, we trusted in God's help to clip the wings of those defending the city, who each day threatened us with these reinforcements, and seemed to place a great deal of confidence in their aid; for, indeed, they could expect help from no other quarter; I therefore determined to send Gonzalo de Sandoval, alguacil mayor, with eighteen horsemen and one hundred foot soldiers, among whom was but a single crossbowman; he departed with some of our Utumi allies in his company.

God alone knows the danger in which they went, and, indeed, that in which we remained; but as we had now to show

greater courage than ever before and to die fighting if need be, we concealed our weakness from friend and foe alike. And not once but many times the Spaniards declared that they asked of God only that they should live to triumph over the defenders of the city, even if this should mean that they gained nothing else in the entire land. From this may be seen the risks and extreme hardships our lives and persons were forced to bear.

That day the alguacil mayor spent the night in a village of the Utumies on the border with Matalcingo; very early on the morning of the following day he departed, and came to some farms belonging to the Utomi, which he found deserted and mostly burnt, and, descending to the plain, beside a small river he found a large number of the enemy, who had just burnt another village. When they saw the Spaniards they turned and fled; and while pursuing them, our men came across many sacks of maize and roasted babies which the enemy carried as provisions and had abandoned when they saw the Spaniards. Once they had crossed a river which was farther up the valley, the enemy began to muster their troops, whereupon Sandoval and the horsemen broke their ranks and pursued them as they fled back toward Matalcingo, which lies three leagues from there. The horsemen then drove them all the way to the town and confined them there, and awaited the other Spaniards and our Indian allies, who were killing those whom the horsemen had intercepted but left behind. More than two thousand of the enemy were slain during this chase. As soon as the foot soldiers arrived, they, together with our allies, who numbered more than seventy thousand men, began to run toward the town, where the enemy turned and faced them while their women and children and their belongings were carried to safety in a fortress, built on a high hill close by. But so fierce was the attack that the defenders were likewise forced to retreat to this fortress on the hill, which was very steep and almost impregnable. The town was burnt and sacked in a very short time, but as it was late and as the men were very tired,

for they had fought all day, the alguacil mayor decided not to attack the fortress. The enemy spent most of that night howling and beating drums and blowing trumpets.

On the following morning the alguacil mayor began to lead his men up toward the fortress, although he was afraid that he would find himself hard pressed by their resistance. When he arrived, however, the place seemed to be deserted, and several of our Indian allies came down and said that they had found no one, for the enemy had left shortly before dawn. While they were thus occupied they saw that all the valleys thereabouts were full of people. These were Utumies, but the horsemen, thinking that they were the enemy, charged them and killed three or four with their lances. As the Utomi language is different from that of the Culuans, they could understand nothing, except that they saw the Indians throw down their arms and approach them; yet even after that they killed three or four more. But our allies understood that it was because they had not been recognized. As the enemy had departed, the Spaniards decided to move against another of their towns which was also involved in the fighting; but when the inhabitants saw so many advancing toward them they sued for peace. The alguacil mayor then spoke with the chieftain of that town, telling him how I always welcomed those who offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, however guilty they might be, and begged him to persuade the people of Matalcingo to come over to me. This lord promised to do as he was asked and also to bring the people of Malinalco to surrender. With this victory the alguacil mayor returned to his camp.

That same day some Spaniards had been fighting in Temixtitan, and the enemy had sent asking for our interpreter to come because they wished to talk peace, which, however, it seemed, they wanted only on condition that we leave the entire land. They made this move only to gain a few days in which to rest and refurnish their supplies, for we never succeeded in breaking their will to fight. While we stood arguing through the interpreter, with noth-

ing more than a fallen bridge between us and the enemy, an old man, in full view of everyone, very slowly extracted from his knapsack certain provisions and ate them, so as to make us believe that they were in no need of supplies, for we had told them they would all die of hunger. Our allies warned us that these talks were insincere and urged us to attack them, but we fought no more that day, for the lords had told the interpreter to convey their proposals to me.

Four days after Sandoval[66] returned from Matalcingo the lords of that province and of Malinalco and of the province of Cuiscon,[67] which is very large and important and had also rebelled, came to our camp and begged forgiveness for the past and offered to serve us well, which they did and have done until now.

While the alguacil mayor was at Matalcingo, the people of Temixtitan decided to attack Alvarado's camp by night, and struck shortly before dawn. When the sentries on foot and on horseback heard them they shouted, "To arms!" Those who were in that place flung themselves upon the enemy, who leapt into the water as soon as they saw the horsemen. Meanwhile the rest of our men came up and fought with them for more than three hours. We heard in our camp a field gun being fired, and, fearing that our men might be defeated, I ordered my own company to arm themselves and march into the city to weaken the offensive against Alvarado. And the Spanish attack was so fierce that the Indians decided to retreat. And that day we entered and fought in the city once more.

By this time those of us who had been wounded during our defeat were now healed. News arrived from Vera Cruz that a ship had arrived belonging to Juan Ponce de León,[68] who had been defeated on the mainland or island of Florida; and with this news the citizens of Vera Cruz sent me some powder and crossbows, of which we were in dire need. Now, thanks be to God, all the lands round about had come over to our side. But when I saw how rebellious the people of this city were, and how they seemed more determined to perish than any race of man known before, I did not

know by what means we might relieve ourselves of all these dangers and hardships, and yet avoid destroying them and their city which was indeed the most beautiful thing in the world. They paid no heed to us when we told them that we would not strike camp, nor would the brigantines cease to attack them from the water, that we had destroyed the peoples of Matalcingo and Malinalco and that there was no one in all the land who could help them, nor could they acquire maize or meat or fruit or water or any other provision. The more such things were told them, the less signs they showed of weakening; rather they seemed to attack each time with greater spirit. Then, seeing that the affair was continuing in this way, and that we had been besieging the city for more than forty-five days, I decided to take steps to ensure our greater safety and to place the enemy in further difficulties; my plan was to raze to the ground all the houses on both sides of the streets along which we advanced, so that we should move not a step without leaving everything behind us in ruins; and all the canals were to be filled in, no matter how long it took us.[69] To this end I called together all the chiefs and principal persons among our allies and told them what I had decided, and asked them, in consequence, to call up many of their farm laborers, asking them to bring their *coas*, which are sticks which they use much as workmen in Spain dig with spades. They replied that they would willingly do as I asked, and that they welcomed my decision, for it seemed to them a way to destroy the city and this they desired more than anything else in the world.

Two or three days passed while arrangements were being made. The enemy were well aware that we were planning an offensive and they, as it afterwards appeared, were making every preparation for their defense, as we guessed they would. Having agreed with our allies, therefore, that we would fight the enemy on land and water, we left the next morning after Mass and took the road to the city. When we reached the bridge and barricade close to the great houses in the square the enemy called to us to advance no farther, for they desired peace. I ordered the men not to attack and

told the enemy to call the lord of the city to come there and speak to me about terms. They then told me that they had sent for him and so detained me more than an hour, for in reality they had no wish for peace, and soon demonstrated the fact by beginning, as we stood quietly by, to hurl arrows, javelins and stones. When I saw this we attacked the barricade and captured it; but on entering the square we found it strewn with boulders to stop the horses crossing it, because on land it is they who carry the attack. Likewise we found a street walled up with stones and another covered with stones so that the horses could not pass up them. From that day forward we filled in that canal so thoroughly that the Indians never opened it again; and thenceforth we began, little by little, to destroy the houses and block all the canals we had won. As we were accompanied that day by more than 150,000 warriors, we made much progress. So we returned to our camp, and the brigantines and the canoes of our allies, which had likewise done much damage, also returned to rest.

On the following day we again entered the city in the same array, and when we reached that enclosure and the forecourt of the temple towers I ordered the captains and their men to do no more than block up the canals and level out the dangerous areas which we had won. Some of our allies I sent to burn and raze the houses and others to fight in the usual places while the horsemen were placed on guard in the rear. I myself climbed the highest of those towers, for the Indians recognized me and I knew it would distress them greatly to see me there. From there I encouraged our allies and sent them help when necessary; for, as they fought without pause, they sometimes forced the enemy to retreat and at other times were forced to retreat themselves. When this happened they were reinforced by three or four horsemen, which gave them immense courage to turn again upon our enemies. In this manner we entered the city five or six days in succession; and every time we withdrew we sent our allies out in front and positioned certain Spaniards in ambush in some houses while the horsemen remained

behind and pretended to retreat suddenly, so as to bring the enemy out into the square. With these devices and the ambushes set by the foot soldiers we killed a number of them with our lances every afternoon. On one particular day seven or eight horsemen were waiting in the square for the enemy to emerge, and when we saw that they would not, we feigned a retreat, but the enemy, fearing that the horsemen would turn and charge them, as they had done before, placed themselves in vast numbers behind walls and on roof tops. The horsemen then turned and charged them, but they defended, from above, the entrance to a narrow street, where the horsemen could not follow and were at last forced to retire. The enemy, encouraged that they had caused our men to retreat, ran eagerly forward to kill, but so cautious were they even so, that they took up positions where they could not be harmed, and from along the walls some of them forced the horsemen to retreat, wounding two of their horses. This gave me an opportunity to set a most successful trap for them, as I shall later recount to Your Majesty. That evening we returned to our camp leaving all that we had gained most secure and leveled, and the enemy very boastful, believing we had retreated through fear. That same evening I sent a messenger to the alguacil mayor asking him to appear at my camp before dawn with fifteen horsemen from his own and from Pedro de Alvarado's camp.

On the following morning the alguacil mayor arrived with fifteen horsemen. I had there another twenty-five from Cuyoacan, which made forty in all. Ten of them I sent out together with the rest of our people and the brigantines, ordering them to enter the city as before and to capture and destroy all they could. I would be there with the thirty horsemen when the time came to retreat, for as they knew that we had leveled much of the city I ordered them to pursue the enemy in force until they were confined in their canals and strongholds, and to hold them there until the hour came to retreat. Then I and the thirty horsemen, unobserved, would set an ambush in some large houses near to the other large ones on the

square. The Spaniards did as I commanded, and half an hour after midday I set out for the city with the thirty horsemen. When we arrived I left my companions in the aforementioned houses and I myself climbed the high tower as I was accustomed to do. While I was present, some Spaniards opened a grave which contained more than fifteen hundred castellanos worth of gold ornaments.

When the time came I gave orders for my men to retreat in good order and for the horsemen to begin a charge when they reached the square, but to pretend to be afraid and stop short. This they were to do as soon as they saw a large force of people in and around the square; my men in ambush were eagerly awaiting the signal to begin their attack. They were keen to do a good job, and somewhat tired of waiting. I then joined them, and already the Spaniards, both on horse and on foot, and our Indian allies who knew of the ambush, were retreating across the square. The enemy pursued them with such wild cries that one might have thought they had conquered the world. The nine [*sic*] horsemen made as if to attack them across the square and then withdrew suddenly. When they had done this twice the enemy were so enraged that they attacked at the horses' flanks until they drove us into the entrance of the street where we were waiting in ambush. When we saw the Spaniards pass in front of us and heard a harquebus shot, which was the signal to attack, we knew it was time to emerge; and so with the cry of "Señor Santiago" we fell suddenly upon them, and charged up the square spearing them, cutting them down and overtaking many of them, who were then slain by our allies, so that in this ambush more than five hundred of their bravest and most notable men were lost. That night our allies dined sumptuously, for all those they had killed were sliced up and eaten. So great was the surprise and shock they received in seeing themselves so suddenly beaten, that not once did they shout or scream that evening nor dared they appear on the roof tops or in the streets unless they were quite certain of being safe. As it was almost dark when we finally withdrew, it seems that the enemy sent certain slaves to see whether

we were retreating or what we were doing. When they appeared in the street ten or twelve horsemen attacked and pursued them so that not one escaped alive.

The enemy was so terrified by this victory of ours that never again during the whole course of the war dared they enter the square when we withdrew, even if there was only a single horseman there, nor dared they attack so much as one of our foot soldiers or Indian allies, thinking that an ambush would be sprung on them from beneath their very feet. And the victory which Our Lord God gave us that day was the principal cause of the city being won the sooner, for the inhabitants were much dismayed by it and our allies greatly encouraged. So we returned to our camp resolved to bring a speedy end to the war, and not to let one day pass without entering the city. That day there were no casualties in our camp, except that when we emerged from our ambush some of the horsemen collided with each other, and one fell from his mare, which rushed straight at the enemy, who shot at and wounded her with arrows; whereupon, seeing how badly she was being treated, she returned to us but so badly wounded that she died that night. And although we were much grieved by this loss, for our lives were dependent on the horses, we were pleased that she had not perished at the hands of the enemy, as we thought would happen, for their joy at having captured her would have exceeded the grief caused by the death of their companions. The brigantines and the canoes of our allies wrought great havoc that day in the city and returned unharmed.

We already knew that the Indians in the city were very scared, and we now learnt from two wretched creatures who had escaped from the city and come to our camp by night that they were dying of hunger and used to come out at night to fish in the canals between the houses, and wandered through the places we had won in search of firewood, and herbs and roots to eat. And because we had already filled in many of the canals, and leveled out many of the dangerous stretches, I resolved to enter the next morn-

ing shortly before dawn and do all the harm we could. The brigantines departed before daylight, and I with twelve or fifteen horsemen and some foot soldiers and Indians entered suddenly and stationed several spies who, as soon as it was light, called us from where we lay in ambush, and we fell on a huge number of people. As these were some of the most wretched people and had come in search of food, they were nearly all unarmed, and women and children in the main. We did them so much harm through all the streets in the city that we could reach, that the dead and the prisoners numbered more than eight hundred; the brigantines also took many people and canoes which were out fishing, and the destruction was very great. When the captains and lords of the city saw us attack at such an unaccustomed hour, they were as frightened as they had been by the recent ambush, and none of them dared come out and fight; so we returned with much booty and food for our allies.

The following day we returned to the city, and, as our allies now saw how far we had advanced toward destroying it, they came to our camp in such multitudes we could no longer count them. That day we finally captured the Tacuba road and leveled the difficult stretches, so that the people in Alvarado's camp could communicate with us by way of the city; and on the main street which leads to the market two more bridges were captured and filled in. We also burnt the houses of the lord of the city, the second since Mutezuma's death, a boy of eighteen years of age called Guatimucín;[70] these houses had been very strong, for they were large, well fortified and surrounded by water. Two other bridges on other streets which run close to the main road to the market were also captured, so that three-quarters of the city was now in our hands, and the Indians were forced to retreat to the strongest part of the city, which consisted of the houses farthest out over the water.

On the following day, which was that of St. James (Santiago),[71] we entered the city in the same manner as before, following the main street which leads to the market, and we captured a very wide canal which they had thought a great safeguard, although,

indeed, it took us a long time and was hard to win, and because it was so wide we were unable that day to fill it in so that the horses could cross over. As we were all on foot and the Indians saw that the horses had not crossed, they turned on us afresh and many of them were fine warriors. But we resisted their attack and, as we had many crossbowmen, forced them to retreat behind their barricades, although not before we had done them much injury with the bolts. In addition to this all the Spaniards carried pikes which I had ordered to be made after our defeat, and these proved most advantageous. That day we did nothing save burn and raze to the ground the houses on either side of that main street, which indeed was a sad sight; but we were obliged to do it, there being no other way of accomplishing our aims. When the enemy saw how much we had laid waste they cheered themselves by telling our allies to get on with burning and destroying the city, for if they were victorious they would, as they well knew, make them rebuild it, and if we were victorious, it would make little difference, since they would have to rebuild it for us; which latter was, thank God, the case, save that it is the inhabitants of the city who are rebuilding it, not our allies.

The following morning we entered the city in the usual manner and found the breach in the main street closed, as we had left it the previous day. We then advanced two crossbowshots and captured two large channels which they had broken in the middle of the street, and reached a small temple tower where we found the heads of several Christians whom they had killed, and this caused us much sorrow. From that tower, the right-hand road, which was where we were, ran straight until it reached the causeway where Sandoval had pitched his camp; on the left another street led to the marketplace, which was now free of water except for one canal that the Indians still defended against us; although we fought hard with them we were unable to advance any farther that day, and as it was already late we returned to our camp. But each day Our Lord God gave us victory, and they always suffered the worst of it.

On the following day, at nine o'clock, as we were preparing to re-enter the city, we saw from our camp smoke rising upward from the two very high towers in the Tlatelulco or market of the city; we could not guess what it meant, for it seemed to be more than that from the incense the Indians are accustomed to burn to their idols. We surmised, however, that Alvarado had reached there, which, though it later proved to be true, we hardly dared believe at the time. And in fact that day Alvarado and his men carried off a valiant achievement, for we still had many bridges and barricades to capture, and the greater part of the inhabitants continually came to defend them. When, however, he saw that we were harassing the enemy on our side, he made every effort to break through into the marketplace, which was their strongest point. But he only succeeded in coming within sight of it and in capturing those two towers and many others close to the market, which is in size almost equal to the whole area enclosed by the many towers of the city. The horsemen found themselves hard pressed and were forced to retreat, and in doing so three of their horses were wounded. Pedro de Alvarado and his men then withdrew to their camp; and we failed that day to take a canal and bridge, which was all that now stood between us and the market square, except for leveling off or filling in all the dangerous places. When we withdrew they pressed us hard, although it was to their cost.

The following morning we entered the city[72] and launched an attack upon the last channel and barricade before the marketplace, next to the small tower, as I have said. An ensign [alférez] and two or three other Spaniards threw themselves into the water, whereupon the enemy fled the bridge and we began to fill in and level the ground so that the horses might cross. While this was being done, Pedro de Alvarado rode up along this same road with four horsemen, and both his men and mine rejoiced greatly at his arrival, for now we were together we might put a swift end to the war. Alvarado left sentries in the rear and on the flanks both for his own

defense and to preserve all that we had won. As soon as the crossing had been repaired I took some of the horsemen and went to look at the market square, ordering the rest of my company, however, not to advance beyond the bridge. We then rode around the market square for a while and saw that the roofs above the archways were full of the enemy, but as the square was very large and we were mounted they dared not approach. I climbed that high tower which is close to the market, and there I found, as in other such towers, the heads of Christians as offerings to their idols, and also the heads of our Tascaltecan allies, for between them and the people of Culua there is a most ancient and bitter feud. And looking down from that tower, I saw all that we had won of the city, for, indeed, of eight parts we had taken seven. Seeing also that it was not possible for so many people to survive in such a confined area, especially as all the houses that remained to them were small and built almost on top of one another in the water; and, moreover, that they suffered greatly from hunger, for in the streets we had found roots and strips of bark which had been gnawed, I decided therefore not to fight that day but to offer them terms so that so large a multitude of people might not perish. For it caused me the greatest sorrow and pain to see the harm that was being done them, so I continually called on them to surrender but they replied that they would never on any account give in, and when only a single warrior remained he would die fighting. They also swore to burn or throw deep into the water all that they possessed so that we should not have it. And I, so as not to repay evil with evil, dissimulated by not attacking them.

As we now had very little powder, we had been discussing for a fortnight or so whether to build a catapult.[73] And although we had no engineers for the task, some carpenters had offered to make a small one, and, although I did not expect they would succeed in their hopes, I permitted them to try. While we were keeping the Indians confined to a corner of the city, the machine was finished and carried to the market square and placed on a kind of stage which is in the middle of it, built of masonry, rectangular, about

fourteen feet high and some thirty paces from corner to corner. Here they used to hold celebrations and games on their feast days, so the participants could be seen by all the people in the square, and also by those under and on top of the arcades. The catapult then took three or four days to set up while our Indian allies threatened the inhabitants of the city with it, saying that it was going to kill them all. Even if it were to have had no other effect, which indeed it had not, the terror it caused was so great that we thought the enemy might surrender. But neither of our hopes was fulfilled, for the carpenters failed to operate their machine, and the enemy, though much afraid, made no move to surrender, and we were obliged to conceal the failure of the catapult by saying that we had been moved by compassion to spare them.

The day after we had set up the catapult we again entered the city, and as we had not fought for three or four days we found the streets along which we passed full of women and children and other wretched people all starving to death, thin and exhausted; it was the most sorrowful of sights, and I ordered our allies to do them no harm. But not one of their effective warriors came near us, although we could see them on the roof tops, unarmed and wrapped in the cloaks they use. That day I again sued for peace, but their replies were evasive. For most of the day they kept us occupied in this fashion until at last I told them that I intended to attack and that they should withdraw their people, for, if they did not, I would give our allies permission to kill them. They then answered that they wanted peace; and I replied that I saw no chief with whom I might treat; once he came, and I would give him all the security he wished, we would talk of peace. We soon realized, however, that it was all a trick and that they were all prepared to fight us. Having then warned them many times, so as to press them into still greater straits, I ordered Pedro de Alvarado to take all his men and enter a large quarter still held by the enemy where there were more than a thousand houses; I entered by another place with the foot soldiers because there we could not make use of the horses. And although

they fought fiercely with us we at last captured the whole quarter. So great was the slaughter that more than twelve thousand perished or were taken prisoner, and these were so cruelly used by our allies that not one was left alive, even though we severely censured and reprimanded them.

On the following day we returned again to the city, but this time I ordered that the enemy should not be attacked or harmed. When they saw such a multitude of people coming against them, that their own vassals, over whom they had formerly held sway, were coming to kill them; when they realized their great privations and that they had no place to stand save on the bodies of their own dead, they were so eager to be delivered from their misery that they begged us to have done with them, and hurriedly asked that I should be called, for they wished to speak with me. As all the Spaniards were most eager for the war to be ended and much grieved by the harm that was being done, this pleased them greatly, for they believed that the Indians desired peace, and most willingly came and called and begged me to go to a barricade where certain lords were waiting to speak to me. Although I knew that nothing would be gained thereby, I nevertheless resolved to go, for I well knew that it was only the lord of the city and three or four others of the principal persons who had determined not to surrender; the rest wished only to see themselves out of this pass dead or alive. When I reached the barricade they said that as they held me to be a child of the Sun which, in the short space of one day and one night could make a circuit of the whole earth, why did I not slay them all in so short a time and put an end to their suffering, for they already wished to die and go to heaven to rest with their Uchilobus, who was awaiting them; for this is the idol whom they most venerate. I said many things to persuade them to surrender but all to no avail, although we showed them more signs of peace than have ever been shown to a vanquished people, for we, by the grace of Our Lord, were now the victors.

Having now reduced the enemy to the last extremity, as

may be gathered from what I have said, and in order to persuade them from their evil intention, which was for every one of them to perish, I spoke to a person of great standing among them, a prisoner whom an uncle of Don Fernando, lord of Tesuico, had captured in the city two or three days before; although he was badly wounded, I asked him if he would be willing to return, and he replied that he would. So when, on the following day,[74] we again entered the city, I sent him with some Spaniards who handed him over to his people. I had spoken to this man at length, asking him to persuade the lord of the city and the other rulers to come to terms; and he promised to do all he could. The Indians received him with much reverence as a person of rank, but when he was taken before Guatimucín his lord, and began to speak of peace, they tell me he was immediately sent to be sacrificed; and the reply which we awaited they gave us by coming with loud screams and shouting that they wished only to die. Whereupon they rained javelins, arrows and stones down upon us and fought so fiercely with us that they killed a horse with a saber made from one of our swords. But in the end it cost them dear, for very many of them were killed; and thus we returned that day to our camp.

On the following day we returned to the city,[75] and so enfeebled were the enemy that huge numbers of our allies dared to spend the whole night there. When we came within sight of the enemy we did not attack but marched through the city thinking that at any moment they would come out to us. And to induce them to it I galloped up to a very strong barricade which they had set up and called out to certain chieftains who were behind and whom I knew, that as they saw how lost they were and knew that if I so desired within an hour not one of them would remain alive, why did not Guatimucín, their lord, come and speak with me, for I swore to do him no harm; and if he and they desired peace, they would be well received by me. I then used other arguments which moved them to tears, and weeping they replied that they well knew their error and their fate, and would go and speak to their lord,

begging me not to leave, for they would return very soon. They went, and returned after a while and told me that their lord had not come because it was late, but that he would come on the following day at noon to the marketplace; and so we returned to our camp. I then gave orders that on the following day a platform, such as they are accustomed to, should be erected on that high stage in the middle of the square; I also ordered food to be prepared, and so it was done.

On the following day we went to the city and I warned my men to be on the alert lest the enemy betray us and we be taken unawares; and likewise I warned Pedro de Alvarado, who was there with me. When we reached the market I sent to inform Guatimucín that we awaited him, but he, it seemed, had decided not to come, and sent me in his stead five principal persons whose names, as they are not pertinent, I shall not give here. When they arrived they said that they had come on behalf of their lord, who begged my forgiveness for not coming himself, but he was afraid of appearing before me and, furthermore, had fallen ill; they, however, would do all that was asked of them. And although the lord had not come himself, we rejoiced that those other lords were present, for it seemed to us that we might now put a speedy end to this affair. I received them cheerfully and ordered food and drink to be given them, in consuming which they plainly showed their extreme privations. Once they had eaten I told them to speak to their lord, telling him that he need fear nothing, and that I promised him that in appearing before me he would suffer no indignity nor be detained, for without his presence no agreement or understanding could be reached. I ordered them to be given some refreshment to take away to eat, with which they departed, promising to do all they could in this matter. After two hours they returned, bringing me some fine cotton wraps of the sort they use, and told me that on no account would Guatimucín, their lord, come, so it was pointless to discuss the matter further. I repeated that I knew no reason why he should be afraid to appear before me, for he saw that they, whom I

well knew to be the principal instigators of the war and responsible for prolonging it, were well treated and were allowed to come and go in safety without any harassment. I therefore begged them to speak to him again and to try very hard to persuade him to come, for it was greatly to his own benefit. They replied that they would indeed do so and would return the following day with his reply; and so they departed and we returned to our camps.

Early the following morning those chieftains came to our camp, asking me to go to the marketplace, for their lord wished to speak to me there; and I, believing this was so, rode out to the marketplace and waited there three or four hours, but he did not come. When I saw that I had been tricked and that although it was already late neither the lord nor his messengers had appeared, I called our Indian allies who had remained behind at the entrance to the city, almost a league away. I had given them orders not to advance beyond that point, for the enemy had asked that one of them should be within the city while we were discussing terms. Neither they nor Alvarado's men were slow in coming, and when they arrived we attacked some barricades and canals which were the enemy's last defenses, and both we and our allies broke through with ease.

On leaving my camp, I had commanded Gonzalo de Sandoval to sail the brigantines in between the houses in the other quarter in which the Indians were resisting, so that we should have them surrounded, but not to attack until he saw that we were engaged. In this way they would be surrounded and so hard pressed that they would have no place to move save over the bodies of their dead or along the roof tops. They no longer had nor could find any arrows, javelins or stones with which to attack us; and our allies fighting with us were armed with swords and bucklers, and slaughtered so many of them on land and in the water that more than forty thousand were killed or taken that day. So loud was the wailing of the women and children that there was not one man amongst us whose heart did not bleed at the sound; and indeed we had more trouble in

preventing our allies from killing with such cruelty than we had in fighting the enemy. For no race, however savage, has ever practiced such fierce and unnatural cruelty as the natives of these parts. Our allies also took many spoils that day, which we were unable to prevent, as they numbered more than 150,000 and we Spaniards were only some nine hundred. Neither our precautions nor our warnings could stop their looting, though we did all we could. One of the reasons why I had avoided entering the city in force during the past days was the fear that if we attempted to storm them they would throw all they possessed into the water, and, even if they did not, our allies would take all they could find. For this reason I was much afraid that Your Majesty would receive only a small part of the great wealth this city once had, in comparison with all that I once held for Your Highness. Because it was now late, and we could no longer endure the stench of the dead bodies that had lain in those streets for many days, which was the most loathsome thing in all the world, we returned to our camps.

That evening I arranged that when we entered the city on the following day three heavy guns should be prepared and taken into the city with us, for I feared that the enemy, who were so massed together that they had no room to turn around, might crush us as we attacked, without actually fighting. I wished, therefore, to do them some harm with the guns, and so induce them to come out to meet us. I also ordered the alguacil mayor to make ready the brigantines, so that they might sail into a large lake between the houses, where all the canoes had gathered; for they now had so few houses left that the lord of the city lived in a canoe with certain of his chieftains, not knowing where else to go. Thus we made our plans for the morrow.

When it was light I had all the men made ready and the guns brought out. On the previous day I had ordered Pedro de Alvarado to wait for me in the market square and not to attack before I arrived. When all the men were mustered and all the brigantines were lying in wait behind those houses where the enemy was gathered, I

gave orders that when a harquebus was fired they should enter the little of the city that was still left to win and drive the defenders into the water where the brigantines were waiting. I warned them, however, to look with care for Guatimucín, and to make every effort to take him alive, for once that had been done the war would cease. I myself climbed onto a roof top, and before the fight began I spoke with certain chieftains of the city whom I knew, and asked them for what reason their lord would not appear before me; for, although they were in the direst straits, they need not all perish; I asked them to call him, for he had no cause to be afraid. Two of those chieftains then appeared to go to speak with him. After a while they returned, bringing with them one of the most important persons in the city, whose name was Ciguacoacin,[76] and he was captain and governor of them all and directed all matters concerning the war. I welcomed him openly, so that he should not be afraid; but at last he told me that his sovereign would prefer to die where he was rather than on any account appear before me, and that he personally was much grieved by this, but now I might do as I pleased. I now saw by this how determined he was, and so I told him to return to his people and to prepare them, for I intended to attack and slay them all; and so he departed after having spent five hours in such discussions.

The people of the city had to walk upon their dead while others swam or drowned in the waters of that wide lake where they had their canoes; indeed, so great was their suffering that it was beyond our understanding how they could endure it. Countless numbers of men, women and children came out toward us, and in their eagerness to escape many were pushed into the water where they drowned amid that multitude of corpses; and it seemed that more than fifty thousand had perished from the salt water they had drunk, their hunger and the vile stench. So that we should not discover the plight in which they were in, they dared neither throw these bodies into the water where the brigantines might find them nor throw them beyond their boundaries where the soldiers might

see them; and so in those streets where they were we came across such piles of the dead that we were forced to walk upon them.[77] I had posted Spaniards in every street, so that when the people began to come out they might prevent our allies from killing those wretched people, whose number was uncountable. I also told the captains of our allies that on no account should any of those people be slain; but they were so many that we could not prevent more than fifteen thousand being killed and sacrificed that day. But still their warriors and chieftains were hiding in corners, on roof tops, in their houses or in canoes on the lake, but neither their dissimulations or anything else availed them anything, for we could clearly see their weakness and their suffering. When I saw that it was growing late and that they were not going to surrender or attack I ordered the two guns to be fired at them, for although these did some harm it was less than our allies would have done had I granted them license to attack. But when I saw that this was of no avail I ordered the harquebus to be discharged, whereupon that corner which they still held was taken and its defenders driven into the water, those who remained surrendering without a fight.

Then the brigantines swept into that inner lake and broke through the fleet of canoes; but the warriors in them no longer dared fight. God willed that Garci Holguín, a captain of one of the brigantines, should pursue a canoe which appeared to be carrying persons of rank; and as there were two or three crossbowmen in the bows who were preparing to fire, the occupants of the canoe signaled to the brigantine not to shoot, because the lord of the city was with them. When they heard this our men leapt aboard and captured Guatimucín and the lord of Tacuba and the other chieftains with them.[78] These they then brought to the roof close to the lake where I was standing, and, as I had no desire to treat Guatimucín harshly, I asked him to be seated, whereupon he came up to me and, speaking in his language, said that he had done all he was bound to do to defend his own person and his people, so that now they were reduced to this sad state, and I might do with him as I

pleased. Then he placed his hand upon a dagger of mine and asked me to kill him with it; but I reassured him saying that he need fear nothing. Thus, with this lord a prisoner, it pleased God that the war should cease, and the day it ended was Tuesday, the feast of Saint Hippolytus, the thirteenth of August, in the year 1521. Thus from the day we laid siege to the city, which was on the thirtieth of May of that same year, until it fell, there passed seventy-five days, during which time Your Majesty will have seen the dangers, hardships and misfortunes which these, Your vassals, endured, and in which they ventured their lives. To this, their achievements will bear testimony.

Of all those seventy-five days not one passed without our being engaged in some manner with the enemy. On the day that Guatimucín was captured and the city taken, we gathered up all the spoils we could find and returned to our camp, giving thanks to Our Lord for such a favor and the much desired victory which He had granted us.[79]

I spent three or four days in the camp attending to many items of business and then departed for the city of Cuyoacan,[80] where I have remained until now, concerning myself with the good order, government and pacification of these parts.

When the gold and other things had been collected they were melted down with the agreement of Your Majesty's officials and valued at more than 130,000 *castellanos*, a fifth of which was accorded to Your Majesty's treasurer, together with a fifth of other things such as slaves, which also belonged to Your Majesty, as will later be shown in a list of everything that belongs to Your Majesty, which will be signed with our names. The remainder of the gold was divided up between myself and the other Spaniards, according to the rank, service and merit of each. In addition to the aforementioned gold, there were certain gold objects and jewelry, a fifth part of which, consisting of the best items, was given to Your Majesty's treasurer.

Among the spoils taken from the city were many gold buck-

lers, plumes, feather headdresses and things so remarkable that they cannot be described in writing nor would they be understood unless they were seen; and because they were of such a kind it seemed to me that they should not be divided, but all of them be given to the service of Your Majesty. For this purpose I called together all the Spaniards and entreated them to approve of all these things being sent to Your Majesty, and that the part due to them and to me should be used in Your Majesty's service; this they rejoiced in doing with much goodwill. This was then forwarded to Your Majesty with the delegates sent by the councils of New Spain.[81]

As the city of Temixtitan was so renowned throughout these parts, it seems that it came to the notice of the lord of a very great province called Mechuacan,[82] which lies some seventy leagues from Temixtitan, how we had destroyed and razed it to the ground. It seemed to the lord of that province that, considering the great size and strength of the city, if it could not resist us then nothing could; thus, out of fear or because it pleased him, he sent some messengers to me. These spoke to me through the interpreters of their language and told me how their lord had heard that we were vassals of a great lord, and, if I would accept, he and his people wished to be his vassals also, and to hold us as their friends. I replied that we were, in truth, all Your Majesty's vassals, and that their lord had been wise in wishing to become one also, for we were obliged to make war on those who did not.

As I had some time ago received news of the Southern Sea I enquired of them whether it could be reached by crossing their land. They replied that it could, so I requested them, in order to inform Your Majesty better of that sea and of their province, to allow two Spaniards to return with them.[83] They replied that they would willingly do so, but that in order to reach the sea it was necessary to pass through the land of a powerful lord with whom they were at war, and for that reason they were, for the moment, unable to reach the coast. These messengers remained with me for three or four days, and during that time I ordered the horsemen to

skirmish before them so that they might take word of it back, and after I had given them certain jewels I dispatched them and the Spaniards to the aforementioned province of Mechuacán.

Most Powerful Lord, as I informed You in the previous chapter, I had received news a while before of the Southern Sea and knew that in some two or three places it was but twelve to fourteen days' march from here. This pleased me greatly, for it seemed to me that by discovering this sea we would render a great and memorable service to Your Majesty, especially as all those who have some learning and experience in the navigation of the Indies are quite certain that once the route to the Southern Sea has been discovered we shall find many islands rich in gold, pearls, precious stones and spices, and many wonderful and unknown things will be disclosed to us. This is also confirmed by men of learning and those tutored in the science of cosmography. Thus, as I wished to render Your Majesty such a singular and notable service, I dispatched four Spaniards, two of whom traveled through one province and the others through another; and once they had been shown the roads they were to take, and been assigned some of our allies to guide them, they left. I ordered them not to stop until they reached the sea, when they should take Royal and entire possession of it in Your Majesty's name.

The first pair of these traveled some 130 leagues through many beautiful provinces without encountering opposition; and when they reached the sea took possession of it, planting crosses by the shore as a sign. After some days they returned with an account of their discovery, informing me of everything at length. They also brought back with them some natives from the shores of that sea, together with good samples of gold from the mines in some of the provinces through which they had passed, which together with other samples of gold I am now sending to Your Majesty. The other two Spaniards returned somewhat later, for they had traveled close on 150 leagues before reaching the sea, of which they likewise took possession, and brought me a lengthy account of the coast.

They also brought back some natives, all of whom I received kindly, and after informing them of Your Majesty's great power and giving them some gifts, I sent them back to their land.

Most Catholic Lord, in my previous report I informed Your Majesty how, when the Indians defeated us and drove us from the city of Temixtitan, all the provinces subject to the city had rebelled against Your Majesty's service and had made war on us. In this report Your Majesty may judge how we have once again subjected most of these rebellious territories to Your Royal service. But certain provinces, which lie on the coast of the Northern Sea, some ten, fifteen and thirty leagues from here, had rebelled at the same time as the city of Temixtitan, and the natives of these provinces had killed by treachery more than a hundred Spaniards who had safe-conducts. Until the city had fallen I had been unable to move against them, but now, as soon as I had dispatched those Spaniards to the Southern Sea, I determined to send Gonzalo de Sandoval, alguacil mayor, with thirty-five horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers, together with some of our Indian allies and some chieftains and natives of Temixtitan, to those provinces, which are called Tatactetelco, Tuxtepeque, Guatuxco[84] and Aulicaba;[85] and once he had received his orders he began to prepare for the journey.

At this time the lieutenant whom I had left in the town of Segura de la Frontera, which is in the province of Tepeaca, came to this city of Cuyoacán, and informed me how the natives of that province and others in the neighborhood, Your Majesty's vassals, were being attacked by the natives of a province called Guaxacaque because they were our allies; besides it being essential to remedy this, it would be most advantageous to pacify the province of Guaxacaque, as it lay on the route to the Southern Sea, as well as for other reasons with which I will in due course acquaint Your Majesty. The aforementioned lieutenant also told me that he had received most detailed information concerning that province, and it could be subdued by a small force; for while I was encamped before Temixtitan he had gone there, on the instigation of the people

of Tepeaca, to make war on the natives; but as he had taken only twenty or thirty Spaniards with him he had been forced to return—and somewhat more hurriedly than he might have wished. When I had read his account I gave him twelve horsemen and eighty foot soldiers. He and the alguacil mayor[86] then departed from Cuyoacán on the thirtieth of October of 1521.

When they reached the province of Tepeaca they mustered their men and each departed to his conquest. After twenty-five days the alguacil mayor wrote to me saying that he had reached the province of Guatuxco, and although he had been much afraid lest he find himself hard pressed, for the enemy were very skillful in war and had many forces in their land, it had pleased Our Lord that they should come in peace; and although he had not yet reached the other provinces he was certain they would offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals. Fifteen days later he wrote again, telling me how he had advanced farther and how all that land was now at peace. It therefore seemed to him that it would be well to settle in the most suitable places, thus ensuring the continued subjection of the province, as we had discussed many times before, and he asked me to inform him what he was to do in this matter. I then wrote thanking him for all he had done on that expedition in Your Majesty's service, and informing him that I was in agreement with what he had said about settling. I instructed him to build a town for Spaniards in the province of Tuxtepeque and to call it Medellín. I also appointed alcaldes, regidores and other officials, whom I commanded to look after Your Majesty's service and to ensure that the natives were well treated.[87]

The lieutenant of the town of Segura de la Frontera left with his men and many Indian allies from that region for the province of Guaxaca, and, although the natives resisted him and he fought fiercely with them two or three times, at last they surrendered without receiving any hurt. He wrote me a detailed account of all that had happened and informed me that the land was very fertile and rich in mines, from one of which he sent me a sample of

gold which I now forward to Your Majesty. He himself remained in that province awaiting my further orders.

After I had dispatched these two expeditions and heard the good news of their success, I realized that although I had now established three colonies of Spaniards there were many still with me in Cuyoacan. I therefore discussed where we might found another colony by the lakes; for the peace and security of all these parts required such a town; and, considering that Temixtitan itself had once been so renowned and of such importance, we decided to settle in it and also to rebuild it, for it was completely destroyed. I distributed plots of land among those who wished to settle there and appointed alcaldes and regidores in Your Majesty's name as is customary throughout Your realms.[88] While the houses are being built, however, we have agreed to live in the city of Cuyoacan, where we are at present. In the four or five months that we have been rebuilding the city it is already most beautiful, and I assure Your Majesty that each day it grows more noble, so that just as before it was capital and center of all these provinces so it shall be henceforth. And it is being so built that the Spaniards will be strong and secure and well in charge of the natives, who will be unable to harm them in any way.[89]

In the meantime, the lord of the province of Tecoantapeque, which lies by the Southern Sea and through which the two Spaniards passed on their journey there, sent me certain of his chieftains, through whom he offered himself as Your Majesty's subject; he also made me a gift of gold ornaments, jewelry and articles of featherwork, all of which I handed over to Your Majesty's treasurer. I then thanked those messengers for what they had said to me on their lord's behalf, and gave them certain things with which they returned very happy.

Likewise at this time, the two Spaniards returned who had gone to the province of Mechuacán (whence those messengers had arrived saying that the Southern Sea could also be reached through their land except that they would have to cross the domain of a lord

who was their enemy), and with them came a brother of the lord of Mechuacán, and also other chieftains and their attendants, who numbered more than a thousand persons. I received them with much friendship, and they on behalf of their lord, who is called Calcucin,[90] gave me for Your Majesty a gift of silver shields of considerable weight in marks,[91] and many other things besides, all of which were handed over to Your Majesty's treasurer. So that they should see our strength and report it to their lord, I ordered the horsemen to parade and skirmish before them in a square. The foot soldiers were then sent out in formation, the harquebusiers fired their weapons and I attacked a tower with the artillery. They were all much alarmed by this and by the speed of the horses; I also sent them to see how Temixtitan had been destroyed and razed to the ground; and when they saw the strength and size of it and how it was built on the water they were even more impressed. After four or five days I made them gifts of some of the things they most prize for their lord and for themselves, and they departed very happy and contented.

I have already written to Your Majesty concerning the Pánuco River, which is fifty or sixty leagues down the coast from the town of Vera Cruz; and how the ships of Francisco de Garay had gone there two or three times but had been much harmed by the natives, because the captains had been imprudent in their dealings with the Indians. Afterwards, when I saw that there were few harbors along the north coast and none so good as that river, and also because the natives of those parts had previously come to me offering themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, but have made and are still making war upon our allies, I decided to send a captain with some people to pacify the whole province. I instructed him, if it was land suitable for settling, to set up a town by that river to ensure the peace of the surrounding countryside. And although we were few and separated into three or four groups, for which reason there was some opposition to my further depleting our forces here, nevertheless, both in order to assist our allies and because, since the

fall of Temixtitan, ships had arrived carrying men and horses, I equipped twenty-five horsemen and 150 foot soldiers, whom I placed under the charge of a captain and sent to the aforementioned river.

As I was dispatching this company, I received word from the town of Vera Cruz of how there had arrived in the port a ship, bearing Cristóbal de Tapia, veedor of the foundries of Hispaniola, from whom I received on the following day a letter, informing me that he had come to this land for the purpose of assuming control of the government thereof on behalf of Your Majesty, and that to this end he brought decrees from Your Majesty which he did not wish to present anywhere until we met.[92] This he had hoped would be immediately; but as his horses had been made ill by the crossing he had been unable to set out. He asked me to arrange a meeting either by his coming to me or by my going to him on the coast. When I received his letter I answered it immediately, saying that I was glad he had come and, as we had lived as neighbors on Hispaniola and knew each other well, I could wish for no better person to take over the government of these parts by Your Majesty's command. But because the pacification of these lands was not yet so complete as we desired, and any change might arouse the natives, I requested Father Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, Commissioner of the Crusade, who had shared all our hardships and was well acquainted with the state of things here—indeed, Your Majesty has been well served by him and we have benefited from his learning and advice—to go and see Tapia and examine Your Majesty's decrees. Since he better than anyone knew what would be most expedient for Your Majesty's service and the well-being of these parts, I entreated him to reach an agreement with Tapia in whatever was most advantageous, as I had confidence in him that he would not accept anything unjust. I made this request of him in the presence of Your Majesty's treasurer, who also impressed it upon him.

Then he left for Vera Cruz, where Tapia was quartered;

and so that the aforementioned veedor should be well received and attended there and in any town through which he might pass, I dispatched with the aforementioned priest two or three worthy people from my company. When these had left I remained awaiting Tapia's reply, preparing meanwhile for my own departure and arranging certain matters concerning Your Majesty's service and the pacification and subjugation of these parts. After ten or twelve days had passed, the justiciary and municipal council of Vera Cruz wrote to me saying that Tapia had presented to them the decrees which he brought from Your Majesty and Your governors in Your Royal name, and that they had respected them with all the reverence they required; but as to putting them into effect, they had replied that the greater part of the municipal council was at present with me and must be informed, whereupon they would all do whatever was most expedient for Your Majesty's service and the good of the land.[93] This reply had somewhat displeased Tapia, who had attempted certain scandalous things. Although this distressed me, I replied entreating and requesting them, that, having regard primarily to Your Majesty's service, they should attempt to satisfy Tapia and to give no occasion for any disturbance; furthermore, I was traveling to meet him to carry out all that Your Majesty commanded and was most appropriate to Your service. Having first recalled the captain and those men who were going to the Pánuco River, so that this region might be well defended in my absence, I had already departed when the representatives of the councils of New Spain demanded with many protestations that I should not leave the area, for this province of Mexico and Temixtitan had been so recently conquered that, were I to leave, it would surely rebel, which might result in unrest throughout the land and grave disservice to Your Majesty; and in their demands they gave many other reasons for my not leaving this city at present. They said that they, with the authority of the councils, would go to Vera Cruz and examine Tapia's decrees and do all that they were able in Your Royal service. As there now seemed to me to be no alternative, I dis-

patched the aforementioned representatives, and with them sent a message to Tapia, informing him of what was being done and how I was sending Gonzalo de Sandoval, alguacil mayor, as my deputy, and that he and Diego de Soto and Diego de Valdenebro, who were there present in Vera Cruz, would act on my behalf together with the municipal council of Vera Cruz and the representatives of other municipal councils, in seeing that everything was done in the interests of Your Majesty's service and the good of the land; for they were and are people who can be trusted in that respect.

They encountered Tapia, accompanied by Brother Pedro, on the road leading from the town and requested him to return. Together they went to the town of Cempoal, where Cristóbal de Tapia presented Your Majesty's decrees, which were received by all with the respect due to them. As for putting them into effect, however, they replied that they would first send a petition to Your Majesty, as this was in Your Majesty's best interests, for the several causes and reasons set down in this same petition which they enumerated at the time. The representatives from New Spain are carrying it signed by a notary public. After further statements and requests had passed between Tapia and the representatives, he embarked on his own ship as he had been requested to do, for his presence and his having announced publicly that he had come as governor and captain general of these parts had caused some disturbance. The people of Mexico and Temixtitan had agreed with the natives of these parts to rebel and perpetrate so great a piece of treachery that, had it succeeded, it would have been worse than the past one.[94] It happened that certain Indians from Mexico had agreed with some of the natives of those provinces which the alguacil mayor had gone to pacify to come in great haste to me, and they told me that twenty ships with many men on board were sailing off the coast but would not land. They must therefore be hostile, and, if I wished to go there to see who it was, they would arm themselves and go with me; and so that I should believe them they drew these ships on a piece of paper.

But as they brought this information to me in secret I realized immediately that their intentions were pernicious and that it was a ruse to rid the province of me; for certain chieftains had known for some days that I intended to leave, but seeing that I did not move they had devised this plan. I dissimulated with them and then seized some of the ringleaders. Thus, as Tapia had no experience of the land or its people, his arrival caused much upheaval and his presence would have caused great harm if God had not remedied it. He would have served Your Majesty better had he remained in Hispaniola, and consulted Your Majesty, and acquainted You with the affairs of these parts, which he must have known from the ships I sent to that island for help. He must also have known how we had remedied the disturbances which we had anticipated would be caused by the arrival of the fleet of Pánfilo de Narváez—which were largely prevented by the governors and Your Majesty's Royal Council—and so should not have come, especially as the admiral, judges and officers who reside in Hispaniola had many times required Tapia under threat of certain penalties to desist from his intention to come to these parts without first informing Your Majesty of all that had happened in them. But he, looking more to his own profit than to what might best serve Your Majesty, persuaded them to lift their ban against his coming. I have only now made account of all this to Your Majesty because, when Tapia departed, the representatives and I agreed that he would not prove a reliable bearer of our letters, and so that Your Majesty may now see that in not receiving him Your Majesty was well served, as will be more fully proved whenever such proof be required.

In a previous chapter I told Your Majesty how the captain I had sent to the province of Guaxaca had pacified it and was there awaiting my orders. But because I required his presence, as he was alcalde and lieutenant of Segura de la Frontera, I wrote commanding him to give the ten horsemen and eighty foot soldiers under his command to Pedro de Alvarado, whom I then sent to conquer the province of Tatutepeque,[95] which lies forty leagues beyond Gua-

xaca beside the Southern Sea. The inhabitants of this province had done much harm to those who had offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, and to the people of Tecoantepeque because they had permitted us to pass through their lands on our way to the Southern Sea. Pedro de Alvarado left this city on the last day of January this year, and with the men he took from here and those he received in the province of Guaxaca he assembled forty horse and some two hundred foot, among whom were forty crossbowmen and harquebusiers and two small field guns. After twenty days I received letters from Pedro de Alvarado informing me that he was on the road to Tatutepeque, and had captured several enemy spies, who had told him that the lord of Tatutepeque and his men were awaiting him in the fields; he intended to go and do whatever he could to pacify that province, for which purpose, in addition to the Spaniards, he had brought many good Indian warriors. I waited anxiously to receive further news from him about his attempt, and on the fourth of March of this year he sent me letters saying he had entered the province, and that three or four towns had tried to resist him but had not held out for long. He had entered the city of Tatutepeque, where they had to all appearances been welcomed. The lord of the city had asked them to lodge in some large houses of his whose roofs were thatched with straw, but because these were situated in a place where the horses could hardly be used to advantage, they had insisted on moving down to a flatter part of the city; they also did this because just then they had heard that the natives planned to kill them all by setting fire to the houses during the night when all the Spaniards were inside. But God had disclosed this plot to him, and he had dissimulated and taken with him to that flatter part the lord of the city and one of his sons as prisoners. Alvarado had been given 25,000 *castellanos* and he believed from what the lord's vassals had told him that their lord was very wealthy. The whole province was now completely pacified, and the natives carried on their markets and commerce as before. He said that the land was very rich in gold mines, from which they

had, in his presence, taken a sample which he sent to me. Three days previously he had been by the sea and taken possession of it in Your Majesty's name; and in his presence they had brought up a sample of pearls, which he also sent and which, together with the gold, I am forwarding to Your Majesty.

As Our Lord God has so favored this business, and was so fulfilling my desire to serve Your Majesty in this matter of the Southern Sea, which is of such importance, I have, with much diligence, provided, in one of the three places where we have reached the sea, for the building of two medium-sized caravels and two brigantines; the two caravels for voyages of discovery and the brigantines for charting the coast. For this I have sent, under the care of a trustworthy person, some forty Spaniards, among whom are master carpenters, shipwrights, woodcutters, blacksmiths and seamen; and I have sent to Vera Cruz for sails, nails and other necessary equipment. All possible haste will be made to complete and launch these vessels, and when this is done Your Majesty may be assured that it will be the greatest achievement and the one from which Your Majesty will derive the most benefit since the Indies were first discovered.

While we were in the city of Tesuico before leaving to lay siege to Temixtitan, preparing and supplying ourselves with all we required for that siege and quite unaware of a plot which certain persons were hatching, one of those involved in the conspiracy came to me and informed me how certain friends of Diego Velázquez, who were in my company, had plotted to kill me, and that they had elected from amongst themselves a captain, an alcalde mayor, an alguacil and other officers. He begged me to prevent it at all cost, for, besides the disturbance which would follow my death, if we turned against each other, it was certain that no Spaniard would escape alive, for not only would we find the enemy alerted but even those whom we held as allies would make every effort to put an end to us. When I saw how great was this treachery that had been disclosed to me I gave thanks to God, for in my knowledge of

it lay the remedy. I then had the chief man among the conspirators seized, and he voluntarily confessed that he had plotted and conspired with many others to seize and kill me, and to usurp the government of the land in the name of Diego Velázquez; and that it was true they had appointed a new captain and alcalde mayor and that he himself was to have been alguacil mayor and to have taken or killed me himself. Many people were involved in this, but when the list of them was found in his quarters it had been torn to pieces. He admitted, however, to having plotted with some of the aforementioned persons and not only in Tesuico, for they had also discussed it during the fighting in the province of Tepeaca. When I had heard the confession of this man, a native of Zamora, whose name was Antonio de Villafaña, and was assured that he spoke the truth, an alcalde and I condemned him to death, and the sentence was duly executed. And even though there were others involved in this crime who had a large share of the guilt, I dissimulated with them and treated them as friends, for, as this was a personal matter, though perhaps I might more accurately say Your Majesty's, I did not wish to deal harshly with them.[96] This has done me little good, however, for Velázquez's men have since set me many traps and secretly caused many disturbances and quarrels against which I have found I have to be more on my guard than against the enemy. Our Lord God, however, has always guided us in such a manner that without punishing those men there is complete peace and tranquillity; but if I hear of anything further I will punish them as justice demands.

After the fall of Temixtitan, while we were in Cuyoacan, Don Fernando,[97] lord of Tesuico, died, which caused grief to us all, for he was a very loyal vassal of Your Majesty and a friend of the Christians. With the consent of the lords and chieftains of that city and province, in Your Majesty's name I entrusted the position to his younger brother, who was baptized and christened Don Carlos; and until now he has followed in his brother's footsteps and our customs and conversations please him greatly.

In the earlier report I told Your Majesty that close to the provinces of Tascalteca and Guaxocingo there was a high circular mountain from which an almost continuous column of smoke rose upwards as straight as an arrow. The Indians gave us to believe that it was a most evil thing and all those who climbed it died. I therefore ordered certain Spaniards to climb it and see what it was like up there. When they ascended, however, that smoke came out with such a noise that they neither could nor dared approach the opening. Then, later, I sent some more Spaniards, and they climbed it twice until they reached the opening from which the smoke comes. From one side to the other it measures two crossbowshots; it is nearly three-quarters of a league round, and so deep they were unable to see the bottom. They found some sulphur round about which is deposited by the smoke. When they were there they heard the great noise the smoke makes and hurried down, but before they had reached halfway a huge number of stones began to roll down toward them, from which they found themselves in great danger. The Indians thought it a great thing to have dared go where those Spaniards had gone.

In a letter of mine I informed Your Majesty how the natives of these parts are of much greater intelligence than those of the other islands; indeed, they appeared to us to possess such understanding as is sufficient for an ordinary citizen to conduct himself in a civilized country. It seemed to me, therefore, a serious matter at this time to compel them to serve the Spaniards as the natives of the other islands do; yet if this were not done, the conquerors and settlers of these parts would not be able to maintain themselves. In order therefore to avoid enslaving these Indians, and at the same time to provide the Spaniards with their needs, it seemed to me that Your Majesty should command that from the income which belongs to Your Majesty here we should obtain assistance for the expenses and maintenance of the settlers; and in this matter Your Majesty should decree as You saw most fitting to Your service. Since then, however, I have been almost forced to deliver the chieftains

and other natives of these parts to the Spaniards in recognition of the services they have rendered to Your Majesty, because Your Majesty's expenses have been continuous and considerable, and we ought rather to try by every means to increase Royal revenues than to give cause for spending them; also we have been at war for a long time and have all contracted debts thereby and find ourselves in difficulties. Furthermore, on account of the inevitable delay in ascertaining Your Majesty's commands on this matter, and because I was so pressed by Your Majesty's officials and the other Spaniards, I could not in any way avoid it. So until some new order is made, or this one confirmed, the aforementioned chieftains and natives will serve the Spaniards with whom they have been deposited in all they may require in their affairs.[98] This conclusion was reached on the advice of persons who have considerable knowledge and experience in this land; moreover, nothing better or more convenient could be devised either for the maintenance of the Spaniards or for the safety and good treatment of the Indians; of all this the representatives who are now leaving New Spain will give a more detailed account to Your Majesty. Your Majesty's farms and estates have been established in the cities and provinces which seem the best and most suitable. I entreat Your Majesty to approve this and command how You may best be served in these matters.

Most Catholic Lord: May Our Lord God preserve the Life and Very Royal Person and the Most Powerful Estate of Your Caesarean Majesty, and increase it with yet greater realms and dominions, as Your Royal Heart desires. From the city of Cuyoacan in this New Spain of the Ocean Sea on the fifteenth day of May in the year 1522. Most Powerful Lord—From Your Caesarean Majesty's very humble servant and vassal who now kisses Your Majesty's Very Royal hands and feet—HERNANDO CORTÉS.

Most Powerful Lord: As Your Majesty may observe, Fernando Cortés, Your Captain and Chief Justice in this New Spain of the Ocean Sea, hereby sends a report to Your Caesarean Majesty.

We the officials of Your Catholic Majesty are obliged to give an account of events and state of these parts, and as all this is described in great detail here in this letter, and is the truth as we ourselves would have written it, there is no need for us to add anything, but only to refer You to the aforementioned Captain's account.

Most Invincible and Very Catholic Lord, may Our Lord God preserve the Life and Very Royal Person and most Powerful Estate of Your Majesty and increase it with many more realms and dominions as Your Royal Heart desires—From the city of Cuyoacán, on the fifteenth day of May in the year 1522. Most Powerful Lord—From Your Caesarean Majesty's most humble servants and vassals who kiss the Very Royal Feet and Hands of Your Majesty. JULIÁN ALDERETE. ALONSO DE GRADO. BERNARDINO VÁZQUEZ DE TAPIA.[99]

The Fourth Letter

MOST HIGH, MOST POWERFUL AND VERY EXCELLENT PRINCE, VERY CATHOLIC AND MOST INVINCIBLE EMPEROR, KING AND LORD:

In the report which I sent to Your Majesty with Juan de Ribera,[1] concerning the things which befell me in these parts since the dispatch of my second letter to Your Highness, I told how, in order to pacify and subject to Your Majesty's Royal service the provinces of Guatusco, Tus[te]peque, and Guasaca and others nearby on the north coast, all of which had been in revolt since the uprising in Temixtitan, I had sent the alguacil mayor[2] with a company of men; and I described what happened to them on the road and told how I had given them orders to found a town in the aforementioned provinces and to call that town Medellín. It now remains for me to inform Your Highness how the aforementioned colony was built and all those lands and provinces subdued.

When all those parts had been pacified I sent more men and commanded the alguacil mayor to proceed up the coast to the province of Guazacalco, which is fifty leagues from where the abovementioned town was built and 120 from this city. For when I was first in this city, before the death of Mutezuma, and was trying always to learn as much about these parts as I could, so that I might send a detailed account of them to Your Majesty, I dispatched thither Diego de Ordaz—who now resides at the court of Your Majesty—and the natives of the aforementioned province received

him with much goodwill and offered themselves as vassals and subjects of Your Highness. I also learnt that at the mouth of a very large river which runs through that province there was a good harbor for ships, for Ordaz and those in his company had explored it; likewise the land was very suitable for settling; and because of the scarcity of harbors along this coast I wished to find a good one and build a town there.[3]

I gave orders to the alguacil mayor that before entering the province he should wait on the border, and send some messengers, natives of this city, that I gave him, to inform the inhabitants that he went there by my command to discover if they were constant in their intention to serve Your Majesty and in the friendship which they had previously shown; to tell them that on account of the battles that I had had with the lord of this city and his lands, I had sent no one to visit them for a long time, but that I had always considered them as friends and vassals of Your Highness, and that as such they should find me most willing to assist them in anything they required; and, in order to be able to favor and help them in any need they might have, I was sending some people to settle in their province. The aforementioned alguacil mayor and his company went and did as I commanded, but they did not find the natives as well disposed as they had previously claimed to be; on the contrary, they were ready to make war on him should he attempt to enter their province. But he was so skillful that by falling upon a town one night and seizing a iady whom everyone in those parts obeyed, he pacified the land, because she called all the lords and ordered them to obey whatever was commanded them in Your Majesty's name, for she herself had so to do.

Thus they reached that river, and four leagues from the mouth, because they could find no suitable site nearer the sea, they founded and settled a town, to which they gave the name Espíritu Santo. There the alguacil mayor remained for some time, until many of the neighboring provinces were pacified and brought to the service of Your Catholic Majesty: these were Tabasco, which is

by the Victoria River, or Grijalva, as it is called, and Chimaclan and Quechula and Quizaltepeque and others which because they are small I shall not name. The natives of these were distributed and put under the protection of the citizens of the town, and they have served and indeed still do serve them, although some of them, namely, those from Chimaclan, Tabasco and Quizaltepeque, have again rebelled. About a month ago I sent a captain with some people from this city to reduce them to Your Majesty's service and punish them for their rebellion, but I have, as yet, received no news from this captain. I believe that, if Our Lord so wishes, he will succeed, because he was well equipped with artillery and munitions, crossbowmen and horsemen.

Most Catholic Lord, in the report which the aforementioned Juan de Ribera took with him, I also informed Your Caesarean and Catholic Majesty how the lord, whose name was Casulcy,[4] of a great province called Mechuacán, had sent messengers offering himself and his people as Your Caesarean Majesty's subjects and vassals, and how these messengers had also brought certain gifts which I sent with the representatives of New Spain who went to Your Highness. Because the province and dominion of that lord Casulci, according to the reports of certain Spaniards whom I sent there, was large and had shown signs of being very rich, and because it was so close to this great city, after I had received some reinforcements of men and horses, I sent a captain with seventy horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers, well equipped with side arms and artillery, to investigate and explore the whole of that province; and if the report was true, they were to settle in Huicicila,[5] the capital city. When they arrived they were well received by the lord and natives of that province and quartered in that city; and, in addition to all the provisions they required, they were also given some three thousand marks of silver mixed with copper, in

the first printed edition of Letter IV, Toledo, 1525.

proportion of about one-half silver, and some five thousand *pesos de oro*, which, in a like fashion, was mixed with an unknown proportion of silver; also some cotton clothing and other small things which they use. After Your Majesty's fifth had been taken, these were distributed among the Spaniards who participated in this expedition. As the land did not attract them much as a place to settle, they showed no great willingness to do so, and a few arguments arose for which certain of them were punished. For this reason, however, I ordered those who wished, to return, and the rest I sent with a captain to the Southern Sea, where I have founded a town called Zacatula,[6] which lies a hundred leagues from the city of Huicicila, and there I have four ships under construction to explore as much of that sea as I am able and Our Lord God permits. While this captain and his people were going to Zacatula, they heard of a province called Coliman,[7] which lies fifty leagues to the right, which is the west, of this road; and without my permission this captain went there, taking all his men, together with many of our allies from the province of Mechuacán. He crossed the border and marched on for several days and had several encounters with the natives, but although he had forty horsemen and more than a hundred foot soldiers, crossbowmen and shield-bearers, they routed him and drove him from their land, killing three Spaniards and many of our allies; he then went to the aforementioned city of Zacatula. When I learnt of this I had the captain brought to me and punished him for his disobedience.

In the account which I sent to Your Caesarean Majesty of how I had dispatched Pedro de Alvarado to the province of Tututepeque, which is by the Southern Sea, I had nothing to say save that he had arrived there and had imprisoned the lord and one of his sons, and that they had given him some gold and also some samples from the gold mines and some pearls, because at that time there was nothing further to report. Your Excellency will recall that in reply to the news which this same Pedro de Alvarado sent me I ordered him to find a convenient site in that province and to found a town

there. I also ordered the citizens of Segura de la Frontera to move to the new town as soon as it had been built, for there was no further need for one so close to this city. And so it was done, and the new town was likewise called Segura de la Frontera. The natives of that same province and also of Guaxaca, Coaclán, Coasclahuaca, Tachquyaco and others in the neighborhood were distributed amongst the settlers, and they were most willing to serve and make themselves useful. Pedro de Alvarado remained there as chief justice and captain in my stead. And it happened that, while I was conquering the province of Pánuco, as I shall hereafter relate to Your Majesty, the alcaldes and regidores of that town requested Pedro de Alvarado to go with their authority to negotiate with me certain matters which they had suggested to him. This he agreed to do, and, when he had left, these alcaldes and regidores gathered together and formed a conspiracy; they convened the settlers, appointed alcaldes and, against the will of the captain whom Pedro de Alvarado had left there, abandoned the town and went to the province of Guaxaca, which was the cause of much unrest and disturbance in these parts. When that captain informed me of this, I sent Diego de Ocampo, alcalde mayor, to investigate what had happened and to punish those responsible. On hearing this, they took fright and remained hidden for a few days until I finally captured them; thus the aforementioned alcalde mayor was able to find only one of the rebels, whom he duly sentenced to death; this man appealed to me. After I had captured all the others I handed them over to the alcalde mayor, who likewise proceeded against them, sentencing them as he had the other one; and they also appealed. The cases are now concluded and ready to be executed before me in the second instance; but on examination I have decided, although their crime was a serious one, considering the long time they have been imprisoned, to commute the death penalty to that of civil excommunication; that is, to banish them from these lands and to forbid them to return without license from Your Majesty under pain of incurring the penalty of their first sentence.[8]

During this time the chief of the aforementioned province of Tututepeque died, and it and the neighboring provinces rebelled; so I sent some people under Pedro de Alvarado together with the son of the previous lord, whom I had in my power. Although there were a few encounters with the natives and some Spaniards died, they made them return to Your Majesty's service, and they are now pacified, serving the Spaniards to whom they have been assigned without complaint, although the town was not repopulated for lack of people, and because at present there is no need. They have been so subdued by their punishment that they will even come to this city when they are ordered to.

As soon as this city of Temixtitan and the lands subject to it were recovered, two other provinces, lying forty leagues to the north on the borders of the province of Pánuco, called Tututepeque and Mezclitan,[9] were subjected to the Imperial Crown of Your Caesarean Majesty; their lands are well defended and the people themselves are skilled in the use of arms, because they are surrounded by enemies on all sides. Seeing what had been done with these people and that nothing could hinder Your Majesty's cause, they sent me their messengers offering themselves as Your Majesty's subjects and vassals. I received them in Your Majesty's Royal name, and they remained loyal until the arrival of Cristóbal de Tapia, but with the disturbances and unrest which this caused amongst these people, they not only renounced their obedience but even did great harm to their neighbors who were vassals of Your Catholic Majesty, burning many villages and killing many people. I had no men to spare at that time, as they were scattered in so many places, but seeing that if I failed to act in this matter great damage might be caused, and fearing that the peoples of adjacent provinces to those might join the rebels lest they be likewise attacked; and since, furthermore, I was not convinced of their loyalty, I sent a captain with thirty horsemen and a hundred foot soldiers, crossbowmen, harquebusiers and bucklers, together with many of our allies. There were a few encounters with the enemy, in which some of our allies and two Span-

iards were killed, but it pleased Our Lord that the natives should come in peace of their own accord. They brought me their lords whom I pardoned because they had come without being captured.

Later, while I was in the province of Pánuco, the natives of these parts put it about that I was returning to Castile, which caused much disturbance. One of these two provinces, the one called Tututepeque, again rebelled, and its lord came down with many people and killed and captured many of our allies, burning more than twenty of their villages. Thus, while on the road from Pánuco I turned aside to suppress them, and although at first they killed some of our allies who were in the rear and ten or twelve horses were ruined on account of the roughness of the mountain passes, the entire province was subdued, and the lord and a young brother of his were captured together with a captain general who guarded one of the frontiers. The lord and his captain general were immediately hanged and all those taken in the war—some two hundred people—were made slaves. They were branded and sold by auction; and once Your Majesty's fifth had been reserved, the rest of the money was distributed among those who had participated in the war, although there was not enough to pay for even a third part of the horses which died, because, as the land was poor, we took no other spoils. The rest of the inhabitants of that province surrendered and have remained at peace with the brother of the dead ruler as their lord. At present, however, it is of no benefit to us because the land, as I have said, is poor; so that we may be certain they will not stir up those who do serve us, and for greater security, I have sent there some of the natives of this land.

Invincible Caesar, at this time there arrived at the harbor and colony of Espíritu Santo, which I have already mentioned in previous chapters, a very small brigantine coming from Cuba. In her was one Juan Bono de Quejo, who had come to this land with Pánfilo de Narváez as master of one of the ships in his fleet; it appeared from the dispatches which he brought that he came by order of Don Juan de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, in the belief that Cristóbal

de Tapia, whom the bishop had contrived to send as governor of this land, was here. In case Tapia should meet with an unfavorable reception, as the bishop feared, and had every reason to fear, and so that Tapia should receive every possible assistance, the bishop sent Bono by way of Cuba to inform Diego Velázquez, which he did, and was given by him the brigantine in which he came. The aforementioned Juan Bono carried some hundred letters, all with the same purport, signed by the bishop and even, I believe, with the names left blank so that Juan Bono could give them to the people here he thought fit, saying that they would be rendering Your Caesarean Majesty a great favor by receiving Tapia. To this end he promised many singular rewards, adding that they must know they were serving in my company against the wishes of Your Excellency, and many other things clearly calculated to stir up sedition and unrest. To me he sent another letter saying the same thing, and that if I obeyed the aforementioned Tapia he would obtain great favors for me from Your Majesty, but if not, I might be certain that he would always be my mortal enemy. The arrival of this Juan Bono and the letters he brought caused such a disturbance amongst my people that I assure Your Majesty there would have been few means to quieten them had they not been reassured by my telling them why the bishop had written such letters and bidding them not to fear his threats, and that the greatest service they could do Your Catholic Majesty, and through which they would receive the highest favors, was to prevent the bishop or any of his hirelings from meddling in these parts, because it was his intention to hide the truth of them from Your Highness and to ask for concessions in them without Your Majesty knowing what You were giving him.

Furthermore, I was informed, although I feigned ignorance of it at the time, that some of them had suggested that, as they received nothing but threats in payment for their services, it would be as well to form a *comunidad* [10] as had been done in Castile, until Your Majesty should be informed of the truth; for the arm of the bishop extended so far in this matter that he prevented their ac-

counts from reaching Your Highness, and he also had control over the Casa de la Contratación[11] in Seville, where their messengers were ill-treated and their reports, letters and money seized, and reinforcements of men, arms and supplies prevented from ever reaching them. But when I had told them all I have mentioned above, and assured them that Your Majesty had no knowledge of all these doings, and said they might be certain that once Your Highness had been informed their services would be rewarded, and that those favors would be bestowed upon them which all loyal and good vassals of their king and lord, who serve as they have, deserve, they were reassured, and, by the use which Your Excellency so graciously commanded me to make of the Royal provisions, they are most content and serve most willingly, to which fact the fruits of their service bear witness. Because of this they deserve that Your Majesty should grant them great favors, which I on my part do beg most humbly of Your Majesty, for I consider anything granted to any one of them no less a favor than if I myself had received it, for without them I could not have served Your Highness as I have. Above all, I most humbly entreat Your Highness to write to them, acknowledging the hardships which they have suffered in Your Majesty's service and offering them some reward, for, besides discharging Your Majesty's debt in this matter, it would inspire them to serve henceforth with yet greater determination.

By a decree which Your Caesarean Majesty had granted on the request of Juan de Ribera, concerning the adelantado Francisco de Garay, it appears that Your Highness was informed as to how I was about to set out, or send an expedition, to the Pánuco[12] River to pacify it, because I had heard that it might provide a good harbor, and because many Spaniards had perished there; not only those under a captain which the aforementioned Francisco de Garay had sent, but also the entire complement of another ship which sometime afterwards reached that coast, not one of whom escaped alive. Some of the natives of those parts had come to me to excuse themselves for those deaths, saying that they had only killed the Span-

iards because they knew that they were not of my company and because they had been ill-treated by them. If, however, I wished to send some of my own people there, they would consider it a great favor and would serve them as best they could; indeed, they would be most grateful, for they feared that certain people with whom they had fought might return against them seeking revenge. Also, they had certain neighbors who were their enemies and by whom they were being much harmed, and if I sent them Spaniards they would be protected.

When these people arrived I was short of men and unable to comply with their requests, but I promised that I would do so as soon as I was able. This satisfied them and they departed, some ten or twelve villages in the regions closest to the frontier having offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals. After a few days they returned and anxiously entreated me to send some Spaniards to settle there, as I had done in many other places, for they were being much harmed by their enemies and even by those of their own people who lived on the coast, because they had become our friends. In response to this and in order to settle in the land, I ordered a captain, for I now had more people, to go with several companions to that river. When they were about to depart I learnt from a ship which had come from Cuba how the admiral Don Diego Colón and the adelantados Diego Velázquez and Francisco de Garay were together on that island and had agreed to set out from there as my enemies and to do me all the harm they could.[18] In order to prevent their evil intent from having effect, and to avoid what their coming would cause; that is, such disturbances and unrest as followed on Narváez's arrival, I decided to leave this city as well defended as possible and to go in person, so that if all or any of them did go there, they should meet me before anyone else, because I would be best able to avoid the damage.

I set out with 120 horsemen, three hundred foot soldiers and some artillery, together with some forty thousand warriors from this city and the surrounding country. When I reached the frontier of

that land, a good twenty-five leagues from the harbor in a large settlement called Ayntuscotaclan,[14] a large number of warriors came out against us, and we fought with them; but because there were so many of our allies with us and because the ground was flat and well suited to the horses, the battle did not last long; although they wounded a few horses and Spaniards and killed a few of our allies, they had the worst of it, for many of them were killed or put to flight.

I remained in that town two or three days to care for the wounded, and also because those who had already offered themselves as Your Highness's vassals came to me there, whence they followed me to the harbor, and from then on served in all they could. I traveled until I reached the port, and nowhere did I have any further encounters with them; on the contrary, those through whose lands we passed came to ask forgiveness for their crime and to offer themselves in the Royal service of Your Highness. When we reached the aforementioned harbor and river, I set up camp in a village called Chila,[15] which lies five leagues from the sea; we found it burnt and abandoned, because it was there that Francisco de Garay's captain and his people had been routed.[16] From there I sent messengers to the other side of the river and through those lakes, among which there is a number of large towns with many inhabitants, to tell them not to be afraid, that I would do them no harm on account of what had happened, for I knew well that they had rebelled because of the ill-treatment they had received from those other Spaniards and were therefore not to blame. Despite this, however, they would not come; on the contrary, they maltreated the messengers and even killed some of them. Moreover, because we took our fresh water from the other side of the river, they took up positions there and fell upon those who went to fetch it.

I waited more than fifteen days in this position, thinking that they might be persuaded by peaceful means, that seeing how well treated those who had come were, they might do likewise; but they had such confidence in the strength of their position among those

lakes that they would not submit. And seeing that I had gained nothing by peaceful means, I began to seek another remedy, and in some canoes which we had had with us from the beginning, together with some others which were captured, I sent some men and horses across to the other side of the river, and by the time day broke a force of them had been collected on the far side of the river without being seen. Then I went across myself, leaving the camp well guarded. When the enemy saw us they came in large numbers and fell to fighting with us so furiously that never, since my arrival in these parts, have I seen so bold an attack in the field. They killed two horses and wounded more than ten others so badly they could no longer walk. But that day, with the help of Our Lord, they were routed and we pursued them for nearly a league, killing many of them.

With the thirty horsemen who remained and a hundred foot soldiers, I continued on my way and slept that night three leagues from the camp in a village which we found deserted. In the temples we found many things belonging to the Spaniards from Francisco de Garay's company who had been killed. On the following day I set out along the shore of a lake in search of a passage to the other side because we had seen people and villages there. I marched all day without reaching the end of the lake or finding anyplace to cross, but at the hour of vespers we came in sight of a most beautiful town and took the road toward it, which still followed the shore of that lake. When we drew close it was already late and the town seemed abandoned, but to make certain I sent ten horsemen straight into the town by the main road while I, with another ten, skirted round by the lake; for the remaining ten were bringing up the rear guard and had not yet arrived.

As soon as we entered the town, there suddenly appeared a large number of people who had been hiding in ambush inside the houses to take us unawares. They fought so fiercely that they killed a horse and wounded nearly all the others and many of the Spaniards. They were such tenacious fighters and the battle lasted so

long that although we broke through them three or four times they always managed to re-form. They made a circle, kneeling on the ground, and awaited us in silence, not screaming or shouting as the others do, and every time we entered among them they fired so many arrows at us that had we not been well armored they would have got the better of us, and I suspect not one of us would have escaped. But it pleased Our Lord that some of those who were closest to a river which flowed nearby, emptying into the lake whose coast we had followed all day, began to throw themselves into the water, whereupon the others began to run to the same river; and so they were routed, although they only fled to the other side of the river. So we remained, they on the one bank and we on the other, until nightfall, for the river was too deep for us to cross, and we were not sorry to see them go. We then returned to the town, which lay a stone's throw from the river, and there, having mounted the best guard we could, we passed that night, eating the horse they had killed, because there was no other food.

On the following day we set out again, there now being no sight of the people we had fought the day before, and came upon three or four villages where we found neither people nor anything else save for some stores of the wine they make, where we found a fair number of earthenware jars filled with it. That day we came across no one at all and slept in the open, because we found some maize fields where both the men and horses satisfied their hunger. We continued in this fashion for two or three days without seeing anyone, although we passed through many villages; and because we were hampered by lack of provisions, for in all this time there were not fifty pounds of bread between us, we returned to the camp. I found the people I had left there were in good shape and had had no clashes with the enemy. And so, because it seemed to me that all the Indians were keeping to the far side of the lake I had been unable to cross, one night I sent out men and horses in the canoes, including some crossbowmen and harquebusiers; these were to proceed up the lake while the rest of the men went overland. In this

manner they fell upon a large town and, as they took it by surprise, killed many people. This attack so frightened them, for they saw that, even surrounded by water as they were, they could be taken unawares, that they began to come peacefully, and in less than twenty days the whole region had offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals.

Now that this land had been pacified, I sent people to visit all parts of it and to bring back accounts of the people and towns. When these were brought to me, I chose the site which seemed best and founded there a town, to which I gave the name Santisteban del Puerto;[17] and to the people who wished to remain there as settlers I assigned those villages, in Your Majesty's name, for their sustenance. Alcaldes and regidores were appointed, and I left a captain there as my lieutenant, together with thirty horsemen and a hundred foot soldiers. I also left them a ship and a small rowing boat which had been sent to me from Vera Cruz with provisions. Likewise a servant of mine had come from Vera Cruz in a ship loaded with supplies of meat, bread, oil, wine, vinegar and other things, but everything was lost, save for three men who were cast away on a small island, five leagues out to sea. When later I sent a ship for them they were found alive, having fed on seals, of which there were many round that island, and fruit which they said were like figs.[18] I assure Your Majesty that this expedition cost me alone more than thirty thousand *pesos de oro*,[19] as Your Majesty may see if You be pleased to examine the accounts; and thosewho went with me had to spend as much again on horses, provisions, arms and horseshoes, for at that time they cost their weight in gold or twice that in silver. But to serve Your Majesty well in that venture we would willingly have spent more, for, besides bringing those Indians under Your Majesty's Imperial Yoke, our journey was of great benefit, as shortly afterwards a ship with many people and supplies aboard was forced onto that coast. If the land had not been at peace, the crew would all have perished like those from the previous ship, the skins of whose faces we found in the native oratories, preserved in

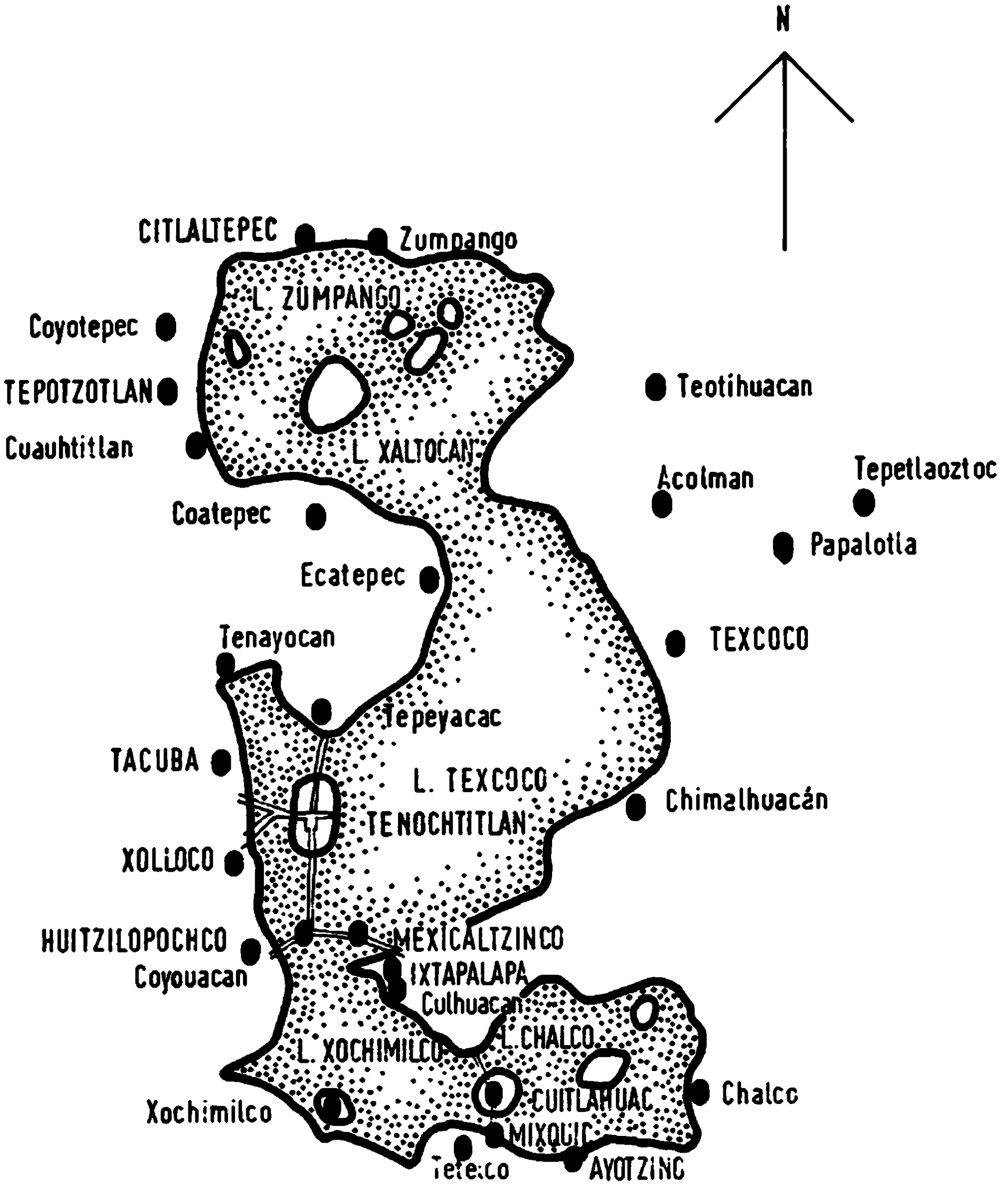
such a fashion that many of them could still be recognized. When the adelantado Francisco de Garay arrived in this land, as I will later relate to Your Caesarean Majesty, neither he nor any of those who came with him would have escaped alive when they were driven by bad weather onto the coast some thirty leagues below the Pánuco River. They lost some of their ships and were in such a state when they reached land that if the Indians had not been at peace and had not carried them on their shoulders and helped them until they were brought to the town of the Spaniards they would all have perished, even if they had not been attacked. And so it was of no little advantage to have pacified that land.

Most Excellent Prince, in the previous chapters I told how, after having pacified the province of Pánuco, we reconquered that of Tututepeque, which had rebelled; and I related all that was done there. I received news of a province by the South Sea called Impilcingo, which is much the same as Tututepeque in the impassability of its mountains and roughness of the terrain; and the people, who are quite as warlike, had done much harm to Your Majesty's vassals who live on their borders, and these had come to me to complain and ask for help. Although my people were not much rested, because there is a journey of two hundred leagues from one sea to the other, I immediately collected twenty-five horsemen and seventy or eighty foot soldiers, whom I placed under a captain and sent to that province. In my instructions I commanded him to attempt to win the inhabitants to Your Highness's Royal service by peaceful means, and, if they refused, to make war on them. He went there and had several encounters with them, but because the land was so rugged he could not claim to have conquered all of it. I had also commanded him in the same instructions to proceed, once he had accomplished his first task, to the city of Zacatula, and with all the people he already had and with as many more as he could find there to continue to the province of Colimán (where, as I said in previous chapters, the Indians had defeated that captain and his people who went from the province of Mechuacán to the city of Colimán), and

to try and win them over by peaceful means, but if that failed to subjugate them.

He departed thither, and with his own people and those whom he collected there he assembled fifty horsemen and 150 foot soldiers and went to that province, which is some sixty leagues from the city of Zacatula, down the coast of the Southern Sea. He pacified some towns on his way and reached that province, and at the place where the other captain had been routed he found many warriors waiting for him and hoping to do to him what they had done to the others. So they began to break through each other's lines, and it pleased Our Lord that the victory fell to us, not one Spaniard being killed, although many of them and their horses were wounded. The enemy paid dearly for the harm which they had done, and so successful was this punishment that without need of further war the whole country at once surrendered. And not only this province but also many of the neighboring ones now came to offer themselves as vassals of Your Caesarean Majesty; these were: Alimán,[20] Colimonte and Ciguatán.

From there the captain wrote to me reporting all that had befallen him, and I sent him orders to find a good site and to found a colony there which he was to call Colimán, after the province. I also sent him appointments of alcaldes and regidores and ordered him to visit the towns and the peoples of those provinces, and to bring me a complete account of all he could discover about the land. This he did, and brought also some samples of pearls which he had found. And in Your Majesty's name I distributed the villages of those provinces among the settlers who remained there; these numbered twenty-five horsemen and 120 foot soldiers. In his account of these provinces he brought news of a very good harbor which he had found on that coast, and of this I was very glad because there are few. Likewise he brought me word from the lords of the province of Ciguatán, who affirm that there is an island inhabited only by women, without a single man, and that at certain times men go over from the mainland and have intercourse with



THE MEXICAN VALLEY LAKE SYSTEM

them; the females born to those who conceive are kept, but the males are sent away. This island is ten days' journey from this province and many of those chiefs have been there and have seen it. They also told me that it was very rich in pearls and gold. I will strive, as soon as I am equipped for it, to learn the truth and send Your Majesty a full account thereof.[21]

While returning from the province of Pánuco, in a city called Tuzapan,[22] two Spaniards arrived whom I had sent with some of the natives of the city of Temixtitan and others from the province of Soconusco[23] (which lies up the coast on the shores of the Southern Sea, toward where Pedro Arias de Ávila resides as Your Highness's governor, two hundred leagues from this great city of Temixtitan) to two cities, called Uclaclán[24] and Guatemala, of which I had known for some while and which lie another seventy leagues from this province of Soconusco. With these Spaniards there came some hundred natives of those cities sent by their lords to offer themselves as the subjects and vassals of Your Caesarean Majesty. I received them in Your Royal name and assured them that if they remained true to their promise they would be very well treated and honored by me and all my company in Your Highness's Royal name. I then gave them, for themselves and for them to take back to their lords, some of the things I had with me and which they value. I also sent two other Spaniards with them to arrange for things necessary on the journey. I have since been informed by certain Spaniards whom I have in the province of Soconusco that those cities and their provinces, together with another nearby called Chiapan,[25] have not maintained that goodwill which they showed at first; on the contrary, they are said to have harassed those villages of Soconusco because they are our allies. On the other hand, the Christians tell me that they are constantly sending messengers excusing themselves, saying that it is not they who are to blame, but others. To learn the truth of this matter, I decided to send Pedro de Alvarado with some eighty horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers, among whom were many crossbowmen and harquebusiers,

and four pieces of artillery with an abundance of powder and shot.[26] Likewise I had a fleet of ships built in which I sent as captain Cristóbal de Olid, who came in my company, to go up the north coast and found a settlement on the point or cape of Las Hibueras, which lies sixty leagues from the bay of La Ascensión,[27] which is on the windward side of the land called Yucatán, up the coast of the mainland toward Darién.[28] I have had much information that the land there is very rich, and many pilots believe that there is a strait between that bay and the other sea, and this is the one thing in the world which I most desire to discover, because of the great service which I am certain Your Caesarean Majesty will receive thereby.

When each of these two captains had prepared everything for his journey and was about to depart, a messenger arrived from Santisteban del Puerto, which I founded on the Pánuco River, by whom the alcaldes of that town informed me how the adelantado Francisco de Garay had arrived at that river with 120 horsemen, four hundred foot soldiers and many pieces of artillery;[29] he proclaimed himself governor of that land and had told the natives so through an interpreter he had with him. Furthermore, he told them that he would avenge the wrongs which they had suffered at my hands during the past war, and that they should join him in driving out those Spaniards I had there and any more that I might send, for he would help them do it, and many other scandalous things besides, which caused considerable unrest among the natives. To confirm further the suspicions I had of his alliance with the admiral and Diego Velázquez, a few days later a caravel arrived at that river from Cuba, and in her came several friends and servants of Diego Velázquez together with a servant of the bishop of Burgos who claimed to come as agent in Yucatán; the rest of the company were servants and relatives of Diego Velázquez or servants of the admiral. On hearing this news, although I was in bed, having lost the use of one arm though a fall from my horse, I determined to go there and see him to prevent an uprising, and I immediately sent Pedro de Alvarado[30] on ahead with all the people he had ready for his jour-

ney, preparing myself to follow within two days. When my bed and everything else was already on the road and we had gone ten leagues to where I was to spend the following night, a messenger arrived from Vera Cruz, when it was almost midnight, bringing me certain letters which had arrived in a ship from Spain. With them was a decree signed with Your Majesty's Royal name, commanding the aforementioned adelantado Francisco de Garay not to interfere in that river or in any other place which I had settled, because Your Majesty was pleased that I should hold it in Your Royal name: for which I kiss the Royal feet of Your Caesarean Majesty a hundred thousand times.[31]

On the arrival of this decree, I halted my journey, and this was of no little benefit to my health, for I had not slept for sixty days and was exhausted, so that to travel at such a time was to endanger my life. But I had disregarded all that, holding it better to die in this undertaking than, for the sake of preserving my life, to be the cause of many disturbances and uprisings, and further infamous deaths. I sent at once Diego de Ocampo,[32] alcalde mayor, with the aforementioned decree, to follow Pedro de Alvarado and to give him a letter from me ordering him on no account to approach the place where the men of the adelantado were, so as to avoid a disturbance. I ordered the alcalde mayor to notify the adelantado of the contents of the decree and to inform me at once of his reply. He then departed in all haste to the province of the Guatescas, through which Pedro de Alvarado had passed but had now moved on into the interior of the province. When Alvarado learnt that the alcalde mayor was coming in my place, he at once informed him that he had received news of a captain of Francisco de Garay's, called Gonzalo Dovalle,[33] who, with twenty-two horsemen, was ravaging several villages in that province and stirring up the people. Pedro de Alvarado had also been warned that Gonzalo Dovalle had placed spies on the road along which he was to pass. This had greatly angered him, and he now believed that Gonzalo Dovalle intended to attack him, so he alerted his men until they

reached a village which they called Las Lajas,[34] where he found Gonzalo Dovalle and all his company. As soon as Alvarado arrived he spoke with the captain and told him that he had heard what he was up to and was surprised at him, because the intention of the governor and his captain was not, nor ever had been, to do him any harm; on the contrary, he had given orders that they should be attended to and given all they required; but that as the situation had now changed, he asked him as a favor, in order to ensure that there would be no disturbances or harm caused between them, not to take it ill if the arms and horses of his men were confiscated until some agreement could be reached in these matters. Gonzalo Dovalle excused himself, saying that things had not happened as Alvarado had been informed, but that, even so, he would agree to do as he asked. And so the two captains and their men were united, eating and living together in harmony without any ill will or quarrels. As soon as Ocampo, the alcalde mayor, learnt of this, he sent a secretary of mine who was with him, called Francisco de Orduña,[35] to the captains Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo Dovalle with an order to return to each man his horse and arms, and to tell them that it was my intention to help them and to attend to their needs as long as they did not cause trouble or disturbances in the land. He likewise sent another order to Alvarado, telling him to help them but not to attempt to touch anything of theirs or to annoy them; and he complied with this request.

Most Powerful Lord, at the same time, the ships of the aforementioned adelantado were lying at the mouth of the Pánuco River, as if threatening the inhabitants of the town of Santisteban, which I had founded some three leagues upriver, and where the ships which come to that port normally anchor. For this reason Pedro de Vallejo, my lieutenant in that town, in order to avert the danger he thought would follow any disturbance caused by those ships, required the captains and masters of them to sail up to the town and anchor there peacefully, without causing any damage or unrest in the land, and said that if they brought any decrees from

Your Majesty to settle or explore that land, or for any other purpose, they were to show them; and they insisted that, once they had been shown, Your Majesty's orders would be obeyed in all respects. The captains and masters answered this request in a manner which meant, in effect, that they totally refused to comply with the lieutenant's instructions; he was then obliged to send them another order, demanding that they comply with the terms of the first or incur certain penalties. To this they replied as before. And so it was that two masters of those ships, whose names were Castromocho and Martín de San Juan, from Guipúzcoa, seeing that the presence of the masters and captains of these ships at the mouth of the river for two months or more was causing a disturbance both among the Spaniards living there and among the natives of that province, sent messengers in secret to Lieutenant Vallejo informing him that they wished for peace and obedience to commands of justice. They, therefore, urged him to go to their two ships, where they would welcome him and do whatever he ordered them, adding that they had a scheme for persuading the other ships to surrender peacefully and obey his commands.

For this purpose the lieutenant decided to visit those ships accompanied only by five men. When he arrived he was well received by the masters and sent word to Captain Juan de Grijalva, who was the commander of the fleet and lived aboard the flagship at that time, summoning him to obey the orders which he had already been given. The captain not only refused to obey but ordered the other ships to join him and to surround and open fire on the two mentioned above until they were sunk. Because this order was made in public so that all present heard it, the lieutenant, in his defense, ordered the guns on board the two ships which had obeyed him to be made ready. The captains and masters of the ships with Juan de Grijalva refused to obey his commands and so he sent a notary called Vicente López to speak to the lieutenant. Once he had delivered his message, the lieutenant replied justifying his orders and explaining that he had come there solely with peaceful intent

and to prevent the unrest and other disturbances that had been caused by those ships remaining outside the port where it was customary to anchor, like pirates preparing to make a raid on His Majesty's lands, all of which looked very bad. He said other things to the same effect, and so persuasive was he that the notary returned to Grijalva with his reply, and telling him all the lieutenant had said, persuaded the captain to obey, for it was clear that the lieutenant was the officer of justice in that province under Your Majesty, and Captain Grijalva knew that neither the adelantado Francisco de Garay nor he himself had presented any Royal warrants which the lieutenant and the inhabitants of the town of Santisteban were bound to obey, and that to have his ships lying like pirates off Your Caesarean Majesty's coast was a most ugly thing. Captain Grijalva and the masters and captains of the ships were moved by these arguments to obey the lieutenant, and they sailed upriver to where ships usually anchor. As soon as they reached port Juan de Grijalva was arrested for his refusal to obey the lieutenant's commands. When his imprisonment was made known to my alcalde mayor, he at once gave orders that Grijalva should be freed and well treated, together with all the others who had come in those ships, and that nothing of theirs was to be touched; and so it was done.

The alcalde mayor likewise wrote to Francisco de Garay, who was in another harbor ten or twelve leagues from there, informing him that I could not go to see him myself but was sending the same alcalde mayor with my authority, so that between them they might reach some agreement as to what was to be done, and examine each other's decrees so as to conclude this matter as was most befitting to Your Majesty's service. When Francisco de Garay saw the alcalde mayor's letter he went to meet him and was very well received, and he and all his people were provided with all they required. When they were together they discussed the matter, examined their documents, and reached an agreement: the alcalde mayor showed the adelantado the decree with which Your Majesty so graciously favored me and required him to obey it, which he did,

saying that in compliance with it he wished to return to the ships with his men, and go and settle in some other land beyond that mentioned in Your Majesty's decree. As he knew that I wished to help him, he asked the alcalde mayor to collect all his people, for many of them wanted to remain behind and others had deserted, and to provide both ships and men with the provisions they needed. The alcalde mayor at once saw to all that he asked, and it was immediately announced in that port, where most of the men from both parties were to be found, that everyone who had come in the fleet of the adelantado Francisco de Garay should rejoin him under pain, if he were a horseman, of losing his arms and his horse and of being seized and returned to the adelantado, and, if he were a foot soldier, of receiving a hundred lashes and being likewise seized.

Francisco de Garay also asked the alcalde mayor to have the arms and horses, which some of his men had sold in the port of Santisteban, and in the harbor where they were and in other places in the neighborhood, returned to him, for without arms and horses his men would be of no use. The alcalde mayor did all he could to discover where those arms and horses might be, and ordered all those who had bought them to return them all to the adelantado. The alcalde mayor also placed alguaciles on the roads to stop all those trying to escape; and many were taken prisoner in this way. He also sent the alguacil mayor[36] and a secretary of mine to the town of Santisteban to make the same searches and proclamations for the return of the deserters, to collect all the provisions they could find to equip Garay's ships, and also to recover the horses and arms which had been sold; all of which was done with the greatest diligence. The adelantado then went to the harbor to embark, and the alcalde mayor remained where he was with his people, so as not to make too great demands on the harbor and so as to be better able to provide for themselves. He remained there six or seven days to ensure that all that had been arranged by his and my orders was carried out. The alcalde mayor wrote to Garay asking him if there was anything else he required, because he was short of supplies and

was returning to México City, where I reside. The adelantado then sent a messenger to say that he was unable to leave because he had lost six of his ships and the rest were not fit to sail, and that he was preparing a statement to prove to me that, as he had said, he was not in a position to be able to leave. He also informed me that his people had appealed against the orders of my alcalde mayor, and had given sixteen or seventeen reasons why they were not bound to obey them. One of these reasons was that certain of the people in his company had died of hunger; others, which were not very polite, were directed against him personally. Moreover, he said that all his efforts to return his men were insufficient, and those who were there at dusk were gone at dawn, for if they were captured and handed over to him one day, they went on the following day as soon as they were set free; between dusk and dawn he had lost two hundred men. He therefore begged the alcalde mayor most earnestly not to depart until he arrived, because he wished to come and see me here in this city, and if the alcalde mayor left him there he would drown himself in despair. When the alcalde mayor read his letter he decided to wait for him. He arrived two days later, and the alcalde mayor sent a messenger to inform me that the adelantado was coming to see me, and that they would proceed slowly to a town called Cicoaque, which is on the borders of these provinces, and there await my reply. The adelantado also wrote to me giving me an account[37] of the poor condition of his ships and the ill will that his men had shown him; therefore, because he believed that I would be able to remedy this and also provide him with some of my men, and with everything else he might need, and because he recognized that no one else could help him, he had resolved to come to see me. He also offered me his eldest son with all he possessed, hoping that I would make him my son-in-law, by marriage to a young daughter of mine.[38]

Meanwhile, as they were about to depart for this city, the alcalde mayor noticed that some highly untrustworthy persons had sailed with Francisco de Garay, friends and servants of Diego

Velázquez, who had shown themselves to be thoroughly hostile to my interests; and, seeing that if they remained in that province their presence would cause disturbances and unrest, he, by virtue of a certain Royal decree which Your Majesty sent me so that I might expel all such troublemakers from the land, ordered them to depart. They were Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonso de Mendoza, Antonio de la Cerda, Juan de Ávila, Lorenzo de Ulloa, Taborda, Juan de Grijalva, Juan de Medina and others. Once this had been done, they went to the town of Cicoaque, where they found my reply to their letters, in which I said that I would be much pleased by the arrival of the adelantado, and that when he reached this city I would very willingly make arrangements concerning all he had written, and ensure that his fleet was as well equipped as he could wish. I likewise provided for his needs on the journey and ordered all the lords of the villages along his route to give him all that he required.

When Francisco de Garay arrived in this city I welcomed him as was fitting, with all goodwill and as many demonstrations as I was able; indeed, I received him as I would my own brother, for I was truly sorry at the loss of his ships and the desertion of his men, and I offered him my assistance, for I intended to do all that I could for him. As he was most eager to put into effect what he had written to me concerning the proposed marriage, he entreated me again with such persistence that to please him I agreed to do everything he asked. So with mutual consent we drew up upon oath certain agreements which set out the obligations of both parties and arranged the marriage, provided that Your Majesty, after learning of our contract, should give Your approval. In this manner, in addition to our long-standing friendship, we were bound by the contracts and agreements we had made on behalf of our children. We were now of one mind and purpose and everything in the agreements we had drawn up was pleasing to us both, but especially to the adelantado.

Most Powerful Lord, I have already described to Your Caesarean Majesty the great efforts of my alcalde mayor to make the

adelantado's men, who were scattered throughout the land, return to him, and the steps he took to this end; these, although many, were not sufficient to remedy the dissatisfaction they all felt against Francisco de Garay: on the contrary, believing that they would be obliged to go with him in accordance with the orders which had been made public, they went inland in bands of three and six in several different directions. Hidden in this fashion, so that they could not be captured and taken back, they were the chief cause of rebellion among the natives of that province, who saw the Spaniards scattered throughout the land, creating disorder and other disturbances among them, taking their women and supplies by force. This led to a general uprising, for they believed, as the adelantado had made known through an interpreter when he first arrived, that there was dissension among the Spanish commanders, as I have already related to Your Majesty. And it happened that these Indians were so cunning that, having first been informed when and in what places those Spaniards could be found, they fell on them by day and night in the villages among which they were scattered, and taking them unawares and unarmed they killed a great number of them. Their daring flourished so, that they approached the town of Santisteban del Puerto, which I had founded in Your Majesty's name, where they attacked so fiercely that they placed the inhabitants in great difficulties, so that they gave themselves up for lost, and indeed would have been, had they not been prepared, and all together in a place where they could fortify themselves and resist the enemy; so much so indeed that many times they sallied out and fought with them in the field and finally routed them.

When matters were in this state, I received news of what had happened from a messenger who had escaped on foot from those battles. He told me that all the natives in the province of Pánuco were in revolt, and that many of the Spaniards from the adelantado's company who had remained there had been killed, and also some of the citizens of the town which I founded in Your Majesty's name. I feared the disaster was so great that not a single Cas-

tilian had escaped alive. Our Lord God knows how much I was grieved at this, and also because I knew that no such occurrence can happen in these parts without it causing much hardship and endangering our hold on them. The adelantado was so stricken by this news, because he believed he was the cause of it and because he had left one of his sons and all he had brought with him in that province, that he fell ill of his grief, and of this sickness passed from this life within the space of three days.[39]

That Your Excellency may be informed in more detail of what happened after I received this first news, I shall add that the Spaniard who brought me word of the rising in Pánuco could tell me no more than that he had been surprised, together with three horsemen and a foot soldier, by some of the inhabitants of a village called Tacetuco,[40] who had fought with them and killed the foot soldier, two of the horsemen and the horse of the third; he and the surviving horseman had managed to escape because it was dark by then. They had seen a house in the village where they were to have been awaited by the lieutenant with fifteen horsemen and forty foot soldiers, but this house had been burnt, and he believed by what he had seen that they had all been killed.

I waited six or seven days to see if any further news would arrive, and during this time a messenger came from the aforementioned lieutenant, who was then in a village called Teneztequipa,[41] which is subject to this city and lies on the border of that province, with a letter informing me how he had waited in the village of Tacetuco with fifteen horsemen and forty foot soldiers for the reinforcements which were to join him there because he intended to cross the river and pacify certain villages which were still in revolt. Shortly before dawn their quarters had been surrounded by a large number of people and set on fire; and, although they mounted in great haste, they were yet taken unawares, for they had believed those people to be as subdued as always. The fighting was so fierce that all had perished save he and two other horsemen who had succeeded in escaping, although his own horse was killed and one of his

men had taken him up behind. They had made good their escape because after two leagues they came upon an alcalde from the town with some men, who came to their assistance; but they could not withstand the enemy for long, and all fled together from that province. He had no news of the people who had remained in the town nor of any of Francisco de Garay's men, who were scattered in several places, but he did not think that there were any left alive. For, as I have already informed Your Majesty, after the adelantado had come here with his people, and had told the natives of that province that I was no longer to have anything to do with them, as he was the governor they must now obey, and said that if they joined him, together they would drive out all the Spaniards I had in that town and any more I might send, the natives rebelled and were of a mind never to serve a Spaniard again, even killing some they found alone on the roads. The lieutenant believed, therefore, that this was a concerted effort by all the Indians, and that just as they had fallen on him and his men so they had fallen on the people in the town and those scattered throughout the various villages, all of whom were quite unprepared for such an uprising, as the Indians had previously served them without complaint.

Having thus been better informed by this news of the rebellion in that province and of the death of those Spaniards, I at once dispatched with the greatest haste fifty horsemen, and a hundred crossbowmen and harquebusiers on foot, and four pieces of artillery with a large store of powder and shot, under a Spanish captain, together with two native chieftains from this city with fifteen thousand men each. I ordered this captain to go as swiftly as possible to that province and to stop nowhere unless it were absolutely necessary, until he had reached the town of Santisteban del Puerto, and discovered what had become of the settlers and other people who had remained there, for it was possible they were besieged somewhere, and if this was so, he was to help them. So he departed and went with all haste and entered that province; and they fought with him in two places, but Our Lord God granted him victory, and he

continued on his way until he reached the town, where he found twenty-two horsemen and a hundred foot soldiers, who were besieged there and had been attacked six or seven times, but had managed, although with great difficulty, to defend themselves by means of some guns which they had there. But they could not have resisted much longer, and if the captain I sent had arrived three days later, they would all have perished; for they were all dying of hunger and had already sent one of Francisco de Garay's brigantines to the town of Vera Cruz to inform me of all that was happening, because they could not send a message any other way, and also to return with provisions, which afterwards it did, although they had by that time been relieved by the forces I sent.

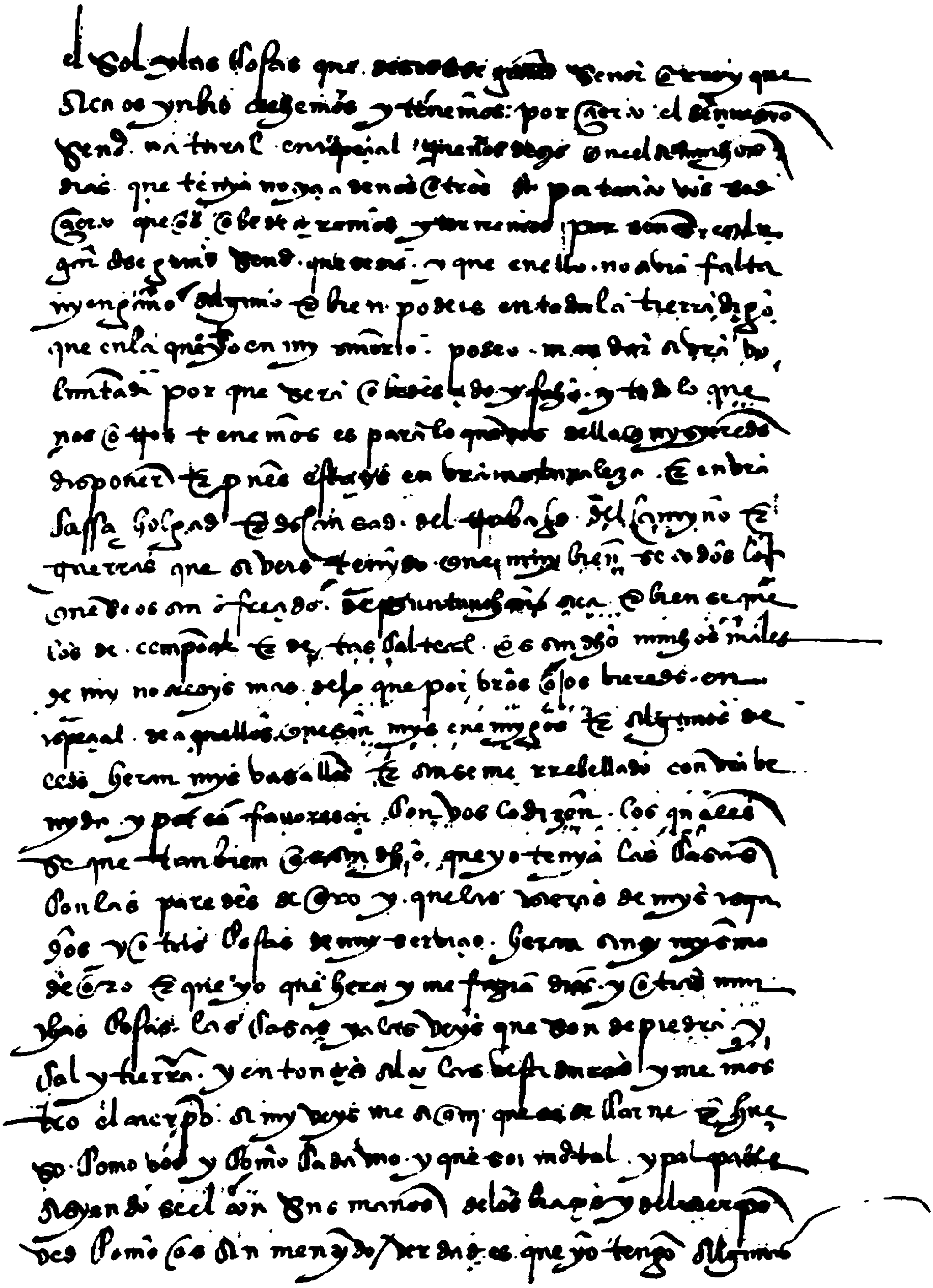
It was there they learnt how the men whom Francisco de Garay had left in a village called Tamiquil,[42] some hundred foot soldiers and horsemen, had all been killed; no one had escaped except an Indian from the island of Jamaica, who escaped through the forests and from whom we heard how they had been attacked by night. It was estimated that 210 of the adelantado's men had died and forty-three of the settlers whom I had left in Santisteban and who were at the time in the villages which they held as *encomiendas*.[43] It is also thought that even more of the adelantado's men may have perished, because there is no record of them all. The men whom the captain took with him, together with those of the lieutenant and the alcalde and the people who were found in the town, now numbered some eighty horse and were divided into three companies. They made war on that province in such a manner that they captured some four hundred lords and chieftains besides other common people, all of whom, I mean the chieftains, were burnt in punishment, for they confessed to being the instigators of the war, and each one to having killed, or had a part in killing, Spaniards.[44] Once this was done, the other prisoners were released and all the other natives returned with them to their villages. The captain, in Your Majesty's name, appointed as new lords in those villages those entitled to succeed according to their custom. At this time I received

letters from the aforementioned captain and from others who were with him, telling me how already, praise be to Our Lord, the whole province was quite safe and peaceful and the natives serve very well; and I believe there will be peace throughout the year once the ill feeling has passed.

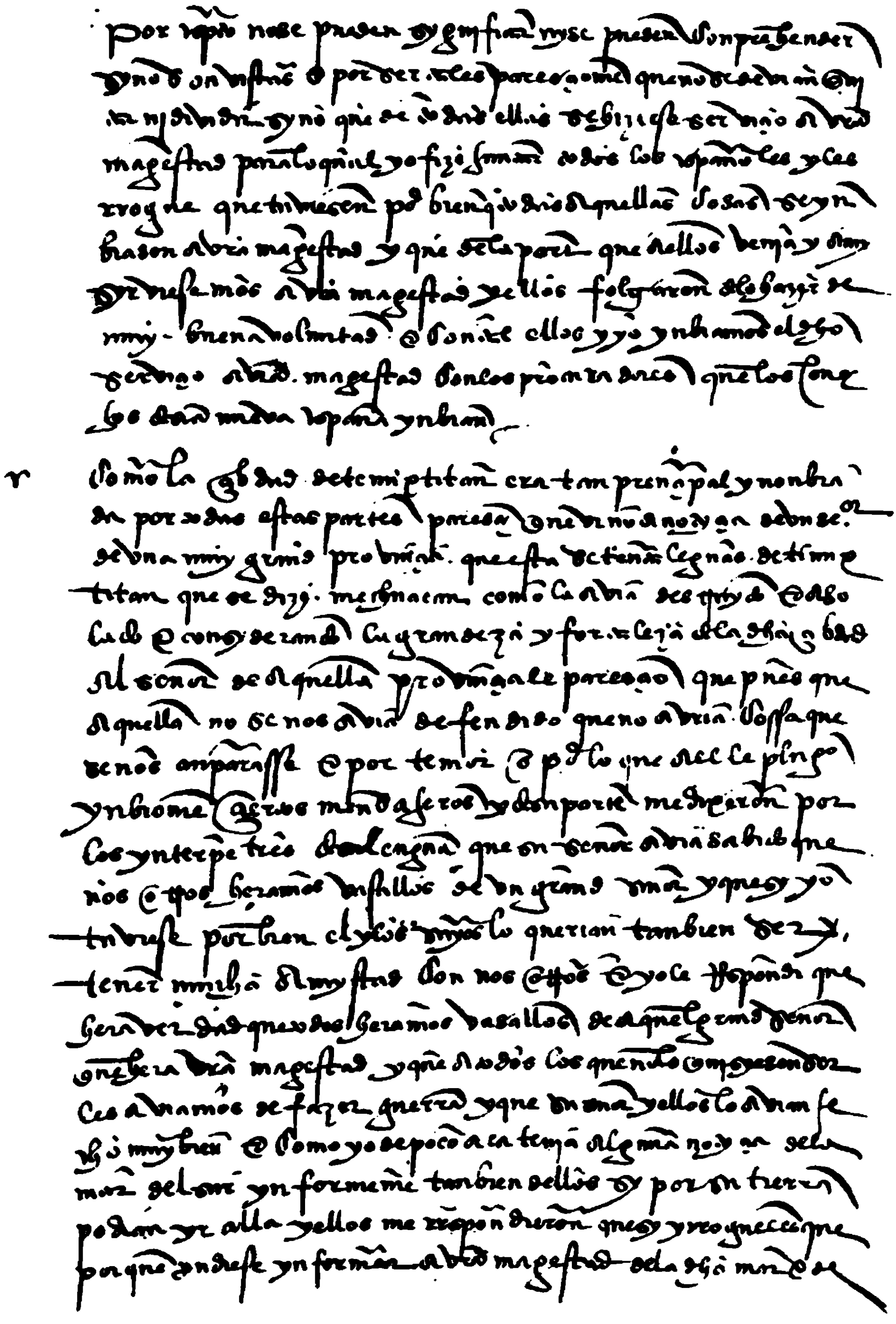
I assure Your Caesarean Majesty that these people are so turbulent that at any novelty or opportunity for sedition they rebel, and so it has always been, for it was their custom to rise up against their lords and they never let an occasion for rebellion pass without taking advantage of it.

Most Catholic Lord, in previous chapters, I told how at the time of my hearing of the arrival of Francisco de Garay at the Pánuco River I had a fleet ready to sail to the cape or point of Las Hibueras and gave the reasons which had moved me to do this. On the arrival of the adelantado, however, I canceled my plans, for I believed that he wished to take possession of the land by his own authority, and if he did so I would need all my people to resist him. Having brought the affair with the adelantado to a conclusion, it seemed to me that Your Majesty would be well served by such an undertaking, although it would cost me a considerable amount, in pay for the sailors, provisions for the ships and men who were to sail in them. I therefore pursued my original plan. I purchased five more large ships and a brigantine and collected four hundred men, artillery, munitions, arms and other provisions and foodstuffs. In addition to this I sent two servants of mine with eight thousand *pesos de oro* to the island of Cuba to buy horses and provisions, not only for this first voyage but to have them ready to load onto the ships when they returned, so that nothing for which I sent them should be left undone because of a lack of supplies. I also did not wish them to annoy the natives by demanding provisions, for it would be better to give them some of our own than to take any from them.

With these orders they left the port of San Juan de Chalchiqueca[45] on the eleventh day of January in the year 1524 bound for Havana, which is the northernmost point of the island of Cuba,



17. Motecuçoma's welcoming speech. From folio 45 recto of the Codex Vidobonensis S.N. 1600.



18. The aftermath of the fall of Tenochtitlan. Folio 170 recto of Codex Vindobonensis S.N. 1600.

where they are to furnish themselves with all they lack, especially horses, and gather together the ships, whence, with God's blessing, they will continue their journey to the aforementioned land of Las Hibueras. On reaching the first harbor, they are to land, together with all the men, horses, supplies and everything they have on their ships, and in the place they think most suitable they are to fortify themselves with their artillery, of which they have many good pieces, and there found their town. When they have done this they are then to send three of the larger ships to the port of Trinidad on the island of Cuba, because it is on the most convenient course for them, and because one of those servants of mine has gone there to prepare all the things that the captain may require. The other smaller ships and the brigantine, with the chief pilot and a cousin of mine called Diego de Hutado as their captain, are to sail along the coast from the bay of La Ascensión in search of that strait[46] which is thought to be there, and once they have seen everything they are to return to wherever the captain Cristóbal de Olid may be, whence they are to send one of those ships with an account of what they have found and of all that Cristóbal de Olid has discovered about the land and what has happened there, so that I may send a full report of it to Your Caesarean Majesty.

I also reported that I had got ready certain people to go with Pedro de Alvarado to those cities of Uclaclán[47] and Guatemala which I have mentioned in previous chapters, and to other provinces beyond, of which I have also heard, and how this expedition also had been interrupted by the arrival of Francisco de Garay. And because I had already spent much on horses, arms, artillery and munitions, as well as money given as subsidies to the men; because I believe that Our Lord God and Your Sacred Majesty will benefit greatly from this, and because, according to my information, I may expect to discover many rich and strange lands with many very different peoples, I again resolved to continue with my original plan. In addition to what I had already provided, I again fitted out

Pedro de Alvarado and dispatched him from this city on the sixth day of December in the year 1523. He took with him 120 horsemen, and with spare mounts, a total of 160 horses, together with three hundred foot soldiers, 130 of whom are crossbowmen and harquebusiers. He has four pieces of artillery with good supplies of powder and ammunition. He is also accompanied by some chieftains from this city and from other cities in the vicinity and with them some of their people, although not many, because the journey will be so long.

I have received news of how they reached the province of Tecuantepeque[48] on the twelfth of January and are going well. May it please Our Lord to guide both expeditions, for I firmly believe that as they are all engaged in His service and in the Royal name of Your Caesarean Majesty they cannot fail to achieve a great and prosperous result.

I also instructed Pedro de Alvarado to have special care to send me a long and detailed account of all that happens to him so that I may send it to Your Highness. And I am certain, according to the information and maps I have of that land, that Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid must meet, if no strait separates them.

I would have dispatched many such expeditions and discovered much of what is unknown about this land had I not been hampered by the disturbances caused by the fleets which have come here. I assure Your Holy Majesty that You have been very ill-served by them, not only in that many lands have still not been discovered, but also because a great fortune in gold and pearls has not been collected for Your Royal treasury. From now on, however, if no more of them arrive, I shall endeavor to restore all that has been lost, and in this I shall spare neither myself nor my fortune in doing so; for I assure Your Sacred and Caesarean Majesty that, in addition to having spent all I own, I owe much, which I have taken from Your Majesty's revenues for expenses, which, as Your Majesty may reckon from the accounts, amounts to more than sixty

thousand *pesos de oro*, besides a further twelve thousand which I have borrowed from various people to meet the cost of my household.

I said in previous chapters that some of the provinces which were in the neighborhood of Espíritu Santo and served the town had rebelled and even killed several Spaniards; so, to bring these back to the Royal service of Your Majesty, and also to win over other neighboring provinces, because the men of that town are not sufficient to retain what has been won and to conquer those others, I sent a captain with thirty horsemen and a hundred foot soldiers, some of whom were crossbowmen and harquebusiers, with two pieces of artillery and a good supply of powder and shot. They departed on the eighth of December of the year 1523. I have as yet received no word from them, but I believe they will be very successful and that Our Lord God and Your Majesty will be well served by this expedition which, it is hoped, will achieve notable discoveries. It is a strip of land on the north coast, between the regions of exploration of Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, which until now has been peaceful. Once this small strip is conquered and pacified, Your Holy Majesty will have on the north coast land more than four hundred leagues in unbroken extent subject to Your Royal service; and along the coast of the Southern Sea, more than five hundred leagues.

In the whole territory, from one sea to the other, the natives serve without complaint, save for two provinces which lie between those of Teguantepeque, Chinanta, Guaxaca and Guazacualco,[49] in the middle of all four; the people of these two provinces are called Zapotecas and Mixes.[50] Their land is so rocky that it cannot be crossed even on foot, for I have twice sent people to conquer them, who were unable to do so because of the roughness of the terrain, and because their warriors are very fierce and well armed. They fight with lances twenty-five or thirty spans in length, very heavy and well made, and with heads made of flint. With these they have defended themselves and killed some of the Spaniards who have

gone there. They have done, and are doing, much harm to their neighbors who are Your Majesty's vassals, by raiding them at night, burning their villages and killing many of them. So much damage have they done that many of the villages near to them have rebelled and joined forces with them. To prevent this from spreading, although at present I am rather short of men, I collected 150 foot soldiers—horses are no use there—most of whom were crossbowmen and harquebusiers, and four pieces of artillery with all the necessary munitions both for the guns and the foot soldiers. I appointed Rodrigo Rangel, alcalde of this city, as their captain; a year ago he had marched against them, but as it was the rainy season he was unable to achieve anything and returned after two months. This captain and his men left the city on the fifth of February of this year, and I believe that, God willing, as they are well equipped, are going in a good season, and are accompanied by many skillful warriors from this city and thereabouts, they will bring this venture to a conclusion, from which no little benefit will redound to Your Highness's Imperial Crown, for at the moment not only do they not serve, but they cause much harm to those who do; also the land is very rich in mines.

When these people have been conquered, the men who are going there say they will lay waste the country and enslave the inhabitants for having been so rebellious, because many times they were required, and once even offered themselves, to become Your Majesty's vassals, and also for having killed Spaniards and done so much harm. I ordered that those who were taken alive should be branded with Your Highness's mark, and that once those belonging to Your Majesty had been set aside the rest should be distributed amongst the men on the expedition.

Most Excellent Lord, I may assure Your Royal Excellency that the least of these expeditions which have been dispatched has cost me more than five thousand *pesos de oro* of my own, and those led by Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid have cost more than fifty thousand in cash, besides other expenses of my estate

which have not been accounted for or recorded. But as it is all in the service of Your Caesarean Majesty, even were it to cost me my life in addition, I should count it a greater favor. Should such an occasion arise I shall not hesitate to put it at risk.

In the last account as in this I have mentioned to Your Majesty that I started to build four ships on the Southern Sea, and as they were begun a long while ago, it will seem to Your Royal Highness that I have been somewhat negligent in not having completed them yet. I will, therefore, explain to Your Sacred Majesty the reason; it is that the Southern Sea, or at least the part where these ships are being built, is two hundred leagues or more from those ports on the Northern Sea where all material arriving in New Spain is unloaded, and there are very rocky mountain passes and wide and deep rivers, across which all the things needed for those ships must be brought; they are, therefore, transported with great difficulty, for there is no other place where they can be obtained. In addition to this, when I had collected in a house in the harbor where the ships are being built all the equipment they required—sails, cables, rigging, nails, anchors, pitch, tallow, tow, bitumen, oil and other things—a fire broke out one night and everything was destroyed, except for the anchors, which could not burn. I have now begun again, because four months ago a ship came from Castile bringing all the things I required for those ships, since, fearing the possibility of what in fact happened, I had provided for it and asked for the materials to be sent. And I assure Your Caesarean Majesty that these ships have cost me so far, and they have not even been launched yet, more than eight thousand *pesos de oro*, besides additional expenditure, but now, praised be Our Lord, they are at such a stage that by next Whitsun or St. John's day in June, they will be ready to sail if I can find some bitumen, because, since all I had was burnt, I have been unable to acquire more; but I hope that some will soon arrive from Spain, because I have already ordered it. I hold these ships of more importance than I can express, because I am certain that if it so please Our Lord God, they will gain for

Your Caesarean Majesty more realms and dominions than those of which our country now knows. May it please Him to guide them as He wills, and as may so greatly benefit Your Caesarean Majesty, for I am convinced that if I do this there will then be nothing wanting to make Your Excellency monarch of the whole world.

After it had pleased Our Lord God that we should capture this great city of Temixtitan, it did not seem to me a good plan to reside there for the present, on account of several disadvantages, so I brought all my men to a town I have already mentioned, called Cuyoacán, which lies on the shores of this lake. As I always wished the great city to be rebuilt because of its magnificence and marvelous position, I strove to collect together all the inhabitants who, since the war, had fled to other parts and, although I held, and indeed still hold, the lord of it a prisoner, I charged a captain general whom I had known in the time of Mutezuma with the task of repopulating it. And so that he should have more authority I gave back to him the title he held when his lord was in power, which was that of *Ciguacoatl*, which means lieutenant of the king.[51] I likewise appointed chieftains whom I had known previously to the offices in the government of this city which they had once held. And to this *Ciguacoatl* and the others I gave such lands and people as were necessary for their sustenance, although not as much as they had owned before, nor enough to make them dangerous at any time. I have always tried to honor and favor them, and they have done so well that now there are some thirty thousand people living in the city, and the markets and commerce are organized as before.

I have given them such liberties and exemptions that the population grows each day, for they live very comfortably and many of the artisans live by working among the Spaniards: these are carpenters, masons, stonecutters, silversmiths and others. The merchants carry on their businesses in full confidence, and the other people live either by fishing, which is a flourishing trade in this city,[52] or by agriculture, for many of them have their own plantations where they grow all the vegetables grown in Spain of which

we have been able to obtain seeds. I assure Your Caesarean Majesty that if they could but be given plants and seeds from Spain, and if Your Highness were pleased to command them to be sent to us, as I requested in my earlier report, there would in a very short time be a great abundance of produce, for these Indians are much given to cultivating the soil and planting orchards; and from this I am sure that Your Highness's Imperial Crown will derive no little profit, for it will be the cause of maintaining these parts, and Your Sacred Majesty shall have more revenues and dominions in them than in any which Your Highness now owns in the name of God, Our Lord. Your Highness may be certain therefore that I shall not be found wanting, but shall work toward this end with all my strength and capacity.[53]

After this city had been taken I immediately set about building a fortress in the water in a part of the city where the brigantines might be safely guarded and yet able to attack the whole city should the need arise, and so that I might command the entrance and exits to the city; and so it was done. It is constructed in such a manner that, although I have seen many arsenals and forts, I have seen none to equal it; and many who have seen more than I agree with me. The fashion in which it is built is that the part which lies toward the lake has two very strong towers with embrasures where necessary. Both of these towers jut out beyond the curtain wall and are connected to it by a wall also with embrasures. Extending back from these two towers is a building of three naves, where the brigantines are kept, with gates, between the two towers, opening onto the lake. This building is likewise provided with embrasures, and at the end facing the city is another very large tower with many rooms up and down for defending or attacking the city. I am sending Your Holy Majesty a plan of it so that this may be more clearly understood, and shall, therefore, particularize no further, but, so long as we hold it and keep there as many ships and guns as we now have, it lies with us to decide whether there is peace or war.[54]

Once this building was completed I considered that we were

now secure enough to carry out my plan, which was to settle inside the city, and so I moved in with all my people, and the building sites were distributed among the settlers. In the name of Your Royal Highness I gave to each of those who had taken part in the conquest an additional plot in payment for their labors, as well as the one to which they were entitled as settlers who have to give service according to the order of these parts. They have worked so rapidly that many of the settlers' houses are already finished and others well under way. And because there is an abundance of stone, lime, wood and of the bricks which the natives make, they are such fine and large houses that Your Sacred Majesty may be certain that in five years this city will be the most noble and populous in the known world, and it will have the finest buildings.

The district where the Spaniards have built is separate from that of the natives and divided from it by a stretch of water, although there are wooden bridges on all the roads joining the two districts.[55] There are two large native markets, one in their quarter and one among the Spaniards, where every kind of food found in the land may be bought, for they come from all over the country to sell it.[56] There is now no scarcity of anything there used to be in the days of the city's prosperity. It is true, however, that there are now no gold or silver ornaments, no featherwork nor any rich thing as there used to be; a few small pieces of gold and silver may sometimes be found, but not as before.

Owing to the differences which Diego Velázquez has had with me, and the ill will which he has induced against me in Juan de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, on whose orders all the officials of the Casa de la Contratación in Seville acted, especially Juan López de Recalde, the contador, on whom all depended in the bishop's time, I have been denied the arms and artillery which I required, although I sent the money for them many times. Yet, since nothing so sharpens a man's wits as necessity, and since my need was so extreme and there was no hope of improvement, for they would not permit Your Holy Majesty to be informed, I sought a means

whereby I might prevent the loss of all that had been won by such hardships and danger, for such a loss would have been a grave disservice to Our Lord God and to Your Caesarean Majesty, and would have placed us all in great peril. So I hastened to find copper in some of the provinces in these parts, and offered a good price so that it might be found the sooner. As soon as a sufficient quantity was brought to me I set a gunsmith, who was fortunately found here, to make two medium-sized culverins, which turned out so well that for their size there could be none better. Besides the copper, however, I needed tin, for they could not be made without it, and for making the culverins I had acquired some with extreme difficulty, by buying at great expense all the plates and other articles made of it which I could find, but no more was to be had at any price. I began, therefore, to enquire throughout the land if there was any to be found, and it so pleased Our Lord, who has always troubled to provide us with what we require in the greatest difficulties, that I found among the natives of a province called Tachco a few small pieces of it like very thin coins, and, continuing my investigation, I discovered that in the aforementioned province, and in others, too, it was indeed used as money;[57] and finally I learnt that it was mined in the same province of Tachco, which is twenty-six leagues from this city. Once I had learnt the whereabouts of these mines, I sent some Spaniards there with tools and they brought me samples of it. I ordered them to extract from then on all that was necessary and this they will continue to do, although with some difficulty. While searching for these metals a supply of iron was found, in large quantities, according to what I was told by those who claim to know about these things.

Since finding this tin I have been making daily, and continue to make, a few guns; so far five pieces have been completed: two medium-sized culverins, two slightly smaller ones, and a serpentine. I also have two sakers which I brought with me when I came first, and another medium-sized culverin, which I purchased from the property of the adelantado Juan Ponce de León.[58] From the ships

which have arrived, I have in all thirty-five pieces of bronze both large and small from falconets upwards, and in cast iron some seventy pieces, lombards, small-bore culverins and other cannon.[59] Thus, praised be Our Lord, we are now able to defend ourselves. As to munitions, God likewise provided for us, for we found so much saltpeter and of such good quality that it sufficed for other needs as well, for we had vessels in which to bake it, although much was used in our many expeditions. As for the sulphur, I have already written to Your Majesty about a mountain in this province from which much smoke arises. A Spaniard descended into the mouth of it some seventy or eighty fathoms on the end of a rope and brought some out which has lasted until now.[60] But in future we will not have to go to such trouble—for it is dangerous—because I shall always write to Spain for it, now Your Majesty has been pleased that no bishop shall prevent it reaching us.

Having established peace in the town of Santisteban, which was founded by the Pánuco River, and having brought to an end the conquest of the province of Tututepeque, and dispatched the captain who went to Impilcingo and Colimán, all of which I mentioned in the previous chapters, and before coming to this city, I went to the town of Vera Cruz and to that of Medellín, to visit them and to provide for certain things which were required in those ports. I discovered that because there is no Spanish settlement closer to the port of San Juan de Chalchiquecan than the town of Vera Cruz, all the ships went there to unload, since San Juan is not very safe and many ships were lost on account of the north winds which blow along that coast.

I went, therefore, to the aforementioned port of San Juan to look for a place close by where I might found a town; but despite our efforts at that time we could find nothing save hills of drifting sand. At last, however, after some while we came across a good site two leagues from that port, with all that was required for building a town; there is an abundance of wood and water and grazing land, although there is no timber or stone, nor any other building mate-

rial that is not a long way from there. An inlet was discovered near this place, up which I sent a canoe to find out if it joined the sea, and if the open boats would be able to row up it to the town. It was found to lead to a river which flowed into the sea; and at the mouth of the river the water was found to be a fathom or more in depth, so that by clearing the inlet, for at the moment it is blocked with tree trunks, the boats might come right up to the houses in the town to unload. Seeing how well placed this site was and the great need to ensure the safety of the ships, I ordered the town of Medellín, which lay twenty leagues inland in the province of Tatalptetelco, to be moved there; and so it was done. Nearly all the settlers have already moved and have built their houses there, and orders have been given to clear the inlet and to build in that town a customs-house. Thus, although the ships take some time to unload, for their cargo has to be conveyed two leagues upstream by boat, they now have a safe anchorage. I am certain that the town will become, after this city, the best in New Spain, for already some ships have unloaded there and their merchandise has been carried in the boats, and even in some brigantines, up to the town. In future the ships will be safe, for the port is a good one and I am working to arrange matters so that they may unload without difficulty. Likewise the roads between that town and this city are being made with all haste, so that the merchandise will be more speedily delivered, because it is a better road and will cut the journey by a day.[61]

Most Powerful Lord, in past chapters I have told Your Highness to what places I have sent expeditions both by land and sea, in the belief that, guided by Our Lord, they will prove of great service to Your Majesty; and as I always take care to think of every possible means whereby I may fulfill my desire to advance the Royal service of Your Majesty, I saw that nothing now remained save to investigate the unexplored coast between the Pánuco River and the coast of Florida, which was discovered by the adelantado Juan Ponce de León, and from there to continue up this same Florida coast northwards to Los Bacallaos, for it is believed that there is

on that coast a strait leading to the Southern Sea. If it is found, it will, according to a chart I have, come out very close to the archipelago which Magellan discovered by Your Highness's command. And if Our Lord God be pleased that we find this strait, it will prove a very good and very short route from the Spice Islands to Your Majesty's realms, for it will be two-thirds shorter than the one now sailed, and will be without hazard or peril for the ships, for they will always come and go through the realms and dominions of Your Majesty, so that whenever they are in need they may repair without fear or danger to one of Your Highness's ports.[62]

I have considered the great service which such an undertaking would render to Your Majesty, although I am penniless and heavily in debt, on account of what I owe and have spent on the expeditions I have sent by land and sea, and through the cost of supplying all the munitions and artillery in this city and elsewhere, and many other expenses which occur each day; for I provide everything at my own expense, and all the things which we require are so dear and at such excessive prices that, although the land is rich, the profit I may gain from it does not suffice to cover the great outlays that I have. Yet with regard to all that I have said in this chapter, setting aside all my personal difficulties, and though I assure Your Majesty that I have had to borrow all the money for it, I have determined to send three caravels and two brigantines in this quest (although I believe it will cost me more than ten thousand *pesos de oro*) and add this service to the others I have performed. For I hold this to be the most important of them if, as I say, the strait is found, and, even if it is not, many great and rich lands must surely be discovered, where Your Caesarean Majesty may be served and the realms and dominions of Your Royal Crown much increased. Should there, however, prove to be no such strait, then it will be most useful for Your Highness that it be known, for some other means may be found for Your Caesarean Majesty to benefit from the Spice Islands and all the others which are adjacent to them. In this I offer myself to Your Highness's service and will be

greatly pleased if Your Majesty choose to command me, in default of that strait, to find some such means whereby Your Majesty would be well served and at less cost. May Our Lord grant, however, that the fleet succeed in its purpose, which is to discover the strait, because that would be best; and I am sure it will, because nothing can eclipse Your Majesty's Royal good fortune, and diligence, careful preparation and determination will not be found wanting on my part to carry it out.

Likewise I intend to send the vessels which I have built on the Southern Sea. If Our Lord so wishes these will sail at the end of July of this year, 1524, down the same coast in search of that strait, for, if it exists, it cannot escape those who go by the Southern Sea and those who go by the Northern, because those who go in the south will follow the coast until they find it or reach the land discovered by Magellan, and the others on the north until, as I have said, they reach Los Bacallaos. Thus on the one coast or the other they cannot fail to discover it. I assure Your Majesty that according to the information I have received of lands up the coast of the Southern Sea, I would have profited considerably, and served Your Majesty too, by sending these ships there, but as I have been told of the great desire which Your Majesty has to discover this strait and the great service which its discovery would render to Your Royal Crown, I lay aside all those other interests and advantages, of which I have heard many tales, in order to follow this course. May Our Lord guide it as He wills, and may Your Majesty's desire be satisfied, and likewise my desire to serve.

The officials[63] that Your Majesty sent to take charge of Your Royal revenues and property have arrived and have begun to audit the accounts with those who previously had this charge, and whom I had appointed in Your Highness's name. As these officials will send Your Majesty an account of all the provisions which have been made until now, I will make no detailed report of them, but refer myself to their account, which I believe will demonstrate to Your Highness the vigilance and solicitude that I have shown in

everything touching Your Royal service. And although I have been greatly occupied in the wars and the pacification of this land, as their outcome clearly shows, I have not for all that neglected to take special care to preserve and collect all that has been possible of what belongs to Your Majesty.

From the account which the aforementioned officials are sending to Your Caesarean Majesty it will appear, and Your Majesty will see, that I have spent some 62,000 *pesos de oro* of Your Royal revenues on the pacification of these parts and the expansion of the dominions that Your Caesarean Majesty holds in them. It is well that Your Highness should know that I could not do otherwise, for I only began to spend them after I had nothing left of my own to spend and was even in debt by more than thirty thousand *pesos de oro* which I borrowed from several people. As there was nothing else to be done, and I could not otherwise meet the requirements of Your Highness's Royal service and of my desire, I was obliged to spend it; but I do not believe that the profit it has yielded and will yield can be less than a thousand per cent. Although Your Highness's officials are agreed that it was spent in Your Majesty's service, they will not enter it in the accounts because they say they have neither the commission nor the authority to do this. I therefore beseech Your Majesty, if it seems well spent, to order it to be entered in the accounts and also to command that I be refunded some fifty thousand *pesos de oro* which I have spent out of my estate and have borrowed from friends, for if this is not returned to me I shall be unable to repay my creditors and will find myself in great need. I cannot think that Your Catholic Majesty will permit this, but, rather, in addition to paying me, will grant me many great favors; for besides the fact that Your Highness is so Catholic and so Christian a Prince, my services, for their part, are not undeserving of it, as their fruits will bear witness.

From these officials and from other persons in their company and also from letters written to me from Spain, I have learnt that the things which I sent Your Caesarean Majesty with Antonio

de Quiñones and Alonso de Ávila, representatives of New Spain, never reached Your Royal presence, because they were seized by the French, on account of the insufficient protection which the Casa de la Contratación in Seville sent to accompany them from the Azores.[64] I was much grieved at their loss, for they were all so rich and strange that I greatly desired Your Majesty to see them, for, besides the benefit which Your Highness would have gained from them, my services would be more manifest. I am not altogether sorry, however, that they were lost, for Your Majesty would have had little need of them, and I shall endeavor to send others, richer and more wonderful, according to the news that I have of some provinces which I have lately sent to conquer, and others to which I will send as soon as I have the men. Moreover, the French, and other rulers to whom those things will become known, will see thereby the reason why they must subject themselves to the Imperial Crown of Your Caesarean Majesty, for, in addition to the many great realms and dominions which Your Highness has in those parts, I, the least of Your vassals, am able to perform so many and such great services in respect of these several and distant lands. For the first of my offerings, I now send with Diego de Soto, a servant of mine, certain small things which, although they were rejected before as being unworthy to accompany the others, have some value, and also some which I have acquired since then. With these I am also sending a culverin cast from twenty-four hundredweight and fifty pounds of silver, and I also believe there was some gold in it, for it had to be cast twice. It was very costly, for the metal was worth 24,500 *pesos de oro* at five *pesos* a mark; and there were other expenses, such as the casting, engraving and the transport to the harbor, which cost me another three thousand *pesos de oro*.[65] But as it was a rich and magnificent sight, and worthy to go before so High and Excellent a Prince, I determined to finish it and spend the money. I beseech Your Caesarean Majesty to accept my small service, bearing in account the extent of my wish to do still greater

ones if fortune permits. For although I am in debt, as I have mentioned to Your Highness above, I was willing to contract further debts, in the desire that Your Majesty might know of my great desire to serve, because I have had the ill fortune to be so opposed before Your Highness that I have been denied the opportunity to demonstrate this desire.

Likewise I am sending to Your Sacred Majesty sixty thousand *pesos de oro* belonging to Your Royal revenues, as Your Highness will see from the accounts which the officials and I are sending; and we venture to send such a sum all together at one time both because of the great need we here feel that Your Majesty must have of it, on account of the wars and other things, and so that Your Majesty should not be too sorry at the past loss. Henceforth I shall send all I am able to acquire at every opportunity, and Your Sacred Majesty may be assured that as things are developing at present, and Your Highness's realms and dominions are extended, You will draw from them surer revenues and at less expense than from any of Your other realms, provided we are not further hindered by disturbances such as have arisen in the past. I say this because two days ago there arrived at the port of San Juan, Gonzalo de Salazar, Your Highness's factor, who told me that he had heard, while he had put in at the island of Cuba, that Diego Velázquez, the admiral's lieutenant there, had reached an understanding with the captain Cristóbal de Olid, whom I, in Your Majesty's name, had sent to Las Hibueras, that he would rebel and seize the land for Diego Velázquez. This seemed such an ugly business and such a great disservice to Your Majesty that I can scarcely believe it; on the other hand, knowing the cunning which Diego Velázquez has always practiced against me to harm me and hinder my services, I do believe it. For when he can do nothing else, he tries to prevent men from coming to these parts, and, as he rules in that island, he seizes all those who go from here to Cuba and oppresses them, robbing them of much of what they own and afterwards bargaining with them for their

freedom, so that they, to be rid of him, do and say whatever he wishes. I shall discover the truth, and if it is so then I am of a mind to send for the aforementioned Diego Velázquez and arrest him and send him to Your Majesty; for by cutting out the root of all these evils, which he is, all the branches will wither and I may more freely carry out those services which I have begun and those which I am planning.[66]

Each time I have written to Your Sacred Majesty I have told Your Highness of the readiness displayed by some of the natives of these parts to be converted to Our Holy Catholic Faith and to become Christians; and for this purpose I have begged Your Caesarean Majesty to send religious persons of a goodly life and character. Until now, however, very few—I may say hardly any—have arrived, and because it is certain that they would reap great profit, I would once again remind Your Highness and beseech You to send them with all haste, because Our Lord God will be greatly served thereby, and the desire which Your Highness, as a Catholic, has in this matter shall be fulfilled.[67] The representatives, Antonio de Quiñones and Alonso de Ávila, the municipal councils of the towns of this New Spain and I sent to Your Majesty asking You to provide us with bishops or other dignitaries to administer the divine offices, because at that time it seemed to us the best way; but now, considering the matter more fully, it appears to me that Your Holy Majesty should provide other means whereby the natives of these parts may be more speedily converted and instructed in Our Holy Catholic Faith. And it seems to me that the manner in which this should be done is that Your Holy Majesty should send to these parts many religious persons, as I have already said, who would be most zealous in the conversion of these people, and that they should build houses and monasteries in the provinces which we think most appropriate; they should receive some of the tithes for the construction of their houses and their sustenance, the rest being set aside for churches and their ornaments in the towns where Spaniards are settled, and

for their clergy. These tithes should be collected by Your Majesty's officials, who should keep account of them and distribute them to these monasteries and churches; this sum will be more than sufficient so that Your Majesty may benefit from the remainder.

I therefore ask Your Highness to beseech His Holiness to concede to Your Majesty the tithes for this purpose, informing him of the great service that will be rendered to Our Lord God by the conversion of these people and telling him that this cannot be achieved by any other means. Because if we have bishops and other dignitaries, they will only follow the customs which, for our sins, they pursue these days, of squandering the goods of the Church on pomp and ceremony, and other vices, and leaving entailed estates to their sons or kinsmen. And the evil here would be still greater, for the natives of these parts had in their time religious persons administering their rites and ceremonies who were so severe in the observance of both chastity and honesty that if any one of them was held by anyone to have transgressed he was put to death. If these people were now to see the affairs of the Church and the service of God in the hands of canons or other dignitaries, and saw them indulge in the vices and profanities now common in Spain, knowing that such men were the ministers of God, it would bring our Faith into much contempt, and they would hold it a mockery; this would cause such harm that I believe any further preaching would be of no avail. Seeing that so much depends on this, and that Your Majesty's prime intent is, and should be, to see these people converted, which intent we who reside here in Your Royal name must diligently pursue, and, as Christians, we must have particular care of these people, I have sought to advise Your Caesarean Majesty of this, and have offered my opinion, which I beseech Your Highness to accept, as coming from one of Your subjects and vassals, who has worked and will work with all his bodily powers to extend Your Majesty's realms and dominions in these parts, and to publish Your Royal fame and great power among these people, and likewise desires and

will labor in spirit that Your Highness may command Our Holy Faith to be sown amongst them, earning thereby the blessing of everlasting life.

As we have no bishop for the conferment of holy orders and the consecration of churches, ornaments, holy oil, water and other things, and it would be difficult to send for them elsewhere, Your Majesty should likewise beseech His Holiness to grant these powers to the two principal persons in the religious orders that are to come here, and that they should be his delegates, one from the Order of St. Francis and the other from the Order of St. Dominic.[68] They should bring the most extensive powers Your Majesty is able to obtain, for, because these lands are so far from the Church of Rome, and we, the Christians who now reside here and shall do so in the future, are so far from the proper remedies of our consciences and, as we are human, so subject to sin, it is essential that His Holiness should be generous with us and grant to these persons most extensive powers, to be handed down to persons actually in residence here whether it be given to the general of each order or to his provincials.

The collection of tithes in these parts has been leased out in some of the towns and in others is under offer. They commence from the year 1523, because it did not seem to me that they should be levied before, as they were insignificant in themselves, and because at that time all those who had any produce, as it was in time of war, spent more on keeping it than the profits they gained therefrom. Whatever else Your Majesty may command will be done as You so please.

The tithes for this city between the years of 1523 and 1524 amount to 5,550 *pesos de oro*, and the towns of Medellín and Vera Cruz are expected to bring in some thousand *pesos de oro;* but their collection has not yet been auctioned, and I hope that there will be even more. I do not know what the estimates are in the other towns because, as they are far away, I have had no reply from them yet. The money will be used to build churches, pay the clergy

and the sacristans, purchase ornaments and provide for all other such expenses. Your Majesty's contador and treasurer will keep the accounts, for everything will be handed over to the treasurer and nothing spent without an order of payment from the contador and myself.

Most Catholic Lord, I have been informed by the ships which have recently arrived from the Islands that the judges and officials of Your Majesty who reside in Hispaniola have ordered, and have had it publicly announced there and in all the other Islands, that no mares or any other breeding animals may be shipped to New Spain under pain of death. This they have done, so that we shall always have to buy our horses and cattle from them, for which they charge excessive prices. This they should not do, because it is notorious what great disservice is done to Your Majesty in preventing this land from being pacified and settled; they know themselves that we need these animals which they deny us to preserve what we have gained and to gain more; and, furthermore, because those Islands have received much enrichment and many advantages from New Spain. I therefore beseech Your Majesty to send a Royal warrant to the Islands granting to all who wish to export animals from them the right to do so without fear of punishment, for not only do they have no need of what they deny us, but Your Majesty is ill-served by it, because we here shall be able to make no new conquests nor even hold what we have already conquered. I might have gotten back at them for this in such a way that they would have been glad to revoke their mandates, by publishing one myself that nothing sent from the Islands except the animals they deny us might be unloaded in this land; they would then be glad to allow them to be exported in order to receive the imports, for their only means of supply is by trading with this land. Before such trading began there was not a thousand *pesos de oro* between all the settlers of the Islands, and now they have more than they have ever had in their lives. Yet in order to give no further opportunity to the tongues of those who have slandered me already, I

have refrained from such action until Your Majesty be informed, so that Your Highness may provide as most benefits Your Royal service.

I have also informed Your Caesarean Majesty of the need we have of plants of every sort, for this land is well suited to all kinds of agriculture. And because until now nothing has been sent, I once again beseech Your Majesty, as it will be a great service, to send a warrant to the Casa de la Contratación in Seville that every ship shall bring a certain number of plants and shall be forbidden to sail without them, for they would be most advantageous for the colonization and prosperity of this land.

As it is my duty to make the best arrangements I am able for the colonization of this land, and so that the natives and the Spanish settlers may maintain themselves and prosper, and Our Holy Catholic Faith take root; and as Your Majesty graciously entrusted me with these matters, and Our Lord God was pleased to provide the means by which I might come to the notice of Your Majesty and under Your Highness's Imperial Yoke, I issued certain ordinances[69] which I had publicly announced, of which, as I am sending a copy of them to Your Majesty, I shall say nothing, but that by all I have seen up until now it would be most expedient for these ordinances to be obeyed. Some of the Spaniards who reside in these parts are not entirely satisfied with some of them, especially those which oblige them to settle on the land, for most of them expect to do with these lands as was done in the Islands when they were colonized, that is, to harvest, destroy and then abandon them. And because it seems to me that it would be unpardonable for those of us who have had experience in the past not to do better for the present and the future, by taking measures against those things which are well known to have caused the ruin of the Islands, especially, as I have written to Your Majesty many times, because this land is of such magnificence and nobility, that God, Our Lord, may be so well served, and Your Majesty's Royal revenues much increased, I beseech Your Majesty to have these ordinances examined and, if it

so pleases Your Highness, to command me as to what principle I am to follow in the enforcement of these ordinances, and also as to which are of most service to Your Majesty. I shall always take care to add whatever seems to me most fitting, for the great size and diversity of the lands which are being discovered each day and the many new things which we have learnt from these discoveries make it necessary that for new circumstances there be new consideration and decisions; should it appear in anything I now say or might in future say to Your Majesty that I contradict what I have said in the past, Your Highness may be assured that it is because a new fact elicits a new opinion.

Most Invincible Caesar, may Our Lord God watch over the Imperial Person of Your Majesty, and may He keep and preserve You in His Holy service for very many years, with the increase of greater realms and dominions and whatever else Your Majesty may desire. From the great city of Temixtitan in New Spain on the fifteenth day of October in the year 1524. From Your Sacred Majesty's most humble servant and vassal who kisses the Royal feet and hands of Your Majesty—HERNANDO CORTÉS.[70]

The Fifth Letter

SACRED CATHOLIC AND CAESAREAN MAJESTY:

On the twenty-third day of the month of October of last year, 1525, I dispatched a vessel to Hispaniola from the town of Trujillo, which is the port at the cape of Honduras, and with a servant of mine who went in her, as she had orders to sail to the Kingdom of Spain, I wrote to Your Majesty[1] concerning certain events which took place in that gulf they call Las Hibueras,[2] between the two captains[3] whom I had sent there and another called Gil González, and also about my own arrival there later. And I was unable, at the time when I dispatched the aforementioned ship and my messenger, to give Your Majesty any account of my journey and of the things which befell me from the time I left this great city of Temixtitan until I met with the people of those parts, and they are things that Your Highness should know about; if only to persist in my custom of faithfully informing Your Majesty of all my deeds, I shall therefore relate these events briefly, as best I am able, for were I to attempt to describe them exactly as they happened I am certain that I would prove unequal to the task and that my narrative would not be understood; consequently, I will relate only the principal and most notable things which befell me on that journey, although of many that I shall omit as unimportant, any one would provide material for a lengthy account.

Having taken measures concerning Cristóbal de Olid, as I

informed Your Majesty, it seemed to me that I had for a long time now lain idle and attempted no new thing in Your Majesty's service on account of the wound in my arm; and although that was not yet healed, I determined to engage in some undertaking, and so I departed from this great city of Temixtitan on the twelfth day of October of the year 1524[4] with a few horsemen and foot soldiers, men of my own household and my friends and relations; and with them came Gonzalo de Salazar and Peralmíndez Chirinos, factor and veedor for Your Majesty.[5] Likewise I took with me all the principal natives[6] of this land and left the care of justice and government to Your Majesty's treasurer and contador, and also to the licenciado Alonso de Zuazo. I left in the city all the necessary artillery, munitions and soldiers; I likewise had the fortress provided with cannon and the brigantines made ready. I also appointed a warden to defend the city and to take the offensive against anyone as he so desired.[7]

With this intent I set out from the city of Temixtitan and reached the town of Espíritu Santo, which lies in the province of Cazacoalco,[8] 110 leagues from this city. And whilst settling certain matters in the town I sent to the provinces of Tabasco and Xicalango[9] to inform their lords of my journey to those parts, commanding them to come and speak to me or to send such persons as should be able faithfully to transmit my orders so that I might give them their instructions. This they did, receiving my messengers with due honor and sending back with them seven or eight men of rank with the authority such as they are accustomed to send at such times. While asking them about certain things I wished to know concerning the land, they told me that on the coast, beyond that land which is called Yucatán, toward the bay named Asunción,[10] there were certain Spaniards who did them much harm, for besides burning many villages and killing some of the inhabitants, as a result of which many of them had abandoned those places and fled to the hills, they had most severely harmed the merchants and traders; for, because of them the trade which had once flourished along that coast had now ceased. As eyewitnesses they gave me an account of

almost all the villages on that coast as far as the place where Your Majesty's governor Pedrarias de Ávila resides.[11]

They drew on a cloth a map of the whole country[12] from which it seemed that I would be able to cover the greater part of it, especially the place where they indicated that I might find the Spaniards. Having thus received such welcome news about the road I was to take to accomplish my aims and bring the inhabitants of those lands to the understanding of Our Holy Faith and Your Majesty's service, and seeing that I must needs, on so long a journey, make my way through many diverse provinces and peoples; eager furthermore to discover if those Spaniards were some of those I had sent under the captains Cristóbal de Olid or Pedro de Alvarado or Francisco de las Casas; and to settle these matters aright, it seemed to me that it would benefit Your Majesty's service if I were to go there myself, for I would see and discover many lands and provinces hitherto unknown and might be able to pacify many of them, as indeed was afterwards done. Having therefore foreseen the benefits that would accrue from my journey and ignoring all the hardships, dangers and expenses which then presented themselves or might be imagined, I determined to proceed along that road as I had indeed intended to do before leaving this city.[13]

Before reaching the town of Espíritu Santo, I had, on two or three stops along the route, received letters from Temixtitan sent by those whom I had appointed as my lieutenants as well as from other persons; likewise Your Majesty's officials who were in my company also received some. These letters informed me that between the treasurer and contador there was not that accord necessary for the execution of those offices and duties with which I, in Your Majesty's name, had entrusted them. I had dealt with this matter as I deemed fit, which was to write them most stern letters reproving them for their conduct and warning them that if they did

19. Title page of the manuscript copy of Letter V in the J‹ Carter Brown Library, call number Codex Sp. 15. *Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library, Duke University.*

Siguese la sesta relacion que el dho capitan general Fernando cortes escribio a su magestad quando entro mas de seys cientas leguas dela cibdad de temixtitan por la tierra adentro a donde sufrio grandes trabajos y se puso a grandes peligros y se dixo ser muerto y le saquearon su casa en temixtitan.

S. C. C. M.

Parrafo primero

A veynte y tres dias del mes de otubre del año pasado de mil e quinientos e veynte e cinco despache por un navio para la ysla española desde la villa de truxillo del puerto y cabo de honduras con un criado mio que en el enbie a essos reynos con que hiziese saber a v. magestad algunas cosas de las que en aquel que llaman golfo de las hibueras avian pasado ansi entre los capitanes que yo enbie y el capitan gil gonçalez como despues que yo vine. Y por que al tiempo que despache el dicho navio el mensajero no pude hazer a v. magestad relacion de mi camino y de cosas que en el me acaescieron desde que parti desta gran cibdad de temixtitan hasta topar con las gentes de aquellas partes me parescio que es bien que v. m. al sitio las sepa siquiera por no perder yo el estilo que tengo que es no dexar cosa que a v. magestad no manifieste las relaciones en suma como mejor yo pudiere por que dezirlas como pasaron ni yo las sabria significar ni por lo que yo dixese alla se podrian comprehender pero dire las cosas notables y mas principales que en el dicho camino me acaescieron aunque antes que seran por accesorias que cada una dellas podria ser materia de cargo historia.

Segundo

Dada orden para enviar a cristoval de olid como a v. m. te escrivi por que me parescia que ya avia mucho tiempo que mi persona

not make their peace and from thenceforth behave very differently, I would take measures which would please neither of them and even report the affair to Your Majesty. After this, while still in the town of Espíritu Santo, preparing to embark on my journey, I received further letters from them and from others as well, from which I learnt how their disputes still persisted and indeed were aggravated, and that once in council they had drawn swords against each other, which had caused such a scandal and uproar that not only had the Spaniards taken up arms and split into factions, but the natives of the city had also been about to take up arms, saying that this disturbance was directed against them. Seeing, therefore, that my threats and warnings were of no avail, and that I could not go myself unless I abandoned my journey, it seemed to me that the best remedy was to send the factor and veedor who were with me at that time; I gave them powers equal to those held by the treasurer and contador, so that they should discover who was guilty and restore order. In addition to this, I gave them secret orders[14] whereby they might, if reason failed, suspend them from office, and conjointly with the licenciado Alonso de Zuazo govern in their stead, and punish the guilty. When this had been arranged the aforementioned factor and veedor departed, and I was quite certain that their arrival in the city would be effective and would soon finally settle those disputes; and with this my mind was somewhat put at ease.

When they had left for Temixtitan I mustered the men left to me for my journey; and I counted ninety-three horsemen, who had between them some 150 horses, and some thirty foot soldiers.[15] At that time there was a large caravel anchored in the harbor which had been sent to me from the town of Medellín with supplies; this I now loaded with the supplies I had brought and four pieces of artillery, crossbows, harquebuses and other munitions, and told them to proceed to the Tabasco River and there await my orders. I then wrote to a servant of mine who lives in the town of Medellín, telling him to load two large caravels and a large boat with provisions

and to send them to me. I also wrote to Rodrigo de Paz, in whose charge I had left my house and property in this city, asking him to try to send immediately five or six thousand pesos de oro with which to purchase these supplies; and I even wrote to the treasurer asking him to lend me the sum, for I had no money left. Thus everything was settled and the two caravels sailed, as I had commanded, to the Tabasco River, although they were not much use, for my road lay inland, and to send for the provisions and other things from the coast was most difficult, for very extensive marshes lay in between.

Having thus arranged for those provisions to be sent by sea, I set out by a coast road to the province of Copilco,[16] which is some thirty-five leagues from the town of Espíritu Santo; to reach this province we crossed, besides many marshes and small rivers over all of which were bridges, three large rivers, one of which flowed by a town called Tumalán,[17] which is nine leagues from Espíritu Santo; another is called Agualulco[18] and is nine leagues further on; these two we crossed in canoes, the horses being led by the bridle and swimming across. The third,[19] however, was too wide for the horses to swim, and so, half a league inland from the sea, a wooden bridge was constructed, over which the horses and men passed, and it was a most noteworthy sight, for the river was 934 paces across.

This province of Copilco abounds in that fruit which is called cacao, and in other produce of the land, and there is much fishing. There are ten or twelve good towns—I mean provincial capitals—without counting the hamlets. The land is very low-lying, with so many marshes that in wintertime it is impossible to travel except by canoe, and although I passed through it in the dry season, in the course of the journey, which lasted some twenty leagues, I had to construct more than fifty bridges without which the people could not have crossed. The natives are mostly peaceful, although somewhat timorous on account of the few dealings they have had with the Spaniards. My arrival made them more confi-

dent, and they served with a goodwill not only me and the Spaniards in my company but also those with whom they were deposited.[20]

According to the map which the people of Tabasco and Xicalango had given me, I was to proceed from the province of Cupilcon to another called Zagoatan; but as the natives of Cupilcon travel only by water, they did not know which road I should take overland, although they indicated to me in which direction the aforementioned province lay. Thus I was obliged to send out some Spaniards and Indians to find a way, and once found to open it up for us for some very dense forests lay across our path. And it pleased Our Lord that they should find such a road, although with difficulty, for besides the mountains there were some very hazardous marshes over all or most of which we had to build bridges. Also, we had to cross a very fast-flowing river called the Guezalapa,[21] which is one of the tributaries that flow into the Tabasco River. From there I dispatched two Spaniards to the lords of Tabasco and Cunoapá, asking them to send up that river fifteen or twenty canoes laden with provisions from the caravels anchored there, and so as to help me cross the river. I requested them, moreover, to take the provisions to the principal town of Zagoatan,[22] which, it appeared, was twelve leagues upstream from that place where I crossed. And they did all this very well as I had asked them to do.

After having found a road to the Çalapa River which we had to cross, I set out from the last village in this province of Copilco, which is called Anaxuxuca,[23] and slept that night in a deserted place amongst some lakes. The following day I arrived early at the river but found no canoes with which to cross, as those which I had asked the lords of Tabasco to send had not arrived. I discovered that the scouts who had gone on ahead were opening a way upriver from the other side, for, as they had been informed that the river passed through the middle of the most important town in the aforementioned province of Zagoatan, they were following it so as not to lose their way. One of them had taken a canoe in order to reach

the town sooner and found the inhabitants greatly disturbed. He spoke to them through an interpreter, reassuring them somewhat, and then sent the canoe back downstream with some Indians to inform me of what had passed between him and the natives of that town and to say that he was coming back with some of them, opening a road along which I could travel until he met with those who were working from this end. This greatly pleased me not only because those people had been somewhat pacified but because the road which I had considered doubtful or at least dangerous was now assured. Then with that canoe and some wooden rafts which I had built I began to move the baggage across the river, which is fairly deep.[24] While thus occupied, the Spaniards whom I had sent to Tabasco returned with twenty canoes laden with provisions from the caravel which I had sent from Coazacoalco. They told me that the two other caravels and the boat had not arrived at Tabasco but were still in Coazacoalco and would come very shortly. In these canoes came some two hundred Indians from Tabasco and Cunoapá, and in those canoes we crossed the river without further risk save that one Negro slave was drowned, and we lost two loads of iron tools of which afterwards we stood in some need.

That night I slept on the other side of the river with all my people, and the next day followed on the trail of those who were opening the road upstream, with no guide but the bank of the river itself. We journeyed six leagues and slept that night in a forest, where it rained heavily. When it was already dark the Spaniard who had gone up the river as far as the town of Zagoatan returned with some seventy Indians from that town and told me how he had opened a road to one side but that in order to take it we had to retrace our steps two leagues.[25] This I did, although I ordered that those who were opening a road along the riverbank and who had already gone three leagues beyond the place where I had slept should continue; and a league and a half farther on they came upon the farms outside the town. In this manner two roads were opened where there was none before.

I followed the road which the natives had opened, and, although it was a difficult one on account of some marshes and the rain which fell heavily that day, I reached a quarter of the town which, although it was the smallest, was very fine and had more than two hundred houses in it.[26] We were unable to reach the other quarters because they were separated from us by rivers which ran between them and could only be crossed by swimming. They were all deserted, however, and when we arrived the Indians who had come with the Spaniard to see me had all fled, although I had spoken kindly to them and had given them some trifles which I had with me, thanking them for the trouble they had taken in opening the road for me. I had then told them that I had come to these parts by Your Majesty's commands to teach them that they must worship and believe in only one God, creator and maker of all things, and must acknowledge Your Highness as sovereign and lord of the land, and all those other things which they have to be told concerning this matter. I waited three or four days, believing they had fled in fear and would return and speak to me, but no one at all appeared. Thereupon, in order to speak with them, so I might bring them peaceably to Your Majesty's service and then discover from them which road I was to take, as there was not a single road to be found anywhere in the whole country nor any evidence to show that it had been trod by human feet, because the Indians travel only by canoes on account of those great rivers and marshes, I decided to send two companies of Spaniards and some of the natives of this city of Temixtitan and thereabouts, to seek out the natives of this province and to bring me some for the purposes above-mentioned.

Thus with those canoes which had come upriver from Tabasco, and with others which were found in the town, my men explored many of those rivers and marshes, for it was impossible to go on foot. But they encountered no more than two Indians and a few women, from whom I tried to discover the whereabouts of the lord and people of that land, but they told me nothing save that they had dispersed through the forests and through those marshes

and rivers. I also inquired of them about the road to the province of Chilapan,[27] which, according to my map, should have followed the same route, but they would not tell me, saying that they did not travel by land but by the rivers and marshes in their canoes, and therefore could reach that place by no other way. All they could do was to point to a range of mountains,[28] which appeared to be about ten leagues away, saying that the principal town of Chilapan stood near there on the banks of a very large river, which lower down flowed into that of Zagoatan and thence into the Tabasco. They said also that upstream there was another town called Ocumba,[29] but they were likewise unable to show me the way overland.

I stayed in that town twenty days searching incessantly for a road which led somewhere, but nowhere did I find one small or large; on the contrary, in whichever direction we went out round the town there were such extensive and dangerous marshes that it seemed impossible that we might ever cross them. Seeing, however, that we were very short of supplies, we entrusted ourselves to Our Lord and built a bridge over an impassable marsh. It was three hundred paces long and built of many timbers thirty-five or forty feet in length with others laid across them. And so we crossed and continued our search for that land in the direction in which they had told us the town of Chilapan stood. I also sent a company of horse with some crossbowmen in search of that other town of Ocumba. They found it that same day and reached it in two canoes and by swimming, but the inhabitants all fled, and they were able to capture only two men and some women, though they found many provisions and came out to meet me on the road with them. That night I slept in the open. And it pleased God that the land here was somewhat more open and dry and with many less marshes than before. The Indians who had been captured in Ocumba led us to Chilapan, which we reached very late the following day, and found it burnt and its inhabitants gone.

This town of Chilapan is most pleasantly situated and very large. There were many fruit trees of the kind which grow here

and many fields full of maize which, though not yet ripe, was of great help to us in our need. I remained in this town for two days, collecting provisions and making sorties to search for the inhabitants of the town and pacify them, and also to discover from them the road ahead, but we found no more than the two we captured when first entering the town. From these I learnt the road I had to take to Tepetitán, or Tamacastepeque, as it is also called.[30] And so, partly by guesswork and with no road to follow, they led us to that town, which we reached in two days. On the journey we crossed a very large river called Chilapan, from which that town takes its name. We crossed with great difficulty, for it was very wide and fast-flowing, and as we had no canoes everything was taken across on rafts. Another slave was drowned here, and the Spaniards lost much of their baggage.

After having crossed this river at a place a league and a half from the town of Chilapan, we traveled six or seven leagues to that of Tepetitán over many great marshes where the horses were in water never less than up to their knees, and often up to their ears. Over one that was especially bad we built a bridge, and two or three Spaniards were nearly drowned. After two days of these hardships we reached that town, which we likewise found deserted and burnt; this greatly increased our troubles. We found some fruit that grows there and some fields of green maize which was somewhat riper than in the last town. We also discovered in some of the burnt houses granaries of dried maize which, although there was little of it, was a great help to us in our extreme need.

In this town of Tepetitán, which stands close to the foothills of a great range of mountains, I remained six days, making some sorties into the countryside roundabout in the hope of finding some of the natives, so that I might speak to them and persuade them to return to their town, and also so I might discover the road ahead; but all we could find was one man and a few women. From these I learnt that the lord and the people of that town had been induced

by those of Zagoatán to burn their houses, and had fled to the forests. He said that he did not know the road to Ystapan,[31] which, according to my map, was where I had to go to next, for there was no overland route, but he would guide me roughly in the direction in which he knew it to be.

With this guide I dispatched some thirty horsemen and another thirty foot soldiers and commanded them to proceed until they reached that town and then to write me an account of the way, for I would not leave Tepetitán until I had received their letters. And so they left, but as two days went by without my receiving any letters or otherwise hearing from them, I was forced by the extreme need in which we found ourselves to leave and follow their trail, with no other guide; and it was by no means an easy task to follow the trail they had left through the marshes,[32] for I assure Your Majesty that even in the shallowest part of the marsh the horses sank in up to their girths, although they were not being ridden but led by the bridles. I proceeded in this fashion for two days, with no news of the people who had gone ahead and greatly perplexed as to what I should do, for it was impossible to turn back and yet I knew nothing of what lay ahead. However, it pleased God, who comes to succor us in our greatest afflictions, that, while we were resting in a field and greatly distressed thinking that we were all soon to perish utterly, two Indians, natives of Temixtitan, arrived with a letter from those Spaniards who had gone on ahead, in which they informed me how they had reached the town of Ystapan, and how on their arrival the Indians had sent their women and possessions across a great river[33] which ran close by there; the men had remained behind thinking that the Spaniards would be unable to cross a great marsh which lay outside the town. When they saw, however, that the men were swimming across holding on to the saddletrees of the horses, they set fire to the town and fled across the river in their many canoes or by swimming, many drowning in their haste. The Spaniards, however, crossed so swiftly that they

prevented the town from being completely destroyed and captured seven or eight persons, one of whom seemed to be a chieftain; these they were holding until I arrived.

I cannot describe to Your Majesty the joy caused among the men by the receipt of this letter, for, as I have said above, we had almost abandoned hope. The following day I continued on my way, and, guided now by the Indians who had brought the letter, I reached the town that evening, where I found the Spaniards who had gone on ahead in high spirits, because they had found much maize, though not yet ripe and *yucas* and *ajíes*,[34] which is what the natives of the islands live on and makes a fair meal. When I arrived I had those natives who had been captured brought before me, and asked them through the interpreter why they had all burnt down their own homes and towns and abandoned them, for I had done them no harm whatsoever but on the contrary had given gifts to those who waited behind for me. They replied that the lord of Zagoatan had come there in a canoe and had greatly frightened them, making them abandon and burn their town. I then had brought before that chieftain all those Indians, both men and women, who had been captured in Zagoatan, Chilapan and Tepetitán and told him how the lord of Zagoatan was an evil man and had deceived them; he had only to ask those before him to know that neither I nor any of my company had done them harm or ill-treated them. These then confirmed my report; and afterwards they all wept saying they had been deceived, and showing themselves most sorry for what they had done. To assure them further I permitted all the Indians whom I had brought from those other villages to return to their homes, and I gave them some small things, and letters for each village, which I told them to keep by them in these villages and show to the Spaniards who passed by there, for with them they would be safe. I also told them to inform their chieftains of the mistake they had made in burning and deserting their towns and homes; thenceforth they were not to do it again, for they might live there in safety, and no harm would be done them. With

this they departed very reassured and contented, and as this was done in the presence of the people of Ystapan, it greatly helped to assure them also.

After having done this, I spoke to that Indian who appeared to be a chieftain and told him that he had seen how I did no harm to anyone and that my coming to these parts was not to annoy them, but, on the contrary, to instruct them in many things concerning both the security of their persons and belongings and the salvation of their souls. I greatly entreated him, therefore, to send two or three of those who were there with him, to whom I would add as many natives of Temixtitan, to find the lord of that place and tell him that he need have no fear, but that rather he would gain much by his return. He replied that it would greatly please him to do so, and I dispatched them at once together with some Indians from Mexico. On the following morning the messengers returned with their chieftain and some forty followers, and he told me that he had deserted and burnt his town on the orders of the lord of Zagoatan, who, furthermore, had told him not to await my arrival because I would kill them all. But he had learnt from those messengers that he had been deceived and lied to, and he regretted what he had done and begged me to forgive him, promising thenceforth to do all that I told him. He then asked me to return to him certain women whom the Spaniards had taken when they were there, and I found some twenty and gave them to him with which he was most content.

It happened, however, that a Spaniard found an Indian of his company, a native of Mexico, eating a piece of flesh of the body of an Indian he had killed when entering that town, and this Spaniard came to tell me of it, and I had the Indian burnt in the presence of that lord, telling him that the reason for such a punishment, namely, that he had killed and eaten one of his fellow men, which was forbidden by Your Majesty, and which I, in Your Royal name, had required and commanded them not to do. And so I had had him burnt, for I wished to see no one killed, on the contrary, I had come

by Your Majesty's command to protect and defend both their persons and their property and to teach them how they were to believe in and worship the One God, who is in heaven, Maker and Creator of all things, and by whose will all living creatures are governed; and to turn aside from their idols and the rites which they had practiced hitherto, for they were all lies and deceits which the Devil, the enemy of mankind, had devised to snare them and lead them to eternal damnation, whereby they would suffer the most great and terrible torments, and to lead them away from the knowledge of God, so that they should not be saved nor enjoy the blessed glory which God has promised and set aside for those who believe in Him, and which the Devil himself had lost through pride and wickedness. Likewise I said I had come to tell them of Your Majesty whom Divine Providence has decreed that the whole world shall serve and obey; and that they also must submit and place themselves under the Imperial Yoke and to do all that we, Your Majesty's ministers in these parts, might command. If they did this, they would be very well treated and maintained in justice and their persons and property protected, but if not, I would take action against them and punish them in accordance with the law. I also told them many other things touching this matter but will not mention them to Your Majesty as they are very lengthy.

That lord was much delighted by all this and sent some of the people who had accompanied him to bring provisions. I gave him some small things from Spain, which he prized highly; and he remained in my company very contentedly all the time I was there. He ordered a road to be opened to another town that is five leagues upstream from this one and is called Tatahuitalpan;[35] and because a deep river crossed our route he had a very good bridge built by which we crossed, and he also had some dangerous marshes filled in. He likewise gave me three canoes in which I sent three Spaniards downriver to the Tabasco River (because this is one of its main tributaries), where the two caravels were awaiting my instructions. With these Spaniards I sent orders that they should proceed along

the coast, doubling the cape which is called Yucatán, until they reached the bay of Asunción, where they would find me or receive further instructions. I also told the Spaniards to use their three canoes and all the others they could find in Tabasco and Xicalango to bring all the provisions they would hold up a waterway[36] to the province of Acalan, some forty leagues from this town of Yzatpan, where I would wait for them.

When these Spaniards had gone and the road was completed I asked the lord of Yztapan to give me three or four more canoes, to convey half a dozen Spaniards, together with a chieftain and some of his own people, up the river, to reassure the villages and prevent the inhabitants from abandoning and setting fire to them. This he did with every appearance of goodwill, and the result was most beneficial, for they quietened the natives of four or five villages up the river, as I will hereafter relate to Your Majesty.

This town of Yztapan is a very large one, standing on the banks of a very beautiful river. It is a very suitable site for Spaniards to settle: it has excellent grazing land along the riverbank; it also has very good arable land, and the countryside roundabout is good and inhabited.

Having remained in this town of Ystapan [*sic*] for eight days and attended to the matters mentioned in the previous chapters, I departed, and reached the village of Tatahuitalpan—which is a small one—that same day; I found that it had been burnt and abandoned. I arrived before the Spaniards who had gone in the canoe because they had been delayed by the currents and the great bends in the river. When they did arrive I sent them across to the far bank with some men, to search for the inhabitants of that town and to reassure them as had been done before. About half a league from the river they came across some twenty men in a house containing idols which were highly decorated. These men were then brought before me, and from them I learnt that all the people had fled in terror, leaving them behind to die with their gods, for they had no wish to flee. While we were thus discoursing, certain of our Indians

passed by carrying things they had taken from those idols; and when the villagers saw this they cried that their gods were dead. On hearing this, I spoke to them telling them to observe how vain and foolish was their belief, for they placed their trust in idols which could not even defend themselves and were so easily overthrown.

They replied that they had been brought up in that belief by their fathers, and that they would persist in it until they knew of something better. I had not the time to tell them anything more than what I had told the people of Yztapan, but two Franciscan friars[37] in my company told them many things concerning this matter. I asked that some of them should go and find the people and the lord of the town and reassure them. The lord of Yztapan likewise spoke to them, telling them how well I had treated both him and his people. Whereupon they pointed to one of their number, saying that he was their lord. This man then dispatched two of them to command the villagers to return, which they never did.

Seeing that they were not coming, I asked the man they had called their lord to show me the road to Zaguatecpan,[38] which lay upstream and through which, according to my map, I had next to pass. He said that they knew of no road by land, for they only traveled by water. They would nevertheless show me the direction through the forests, although they could not be certain of it. I asked them to show me the situation in which the town stood, and noted it as best I could. I then sent the Spaniards who were in the canoes, together with the lord of Yztapan, upriver to Zaguatecpan. There they were to reassure the people of that town as well as those of another called Ozumazintlan,[39] which they would reach first. If I arrived first, I would wait for them; but if not, they should wait for me.

When they had left I set out overland with those guides. On leaving the town, we came across a great marsh which lasted for half a league or more, and our Indian friends laid down quantities of branches and reeds over which we passed. After this we reached a deep stretch of water over which we had to construct a bridge for

transporting the luggage and the horses' saddles; the horses themselves swam across. When we had crossed this we came to another which was part marsh and lasted for a good league, where the horses sank in up to their knees and often to the girths; but as the ground underneath was fairly firm we crossed without accident and soon reached the forest. Here we spent two days opening a road in the direction indicated by the guides, until at last they declared they were lost and did not know where to go. This forest was so dense that we could only see a pace in front of us or, looking up, the clear sky above us; and so thick and high were the trees that even those who climbed them could not see even a stone's throw distant.

When the people who had gone ahead with the guides to open a road informed me that they had lost their way, I ordered them to stop while I went ahead to them on foot; and when I saw how lost they were I ordered them to return to a small marsh we had passed on our journey and where, on account of the water, there was some grass for the horses, who had not eaten for the past two days. We camped there that night in much distress through hunger, which was further increased by the little hope we had of reaching a village; so much so indeed that my men had almost despaired and were more dead than alive. I took out a ship's compass which I always carried with me and on which I had often been forced to rely, although never had we been in such difficulties as then; and by recalling the situation in which the Indians had said we would find the town, I calculated that by marching in a northeasterly direction from where we were we would arrive at the village or near it. I therefore ordered those who were cutting the road to take the compass and to follow that course without ever departing from it. This they did, and it pleased Our Lord that they followed it so surely that at the hour of vespers they came out right in front of some idol houses in the middle of the town. All the men were so delighted at this that without thinking they all rushed forward, not noticing the large marsh that lay between them and the town,

where many of the horses sank, some of which were not recovered until the following day, although, thanks to God, none of them was lost. Those of us who followed behind avoided the marsh in another place, although not without much difficulty.

We found that village of Zaguatecpan burnt, including the temples and houses of the idols. We found no one there nor any news of the canoes which had gone up the river. But there was an abundance of maize which was riper than any we had previously seen, and also yuca and ajíes and good pasture for the horses, because on the banks of the river, which are very beautiful, we found some excellent grass. Thus refreshed we forgot some of our past hardships, although I was much distressed to hear no news of the canoes I had sent upriver. Walking about the village, however, I came upon a crossbow bolt fixed in the ground, by which I knew the canoes to have passed that way, for all the people in them were crossbowmen; this distressed me still further, for I thought they must have fought with the Indians and all been killed, as they did not appear. A few small canoes had been found in the village, and in these I sent some of my men across the river, where they found many plantations. Crossing these, they came to a great lake where they found all the inhabitants of the village, either in canoes or on small islands. When they saw the Christians they approached without fear and said things which the Spaniards could not understand. They brought thirty or forty of them to me, however, who, after I had spoken to them, told me that they had been induced by the lord of Zaguatan [*sic*] to burn their village and had fled in terror of us to those lakes where they now were. But, later, certain Christians of my company had come that way in canoes, accompanied by some of the natives of Yztapan, from whom they had learnt of the good treatment which I accorded to all, and now their fears had been allayed. The Christians had remained there two days waiting for me but, as I did not come, had proceeded upstream to another village, called Penecte,[40] and a brother of the lord of Çaguatepan had accompanied them with four canoes full of people to help if

they were attacked by the inhabitants of that town; furthermore, they had given them all the provisions they required.

I was greatly pleased to hear this, and because they had come fearlessly to me themselves I believed all they said. I asked them straightaway to send a canoe in search of those Spaniards and to take a letter from me to them, ordering them to return to me at once. This they did most diligently, for on the following day, at the hour of vespers, they returned together with the Indians who had carried my letter to them and another four canoes loaded with people and supplies from the village whence they came. They informed me that after leaving me they proceeded upriver until they reached the village before this one, which is called Ozumazintlan, and they found it burnt and the inhabitants gone. But when the people of Iztapan, who accompanied the Spaniards, arrived, they sought them out so that many returned and gave the Spaniards provisions and everything else they required. Then they had gone to Çaguatepan, which they likewise found abandoned and the inhabitants fled to the far side of the river. When, however, the people of Yztapan spoke to them, they had all taken heart and welcomed the Spaniards, giving them very fully of everything they asked for. There they had waited for me two days, but seeing that I did not come, and thinking that as I had taken so long, I must have come out farther upriver, they went on to the town of Petenete [*sic*], six leagues from there, led by some people of the village and a brother of the chief. This town they also found deserted, but not burnt; the inhabitants had fled to the other side of the river. But the people of Yztapan and of Çaguatepan had allayed their fears, and now they were coming to see me in four canoes bringing gifts of maize, honey, cacao and even a little gold.

They had sent messengers to three other towns they had been told lay upstream; these were called Coazacoalco, Tenango and Teutitan,[41] and they thought that they would come to speak to me on the following day. And so they did, for the next day seven or eight canoes came to me down the river, and in them were people

from all those towns bringing me some supplies and a little gold. I spoke to them all at great length to make them understand how they were to believe in God and serve Your Majesty; and they all offered themselves as Your Highness's vassals and subjects and promised always to do as they were commanded. The people of the village of Çaguatepan then brought some of their idols and broke and burnt them in my presence. The chief of the town, whom I had not seen before, afterwards came and gave me a little gold; and I gave them all some few things, by which they were most pleased and assured.

When I enquired about the road to Acalan[42] they began to argue among themselves. The people of Çaguatepan said that it lay through those towns upstream, and before the inhabitants of these arrived, they told me they had hewn out six leagues of road and built a bridge over a river we would have to cross. The others, when they arrived, however, said that this route was a very long way round and passed through barren and deserted country, and that the shortest way to Acalan was to cross the river at this town, where I would find a path much used by traders, along which they would lead me to Acalan. Finally, they decided among themselves that this was indeed the best route. I had previously sent a Spaniard, together with some natives, in a canoe from Çaguatepan to the province of Acalan to inform the people there of my arrival and to assure them that they had no cause for fear; and, moreover, to discover if the Spaniards who were to have brought the supplies from the brigantines had arrived. I now sent another four Spaniards,[43] accompanied by those who claimed to know the way, to examine it and inform me if there was any obstacle or hindrance on it; and I said that I would await their report.

I was, however, forced to leave before they wrote, for I was afraid that the provisions we had collected for the journey would soon be exhausted, and I had been told that we would have to travel five or six days through barren countryside. I began to cross the river with the aid of a large number of canoes, but, as it was wide

and fast-flowing, we only reached the other side after much effort. One horse was drowned and some items of baggage belonging to the Spaniards were lost. Once over, I sent a company of foot soldiers on ahead with the guides to open a road, and I, with the other people, followed behind. After having marched for three days through dense forest along a very narrow track, we reached a great lagoon more than five hundred paces wide,[44] and though I searched up and down for a way across I could find none. Moreover, the guides told me that it was a useless search unless I marched for twenty days toward the mountain.

This lagoon placed me in so great a quandary that I am at loss to describe it, for the crossing seemed to be beyond our means, as it was so very wide and we had no canoes, and even if we had had them for the men and baggage, the horses would have been unable to cross, for in their path lay great marshes and the roots of trees; to send them across by any other means was unthinkable. To turn back was likewise impossible, for it meant certain death for all, not only because of the bad roads we would have to travel, and the great rains which had fallen, swelling the rivers so that by now all our bridges would have been swept away (and to rebuild would have been impossible, as all our people were exhausted), but also because we had consumed all our provisions and could find nothing else to eat. There was a large number of us, there being besides the Spaniards and the horses some three thousand natives in my company. To advance was, as I have told Your Majesty, so difficult that no human intelligence could have devised a solution if God, who is the true remedy and succor to all who are afflicted and in need, had not provided it. Thus I found a tiny canoe in which the Spaniards whom I had sent ahead to examine the road had crossed, and with this I had the lagoon sounded, finding it to be in all places four fathoms in depth. I therefore had some lances bound together with which to test the bottom and found that, in addition to the water, here was another two fathoms of mud, thus there were six fathoms in all.

I determined, therefore, that as there was no other solution I would build a bridge, and at once set about having some timbers cut, from nine to ten fathoms in length depending on how far they were to emerge above water. This I entrusted to the Indian chieftains who were with me, telling them to divide the work up among their people. Then the Spaniards and I, on rafts and in that canoe and two others which we had found afterwards, began to sink these posts into the bed of the lagoon.[45] No one believed that such a task could ever be accomplished, and some even whispered that it would be better to return before everyone was too exhausted and weak with hunger to be able to; for in the end the project would have to be abandoned anyway, and we would be forced to return. Indeed, there was so much whispering among the Spaniards that they almost dared to approach me openly. When I saw how discouraged they were, and truly they had cause to be, for the work we had undertaken was of such a formidable nature and they were demoralized and lethargic, having eaten nothing but the roots of plants, I told them that they should no longer assist in the building of the bridge, but that I would complete it with the Indians alone. I then called all those chieftains and told them to take account of what difficulties we were in, and that we must needs cross that lagoon or perish; I therefore beseeched them to urge their people on to finish the bridge, for beyond lay the province of Acalan, where there was an abundance of food and we all might rest. Besides the provisions to be found on the land, they well knew that I had ordered supplies from the ships to be brought thither in canoes, so that once we arrived we should not want for anything. I promised them, furthermore, that when I returned to this city I would, in Your Majesty's name, reward them most richly. They then agreed to do their best, and at once began to divide the task between them; and so hard did they work, and so skillfully, that in four days they had finished the bridge, over which all the horses and men crossed, and which I am certain will stand for ten years if no one destroys it. Indeed, unless it were burnt, it would prove most difficult to destroy, for it is

made of more than a thousand timbers, of which the smallest is almost as thick as a man's body, from nine to ten fathoms in length, not to mention an immense quantity of lighter timber. I assure Your Majesty that I do not believe there is any man capable of describing adequately the mastery with which the chieftains of Temixtitan and the Indians built that bridge; truly it was the most remarkable feat ever seen.

When all the men and horses had finally crossed this lagoon, we came upon a great marsh which lasted for two crossbowshots, the most frightful thing the men had ever seen, where the unsaddled horses sank in up to their girths until nothing else could be seen; and in struggling to get out they only sank in deeper, so that we lost all hope of being able to bring a single horse out safely. But still we determined to attempt it, and by placing bundles of reeds and twigs beneath them to support them and prevent them from sinking, they were somewhat better off. While we were thus moving back and forth between the horses, a narrow channel of mud and water was revealed along which the horses were able to swim a little. Thus it pleased Our Lord that they should all emerge without loss, though so exhausted they could barely stand up. We all offered many thanks to God for so favoring us. While thus engaged, the Spaniards whom I had sent on to Acalan arrived, bringing some eighty of the natives of that province, all laden with supplies of maize and edible fowl.[46] God alone knows how much joy this brought us, especially as they informed us that the people of that province were all peaceful and secure and had no intention of fleeing before us. With those Indians of Acalan came also two persons of rank who said that they had come on behalf of the lord of the province, who was called Apaspolon,[47] to inform me that he welcomed my arrival. For some while he had heard news of me from the traders of Tabasco and Xicalango and would be glad to meet me; he also sent a little gold with his messengers, whom I received with as much joy as I was able, thanking their lord for the goodwill he had shown to Your Majesty's service. I then gave them a few

small gifts, with which they were delighted, and sent them back with the Spaniards who had brought them. They were full of admiration for the bridge, and this greatly helped to secure their allegiance, for their country lies among lakes and marshes and they might well have fled and hid among them, but when they saw that bridge, they believed that nothing was impossible for us.

Also at this time there arrived a messenger from the town of Santisteban del Puerto, on the Pánuco River, carrying a letter from the justices of those parts. With him came four or five Indians with letters from this city of Temixtitan, and also from Medellín and Espíritu Santo, and I was greatly pleased to hear that all was well, though I received no news of the factor and veedor Gonzalo de Salazar and Peralmíndez Chirino (whom, as I said above, I had sent from the town of Espíritu Santo to settle the differences between the treasurer and the contador) because they had not yet reached the city.

The day after the Indians and Spaniards who were going ahead to Acalan had left, I set out with the rest of my company in that same direction. I slept one night in the forest, and a little after noon on the following day reached the fields and farms of the province of Acalan. In front of us, however, lay a large marsh, which forced us to make a detour of rather more than a league, leading our horses by the bridles with some difficulty. Close to the hour of vespers we reached the first village, which is called Tiçatepal,[48] where we found the inhabitants very comfortable and secure in their houses. They also had plentiful supplies, sufficient both for the men and horses, so that our past hunger was soon satisfied.

Here we rested six days, and a youth of good appearance and well attended came to see me, saying that he was the son of the lord of that land; he brought us some gold and fowl, offering his person and his land in Your Majesty's service, for his father now was dead. I made as though I was much distressed by the death of his father, although I could see he was not telling the truth. I gave him a necklace of Flemish beads that I was wearing, and he valued

them highly; then I bade him depart with God's blessing, but he remained with me two days of his own will.

One of the natives of that town, who claimed to be its ruler, told me that close by lay another town, which was also his possession, where there were better lodgings and more abundant provisions, for the place was larger and had more inhabitants. He suggested, therefore, that I should go there because I would be more comfortable. I readily agreed and sent him to cut a road and prepare for our arrival. This he did very well, and so we went to that town, which is five leagues from the other; here we also found the people unafraid and in their houses, and a certain quarter cleaned and prepared for our lodgings.

This is a most beautiful town and is called by the inhabitants Teutiacar.[49] It has very fine temples, and two in particular where we took up residence, throwing out the idols at which the natives showed no great distress, for I had already spoken to them explaining the error of their ways and how there was only one God, Maker of all things, and all else I could say touching this matter, though I afterwards spoke at greater length to the chieftain and all the assembled people. I learnt from them that the larger of these two temples or idol houses was dedicated to a goddess in whom they had great faith. To her they sacrificed only beautiful virgins, and if they were not so, the goddess became angry with them. For this reason they took great pains to seek out only such as would satisfy her; those of a right disposition they reared from childhood for this purpose. On this matter I also spoke as I saw fitting, and it seemed they received my words tolerably well.

The lord of this town proved to be very friendly and spoke at length with me, giving me a very long account of the Spaniards I was seeking and of the road I was to take. He also told me, in the greatest secrecy, begging me to tell no one that it was he who had so informed me, that Apaspolon, lord of all that province, was alive, but had had it put about that he was dead; the youth who had come to see me was indeed his son, but had been sent to lead me

aside from the direct route so that I should not pass through his lands and his towns. He told me this because he wished me well, and because he had been well treated at my hands, but he entreated me to reveal the secret to no one, for should he be discovered, Apaspolon would kill him and burn all his lands. I thanked him greatly and paid him for his goodwill with a few small gifts, and promised to keep his secret as he had requested, promising him that in due time he would be well rewarded by me in Your Majesty's name.

Then I called that lord's son who had come to see me and told him that I was very surprised at him and at his father's having refused to come and visit me, knowing that I wished to meet him on good terms, and pay him respect and give him some presents, because I desired to repay him for all the favors that I had received in this land. I said also that I knew for certain that his father was alive, and I entreated him to go and try to persuade him to come to see me, for he might be assured that he would benefit greatly thereby. He then replied that it was true his father was still alive; if he had denied it, it was only because he had been commanded to do so. He would go now and do everything in his power to bring him to me; he believed he might succeed, because his father would like to see me now that he knew I came to do no harm but rather to give his people such things as I had with me, although he was somewhat ashamed of appearing before me, as he had previously refused. I begged the youth to do all in his power to bring his father to me, and this he did, for on the following day they both arrived and I received them warmly. Apaspolon excused himself, saying that he was afraid until he had learnt my intentions, but now that he knew them, he greatly desired to see me. It was true he had ordered me to be led away from his towns and villages, but now that he knew my intentions he asked me to go to his capital, since there he was better able to provide me with all I required. He then ordered a broad road to be cut to the town, and on the following day we departed together, and I gave him one of my horses and he rode it most hap-

pily until we reached a village called Izancanac,[50] which is very large and full of temples, and stands on the banks of a great lagoon which reaches as far as the point of Términos, between Xicalango and Tabasco. Some of the people had fled, but some were in their houses. There we found abundant supplies, and Apaspolon stayed with me in my quarters, although he had a house of his own nearby where his household was. While I was there he gave me a long account of the Spaniards I had come to find and drew a map on a piece of cloth of the road I was to take. He also gave me some gold and a few women, though I had not asked him for anything; indeed I have never asked anything of the lords of these parts if they did not wish to give anything of their own accord.

We had now to cross that lagoon before which lay a great marsh. Apaspolon ordered a bridge to be built across the marsh, and for the lagoon he gave us as many canoes as we required and guides for the journey. He also gave me a canoe and guides for the Spaniard who had brought me the letters from the town of Santisteban del Puerto, and also for the Indians from México and the provinces of Xicalango and Tabasco. I then gave this Spaniard letters for the colonies, the lieutenants I had left in the great city, for the ships at Tabasco, and for the Spaniards who were to bring the provisions, instructing each of them as to what they were to do. Once this matter had been dispatched, I gave Apaspolon certain trifles which he fancied, and leaving him very contented and all his people very secure I left that province of Acalan on the first Sunday in Lent in the year 1525. That day we achieved nothing but the crossing of the lagoon, which was no mean task. I gave this lord a letter because he asked it of me, so that should any Spaniards come to his land they would know that I had passed that way and that he was my friend.

Here in this province there occurred an incident of which Your Majesty should know: an honored citizen of this city of Temixtitan, who was called Messicalçingo, and was later baptized Cristóbal, came very secretly to me one night with a certain drawing on

a piece of the paper used in these parts. And explaining to me what it meant, he said that Guatimuçin (the former lord of Temixtitan whom I had held prisoner since our capture of the city, as he was a man who could cause great trouble, and took with me on my journey together with the other lords whom I held to be the key to peace or revolution in these parts) and Guanacacin, lord of Tesuico, and Tetepanquezal, lord of Tacuba,[51] and a certain Tacitecle, who was at the time in México City in the Tlatelulco district, had often told him, Mexicalçingo, now christened Cristóbal, how they had been deprived of their lands and their power and were now ruled by Spaniards, and that it would be a good plan to seek some means whereby they might regain their lost possessions and power. They had spoken together many times on the journey, and it seemed to them that the best solution was to arrange to kill me and all my company, after which they would rouse the people of this land and fall on Cristóbal de Olid and kill him and his men also. When this had been done, they would send their messengers to Temixtitan to incite the people to kill all the Spaniards in the city, which they believed could easily be done because the men there had recently arrived and were not prepared by the experience of the war. Once they had accomplished this, they would raise the whole land behind them and kill all the Spaniards wherever they might be. This done, they would place strong garrisons in all the seaports so that no ship which arrived could escape them and return to Castile with the news. In this way they would be lords as they were before; they had already divided up the land among themselves and had made this Mexicalcingo the lord of a certain province.

When I had heard all about this treachery from Cristóbal at such length, I gave thanks to the Lord for having revealed to me so foul a plot against me and the other Spaniards. Immediately at dawn I seized all those lords and had them imprisoned separately. I then asked each of them about their plot, pretending to each that one of the others had revealed it to me, for as they could not speak to each other they did not know they were being deceived. They were thus

forced to confess that it was true that Guatimuçin and Tetepanquezal had planned it, and that the others knew of it but had never agreed to participate in it. These two were hanged, therefore, but I released the others, for apparently they had done nothing more than listen to them, although that in itself was sufficient for me to put them to death. I have left their cases open so that they may be punished if they ever relapse, but they are so frightened that I do not think they will, for as they have never discovered from whom I learnt of their plot, they believe it was done by some magic art, and that nothing can be concealed from me. Having observed that in order to be certain of my road I have often taken out a ship's chart and a compass, especially when cutting the Çagoatezpan [*sic*] road which came through so accurately, they told many of the Spaniards that it was there that I had learnt their secret. Some of them have even come to me and, eager to show me their good intentions, have begged me to look into the glass of it and the chart, because I would see there that they spoke the truth, since through those objects I knew everything else. I encouraged this belief, giving them to understand that the compass and the chart did indeed reveal all things to me.[52]

This province of Acalan is very large and well populated. It has many towns, some of which were visited by the Spaniards in my company. It is rich in honey and other foodstuffs; there are numerous merchants and traders who travel to many places and are rich in slaves and other things with which they barter in this land. The province is completely surrounded by lagoons and estuaries, all of which stretch as far as the bay or harbor called Los Términos, by which they have great commerce with Xicalango and Tabasco, and it has even been said, although the truth of it is not yet known, that they pass through there to the other sea, thus making the land called Yucatán an island.[53] I will endeavor to discover the truth of this, so as to render Your Majesty a trustworthy account. I was informed there is no other chieftain in the land except the most prosperous of the merchants, and the one who does most trading by

sea, who is in fact Apaspolon, of whom I have already made mention to Your Majesty; the reason for his prosperity is that he carries his trade to distant places, as far as the town of Nito, where, as I will hereafter relate, I found certain Spaniards of the company of Gil González de Ávila, and where he had a whole district peopled by his agents in the charge of one of his brothers. The chief articles of trade in those parts are cacao, cotton materials, dyes, a certain kind of ink with which they stain their bodies to protect them against the heat and the cold, torches for light, pine resin for censing their idols, slaves and certain colored beads made from shells, which they hold most precious for decorating their bodies during their feasts and celebrations. They also trade in a little gold, but it is mixed with copper or other metals.[54]

To this Apaspolon and to many honored citizens of his province I spoke concerning their idols as I had done to others on my journey, and about what they must believe and do in order to obtain salvation. Likewise I told them what they were bound to do in Your Majesty's service. They seemed to be satisfied by what I said and burnt many of their idols in my presence, saying that thenceforth they would honor them no more and promising to be always obedient to whatever I might command them in Your Majesty's name. And so I took my leave of them and departed as I said above.[55]

Three days before I left this province of Acalan I sent four Spaniards with two guides given me by Apaspolon to examine the road I had to take to the province of Mazatlan,[56] which in their language is called Quiatleo, for I had been told that the land thereabouts was uninhabited, and that I would have to spend four days in the forest before reaching the aforementioned province. I sent them therefore to explore the road and see if there were any rivers or marshes to cross. I also ordered all my men to take provisions for six days, so that we should not find ourselves in such straits as before. They supplied themselves very fully, for there was an abundance of everything, and five leagues beyond the lagoon which we

had crossed I met the four Spaniards who had, with the help of two guides, been to explore the road, and they told me that it was an excellent one, and although it led through thick forest, it was very flat without rivers or marshes to hinder our passage. They had even reached some fields in the province of Mazatlan, and had seen some people there, though they themselves had returned unseen and unheard. I was greatly pleased by this news, and ordered that henceforth six foot soldiers and some of our Indian allies should travel one league in front of those who were opening up the road, so that if they came across any travelers, they might seize them, thus permitting us to reach the province without being observed and prevent the inhabitants from deserting and burning their villages as those before them had done. That same day, close to a lake, these men found two Indians, natives of the province of Acalan, who said they were coming from Mazatlan, where they had been trading salt for cloth. This appeared, in part, to be true, for they were indeed laden with cloth. They were then brought before me, and I asked them if those of that province had any notice of our coming, and they replied that they had not but were all very peaceful. I told them that they must return with me, but not to be distressed on that account, for they would lose none of the goods they were carrying, but, on the contrary, I would give them more, and once we arrived in Mazatlan they would be permitted to return, for I was a firm friend of all the people of Acalan, because they and their lord had received me most kindly. They did this with great goodwill, returning and even leading us by another road, for the one the Spaniards had been cutting led only to some fields, whereas theirs went straight to the villages.

That night we slept in the forest, and on the following day the Spaniards whom I had sent ahead as scouts came across four Indians from Mazatlan with their bows and arrows who, it seemed, had been posted on the road as sentries, and when my men came upon them they fired their arrows, wounding one of my Indians. As the forest was very thick, the Spaniards were only able to cap-

ture one of them, who was handed over to three of my Indians while the Spaniards proceeded up the road ahead, believing that there were more of them. But as soon as my men had gone, the fugitives, who, it appeared, had hidden there close by in the forest, returned and fell upon our Indian friends who were holding their companion, and fighting with them managed to free him. Our Indians, however, pursued them through the forest and, catching up with them, fought and wounded one in the arm with a great blow from a sword. They took this one prisoner, but the others, hearing our men nearby, fled. I asked this Indian if they knew of my coming, and he replied that they did not; I then questioned him as to why they were there on the road as sentries. He answered that it was their custom, since they were at war with many of their neighbors, and, in order to protect the workmen in the fields, their lord had ordered sentries to be always on the roads so they should not be taken unawares.

I hastened on, because I had learnt from the Indian that we were close to the town, and I wished to arrive before the Indians who had escaped had time to raise the alarm; and I ordered those of my men who were going ahead to halt when they reached the fields and remain hidden in the forest until I arrived. When I arrived it was already late, and I advanced with all speed, hoping to reach the town that night; but, seeing that our baggage train had been broken up somewhat, I sent a captain with twenty horse to wait in the fields, collect the Indian bearers when they arrived and pass the night there with them; once he had collected them all he was to follow after me. I took a path which, although quite straight, led through very dense forest. I went on foot leading my horse by the bridle, and all those who followed me did likewise. We proceeded in this fashion until just before nightfall, when we came upon a marsh which we were unable to cross without some preparation. I gave orders, which were passed down the line from one man to another, that we were to turn back to a small clearing we had

passed. We slept there that night, although there was no water to drink either for us or the horses.

The following morning I had a path across the marsh covered with twigs, and we led the horses across, although not without difficulty, and three leagues from the place where we had slept we sighted a town[57] on a hill and, thinking that we had not been seen, approached with great caution. It was so well fortified, however, that we could find no way in, and when at last we found a way, we discovered it had been abandoned, though it was well stocked with supplies of maize, birds, honey, beans and other produce of the land, for as they were taken by surprise they had no time to remove their provisions which, as it was a frontier town, were plentiful.

This town stands upon a high rock: on one side it is skirted by a great lake and on the other by a deep stream which runs into the lake. There is only one level entrance, the whole town being surrounded by a deep moat behind which is a wooden palisade as high as a man's breast. Behind this palisade lies a wall of very heavy boards, some twelve feet tall, with embrasures through which to shoot their arrows; the lookout posts rise another eight feet above the wall, which likewise has large towers with many stones to hurl down on the enemy. There are also embrasures in the upper parts of all the houses, facing outwards, and likewise embrasures and traverses facing the streets; indeed, it was so well planned with regard to the manner of weapons they use, they could not be better defended.

I sent certain of my men to find the inhabitants of the town, and they captured two or three Indians, whom I sent, together with one of those merchants from Acalan whom I had taken on the road, to find their lord and tell him not to be afraid, and to return to his town. I had not come to do harm but, on the contrary, would assist him in those wars of his and would leave his land secure and at peace. After two days the messengers returned, bringing with them an uncle of the lord of the country, who in fact governed it, as the

chieftain was a boy and, they said, had not come because he was afraid. I spoke then to this uncle and reassured him, whereupon he went with me as far as another town in the same province, which is called Tiac[58] and lies seven leagues farther on. The inhabitants of this place are at war with those of the first town; and it is much larger and well fortified, although not so strong, for it stands on the plain, but it has its earthworks and walls and watchtowers which are very strong. Each of the three districts of the town is fortified separately and the whole town is encircled by a wall.

I had sent on to this town two captains of horse and one of foot, and they found it abandoned, though well provided with supplies; close to the town they took seven or eight men, some of whom they released so they might go and speak to their lord and reassure the people. They did so well that even before I arrived messengers had come from the lord bringing provisions and clothing. After I arrived they came twice more, to bring us food and speak to us on behalf of the lord of this town and of five or six others which are in this province, each of which is independent. They all offered themselves as Your Majesty's vassals and as our allies, although I could never persuade the lords themselves to come and see me. As I could delay no longer, I sent these messengers to say that I thanked them for their goodwill and received them in Your Highness's name, and I asked them to give me guides for the road ahead. This they did willingly and gave me a guide who was very familiar with the road to where the Spaniards were and had seen them himself. With this I left the town of Tiac and went to spend that night in another which is called Yasuncabil [59] and is the last in that province; this was likewise deserted and fortified in the same fashion as the others. The lord here had a very attractive house, although it was made of straw.

In this town we provided ourselves with all we might require on the journey, for the guide told us that we would have to spend five days in uninhabited country before we reached the province of Tayça, through which we had to pass, and so it turned out.

Here in this province of Mataçlan [*sic*] or Guiache [*sic*] I dismissed the two merchants I had taken on the road and the guides whom I had brought from Acalan, and I gave them for themselves and for their chieftains some of the things I had, with which they were greatly pleased. I also sent back to his home the lord of the first town, who had accompanied me, and I returned to him certain women whom my men had captured in the forest, and gave him one or two little things with which he was most pleased.

After leaving this province of Macalan [*sic*], I took the road to Tayça, and four leagues farther on I slept in the barren countryside through which the road now ran; and there were great forests and mountains with a difficult pass which, as all the rocks and stones were of a very fine alabaster, I named the Alabaster Pass.[60] On the fifth day the scouts who had gone ahead with the guides came upon a very large lake which seemed to be an arm of the sea, and still I believe it to be, for although its waters are fresh it is so very large and deep.[61] On a small island they saw a town which the guide said was the capital of the province of Tayça, but that there was no way of reaching it save in canoes. When they heard this the Spaniards remained, taking turns on guard by the shore, and sent back one of their number to report to me. I halted all my people and went ahead on foot to view that lake and see how it was situated; and when I arrived I found that the scouts had caught an Indian, a native of that town, who had come in a small canoe with all his weapons to reconnoiter and see if there were any people; and although he was unprepared for what befell him, he would have escaped my men had not a dog, which they had, caught him before he could throw himself into the water.

From this Indian I learnt that nothing was known of my arrival. I then asked him if there was a road to the town, to which he replied that there was none, but he said that close by on the far side of a small arm of the lake there were some fields and a few houses where, if we approached without being seen, we might find some canoes. I at once sent orders to my people to follow behind

me, and, taking ten or twelve crossbowmen, I went on foot where that Indian led. We crossed a big marsh where we sank in up to our belts and at times farther; and at last we came to some plantations. But because of the bad road and because we were not always able to conceal ourselves, our advance could not fail to be noticed, and we arrived just in time to see the Indians taking to their canoes and fleeing across the lagoon. I followed swiftly along the bank of that lagoon for two-thirds of a league, all of which was cultivated, but everywhere we had been observed and the people were fleeing. As it was already late, and to continue any farther was of no use, I collected my people and encamped them there in those fields, taking all precautions I could, for the guide from Mazatlan said they were a numerous people and most skilled in war, for which reason they were feared by the neighboring provinces. This guide then told me he wished to take the small canoe in which the Indian had come, and go to that town on the island which lay some two leagues away. He would then speak to the lord, whom he knew well and who was called Canec. He would tell them of my intentions and the cause of my arrival in these lands, as he had accompanied me and knew them and understood them himself. He said he thought that this lord would believe him, for he had often lodged at his house and knew him very well.

I at once gave him the canoe and the Indian who had come in it and thanked him for his offer, promising him that if he succeeded I would reward him most generously. So he departed, returning about midnight with two respected inhabitants of the town who claimed to have been sent by their lord to see me and ascertain whether my messenger had spoken the truth, and to discover what I wanted of him. I welcomed them, gave them a few small gifts and told them that I had come to these lands on Your Majesty's commands to see them, and speak to the lords and natives thereof on matters touching Your Royal service and their advantage. I told them to bid their lord set aside all fear and come to my camp, and that for greater security I would give them a Spaniard who would

go with them and remain as a hostage while their lord was with me; and with this they departed, together with the guide and a Spaniard. On the following morning the lord arrived, accompanied by some thirty men in five or six canoes; and with them they brought the Spaniard I had given as a hostage. He seemed very happy to meet me and I, for my part, received him well, and, because it was the hour of Mass, I ordered that it should be sung, and performed with great solemnity and be accompanied by flageolets and sackbuts. To this he listened with great attention and watched all the ceremonies most carefully. When the Mass was ended one of those friars who accompanied me preached him a sermon, through the interpreter so that he would fully understand, about the articles of our Faith, and giving him to understand with many arguments that there is only one God, and that his own religion was an error. He said he was, and appeared to be, greatly pleased by what he had heard, and said he would at once destroy his idols and believe in that God of which we had spoken. He greatly desired to know how to serve and honor Him, and that if I wished to go to his town I would see him burn those idols in my presence; furthermore, he wished me to leave in his town that cross which he had been told I left in all the villages through which I passed.

When this sermon was over, I spoke to him again, telling him of Your Majesty's greatness and how he and I and all the world were Your subjects and vassals and obliged to serve You and that Your Majesty granted to those who did so great favors, which I in Your Royal name had already dispensed in these parts to all who had offered themselves in Your Royal service and placed themselves under Your Royal Yoke and I promised him the same if he did likewise.

He answered that until then he had served no overlord nor knew of any whom he ought to serve, although it was true that five or six years ago people of Tabasco had passed that way and told him how a captain with certain people of our nation had entered their land and three times defeated them in battle, and afterwards

had told them that they were to be vassals of a great lord, and all the other things which I was now telling him. He therefore wished to know if this great lord of whom I spoke were indeed the same. I replied that I was the captain of whom the people of Tabasco had spoken, and that if he wished to learn the truth he had only to ask the interpreter with whom he was speaking, Marina,[62] who traveled always in my company after she had been given me as a present with twenty other women. She then told him that what I had said was true and spoke to him of how I had conquered México and of all the other lands which I held subject and had placed beneath Your Majesty's command. He appeared very pleased to learn of this and said that he also wished to be Your Majesty's subject and vassal, and that he considered himself most fortunate to be under the sway of a prince so powerful as I told him Your Highness is.

He ordered birds and honey to be brought and a little gold and certain beads of colored shells which they prize highly and gave them to me.[63] I likewise gave him certain things of mine which greatly pleased him, and afterwards he ate with me most agreeably. After we had eaten I told him how I was going in search of those Spaniards who were by the coast, because they were of my company and I had sent them, but a long while had passed and I had heard nothing of them. For this reason I had come to look for them, and I asked him to tell me if he had received any news of them. He replied that he had heard much of them, for very close to where they now were, lived certain of his vassals who cultivated for him peanuts, in which this land was very rich; and from these and from the many traders who traveled between his lands and the coast he continually received news of them. He said he would give me a guide to lead me to them, but he also warned that the road was a hard one over steep and rocky mountains, and that it would be less fatiguing for me to travel by sea.[64] I replied saying that we were obliged to go by land, for we could never find sufficient ships for all the men in my company and for the horses and the baggage. I asked him, therefore, to show us how we could cross that lake; he answered

that by going on some three leagues I would reach a place where the lake gave way to dry land, and to reach the coast I could follow the road which led directly from opposite his town. He asked me, since my men were going in that direction, to come with him in a canoe, and visit his town and his house, where I would see him burn his idols and might order a cross to be made for him. I, therefore, in order to please him, though much against the wishes of my men, boarded one of his canoes with more than twenty men, most of whom were crossbowmen, and went to his town, where we passed all that day in recreation. When it was almost dark I took my leave of him, boarded a canoe with a guide he had given me and came to spend the night on land, where I found that many of my people had come down to the lake shore; and so we slept there that night. I left in this town, or rather in those fields, a horse which had got a stake lodged in its foot and could not walk. The lord of the town promised to cure it, but I do not know what he will do.[65]

The following day, after having mustered my men, I departed along the road indicated by the guides, and after about half a league we came upon some flat pasture land; after that we went through a small forest which lasted about a league and a half and then came out again onto some very beautiful plains. When we reached them I sent ahead some horsemen and foot soldiers to seize anyone they found in the open, for our guides had told us that we would reach a town that night. On these plains we found many fallow deer, and we speared eighteen of them from horseback. But because of the sun and the horses' lack of exercise for some days past, there having been little opportunity for galloping on our journey through the forest, two of them died and many were in grave danger of doing so.

Our hunting done, we continued on our journey, and after a little while came upon some of the scouts whom I had sent on ahead resting, with four Indian hunters whom they had captured, together with a dead lion and some iguanas, which are large lizards found in the Islands. I inquired of these Indians whether they had

received news of me in their town. They replied that they had not and pointed out to me where it lay, which seemed to be barely a league away. I made all haste to reach there, thinking that I should find no obstacle in my path, but when I thought I was about to enter the town, and could see the people quite clearly, I came upon a very deep river. Seeing this, I halted and called out to the Indians; and two of them came in a canoe, bringing as many as a dozen hens. When they drew near where I was, with my horse up to its girth in the water, they stopped and, although I spent a long time in talking and reassuring them, they would come no closer, but, on the contrary, began to return to the town. Thereupon a Spaniard who was on horseback close to me jumped into the water and began to swim after them. They then abandoned their canoes in terror, but some foot soldiers soon swam up and seized them.

By now all the people whom we had seen in the town had left it, and I asked those Indians where we might cross over to the town; they showed me a road leading to a place about a league upstream where there was a passage over dry land. By this route we arrived in the town and passed the night there, having covered that day a good eight leagues. This town is called Checan,[66] and its chief, Amohan. I remained here four days, acquiring provisions for six days, which, so the guides told me, I would spend crossing uninhabited country. I was also waiting for the lord of the town, hoping that he would come, as I had sent those Indians to reassure him; but neither he nor they returned. When these four days had passed and I had gathered in all the stores that could be found, I departed and traveled that day over very good ground, level and green, with no forests, only a few small woods. After six leagues we came upon a large house at the foot of some hills, close to a river, with two or three small ones close by, and some cultivation roundabout. The guides told me that this house belonged to Amohan, chief of Checan, and that he had it there as an inn, for many merchants passed that way.

I stayed there for one day after that on which I arrived, as it

was a feast day, and also the delay gave those who had gone ahead time to open up a road. We had some fine fishing in that river and caught a great quantity of shad, which we pulled ashore without so much as a single one escaping our nets.

On the next day I departed, following a most difficult road for almost seven leagues and came out at last to some beautiful open country with no forest but only a few groups of pine trees. This open country lasted for a further two leagues, in which space we killed seven deer and ate by a cool stream that ran along the far side of this plain. After we had eaten we began to ascend a narrow pass, not high, but so steep that the horses, although led by the bridle, could barely climb it. On the descent the ground was flat for about half a league; we then began to climb another pass, which in all lasted for some two and a half leagues up and down, and was so steep and rough that there was not a single horse which did not lose a shoe. I spent that night at the foot, in a ditch, and had to wait almost until the hour of vespers on the following day for the horses to be shod. But although there were two blacksmiths and more than ten others helping to drive in the nails, the horses could not all be shod that day. I therefore went to spend the night three leagues farther on, leaving many of the Spaniards both to attend to the shoeing of their horses and to wait for the baggage which, on account of the bad road and the great rains, had not yet arrived.

On the following day I left that place, for the guides told me that close by was a small village called Asuncapin,[67] belonging to the lord of Taica [*sic*], and that we would arrive there well before dark. After having traveled five or six leagues, we reached the aforementioned village and found it abandoned. I camped there for two days to wait for the baggage and gather some provisions. I then departed and went to spend the night in another village, called Taxuytel,[68] which is five leagues from the other and belongs to Amohan, chief of Checan. Here then were many peanuts but only a little maize, which was green.

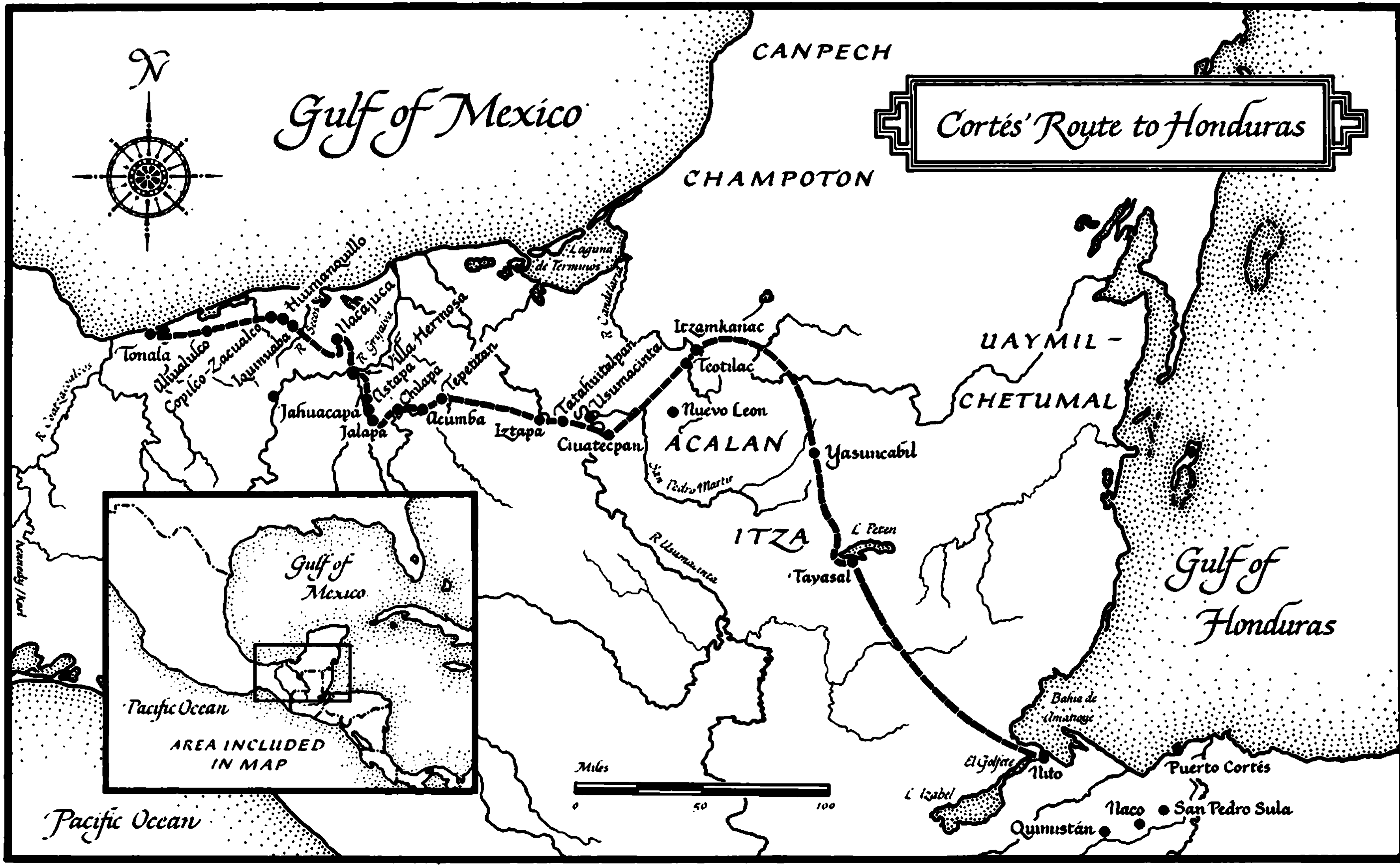
I was informed by the guides and the headman in the village,

whom we came upon together with his wife and son before they could escape, that we would have to cross some very high and very steep mountains, all totally without habitation, before reaching the next village, which belonged to Canec, the lord of Taica, and was called Tenciz. We did not remain long at this place but set out again on the day after our arrival. After crossing six leagues of flat ground, we began to climb a pass which is the most remarkable sight in the world to see, and the most perilous to cross, for even though I attempt to describe for Your Majesty the cragginess and extreme harshness of these mountains, not even one who is more skilled at writing than I could adequately express it, nor could one who heard of it understand it fully, unless he had himself seen it with his own eyes and had himself experienced the crossing of it. Let it suffice for Your Majesty to know that we spent twelve days covering the eight leagues of the pass, that is, until the end of our train was over, and that we lost sixty-eight of our horses, which either fell over the cliff or were hamstrung; and the remainder were so injured and in such a sorry state that we did not expect any of them to be any use again. Thus sixty-eight horses died from their injuries or exhaustion in that pass, and those who escaped were not fully recovered for more than three months.

All the time we were crossing the pass it rained without cease, all day and all night long, but those mountains were such that they did not retain water, and consequently we suffered greatly from thirst, most of our horses dying because of it. And were it not for the water we collected in pots and other vessels while encamped in the huts and shacks we built to shelter us, as it rained enough to provide water for us and the horses, no man or horse would have escaped from those mountains.

During this crossing a nephew[69] of mine fell and broke his leg in three or four places, which, in addition to the pain he was forced to endure, increased our burden, for it was difficult to carry him across that pass.

To relieve our difficulties we found, a league before we


Cortés' Route to Honduras
Gulf of Mexico
CANPECH
CHAMPOTON
Laguna de Terminos
Tonala
Ahualulco
Copilco-Zacualco
Iquinuapa
Huimanguillo
Nacajuca
Villa Hermosa
Astapa
Chilapa
Jahuacapa
Jalapa
Tepetitan
Acumba
Iztapa
Tatahuitalpan
Usumacinta
Ciuatecpan
Itzamkanac
Teotilac
Nuevo Leon
ACALAN
San Pedro Martir
R. Usumacinta
ITZA
Yasuncabil
L. Peten
Tayasal
UAYMIL-
CHETUMAL
Gulf of Honduras
Bahia de Amatique
El Golfete
Nito
L. Izabel
Puerto Cortés
Naco
San Pedro Sula
Quimistán
Miles
0
50
100
Pacific Ocean
AREA INCLUDED IN MAP

reached Tenciz, a very large river[70] which was so swollen on account of the rains that it was impossible to cross; but the Spaniards who had gone on ahead had found a ford upstream, the most remarkable that has ever been heard of or could be imagined. For the river, at that place, spreads out for more than two-thirds of a league on account of some large rocks which hinder its course. Between these rocks are narrow channels through which the river flows with the most terrible force and speed. There is a large number of these channels, since they are the only way the water can escape. We felled some large trees and laid them across from one to another of these rocks. We then crossed in great danger, holding fast to some creepers which had been fastened from one side to the other, for from the slightest slip it would have been impossible to avoid falling. There were more than twenty of these channels, so that it took us two days altogether to cross. The horses swam across lower down, where the current was less fierce, but some of them took as many as three days to reach Tenciz, which was only a league away, for, as I have said before, they suffered so much in the mountain crossing that we had almost to carry them on our shoulders, as they could not walk.

I arrived at the village of Tenciz on Easter Saturday, the fifteenth of ———, 1525,[71] but many of my people did not arrive until three days later, that is, those who had horses and had waited behind for them. Two days before my arrival the Spaniards who had gone on ahead had found three or four of the houses in the village occupied and had taken twenty or so of the inhabitants, for they knew nothing of my approach. I asked them if they had any provisions, and they replied that they had not nor could any be found in all the land. This greatly increased our misfortunes, as for ten days we had eaten nothing but palm nuts and palmettos, and even of these we had only a few, for we no longer had the strength to cut them. But a chieftain of that village told me that one day's journey up that river, which we must again cross at the same place, there was a well-populated province called Tahuytal,[72] where we

would find an abundance of maize, cacao, and hens, and that he would give me a guide to lead us there. I immediately detailed a captain to go there with thirty foot soldiers and more than a thousand of the Indians who were with me. And it pleased Our Lord that they should find the place abandoned and a great abundance of maize, with which we furnished ourselves, although with difficulty on account of the distance.

From these farms I sent, with a native guide, certain Spanish crossbowmen to explore the road we had to travel to a province which is called Acuculin,[73] until they reached a village which is ten leagues from where I was and six from the capital of that province, whose lord is named Acahuilguin. They arrived unnoticed, and, after having seized seven men and one woman from a house, returned to tell me that the road, as far as they had gone, was somewhat difficult but had seemed very good in comparison with those we had previously traveled.

From these Indians they brought, I inquired of the Christians for whom I was looking; among them was one who was a native of Aculan [*sic*] who said he was a merchant and that the center of his trade was in the same town where the Spaniards lived. This place was called Nito,[74] where there was extensive trade with all parts of the county and the merchants from Aculan had had a district of their own where there lived a brother of their chief Apaspolon. The Christians had fallen upon the town one night and seized their merchandise, of which there were great quantities, since there were merchants in the town from many places. From then on, which must have been about a year, they had gone to other provinces and he, and certain other merchants of Aculan, has asked permission of Acahuilguin, lord of Acuculin, to settle in his land. They had built, in a place he assigned to them, a small town where they lived, and where they carried on their trade, although the business had much declined since the arrival of the Spaniards, for the only road lay through Nito and no one dared take it. He said, however, that he would lead me to where they were, although be-

fore reaching them I would have to cross a great inlet from the sea and many difficult mountains, which would mean a ten-day journey. I was greatly pleased to have such a good guide and treated him well; and the guides from Mazatlan and Tayça told him how they likewise had been well treated by me, and how I was a good friend of Apaspolon, his lord. This seemed to reassure him so much that I released both him and his companions; and I trusted so far in them that I also dismissed the other guides, to whom I gave some small trifles for themselves and their lords and thanked them for their services, whereupon they left most contented.

I then sent four of those from Acuculin, together with another two from Tenciz, to speak to the lord of Acuculin and assure him that he had no cause to hide from me. Behind them I sent others to open up a road, but I myself was delayed two days by our need to obtain provisions, though our need to rest was considerable, especially for the health of the horses. Finally, however, we set out, leading most of our horses by the bridle; the following morning we discovered that the man who was to be our guide and all those who were with him had gone. God alone knows how much I regretted having dismissed the others. I continued my journey, however, and spent the night in a forest five leagues farther on, where we went over many bad stretches and a horse, which was the only one unhurt, was hamstrung and even now has not recovered. On the following day I traveled six leagues and crossed two rivers, one of them by means of a fallen tree which enabled the men to reach the other side in safety; the horses were forced to swim across and two mares drowned. The other river we crossed in canoes, the horses again swimming.

I spent that night in a small village of some fifteen houses, all of which were new; and I learnt that they belonged to the merchants of Acalan who had fled from that town where the Christians now were. I remained there a day to collect my men and the baggage which had remained behind, and then sent out two companies of horsemen and one of foot soldiers to the town of Acuculin, from

where they wrote to me that they had found it deserted; but in a large house belonging to the lord of the town they had found two men who said they were waiting there by command of the lord, so that they might advise him of my arrival, for he had heard of my coming from those messengers whom I had sent from Tenciz and would be greatly pleased to see me and would come as soon as he knew I had arrived. One of these Indians had then left to tell his lord and to fetch some provisions while the other remained behind. They wrote to me also that they had found cacao on the trees but no maize, although there was some reasonable grazing for the horses.

When I arrived in Acuculin I asked if the lord had come or the messenger returned, and they replied that they had not, so I spoke to the Indian who had stayed and asked him why this was so. He replied that he did not know and was himself much surprised by it, but it was possible the lord had delayed until receiving news of my arrival, and now that he had done so he would come.

I waited two days, but as he did not appear I spoke again to the Indian, and he said that he did not know why the lord had not come, but that if I gave him some Spaniards to accompany him, he knew where he was and would go and call him. He departed with ten Spaniards and led them for a good five leagues through the forests to some huts which, the Spaniards said, had recently been occupied. That night the guide left them and they returned.

As I was now without any guide at all, which was cause enough to increase our hardships twofold, I sent groups of people, both Spaniards and Indians alike, throughout the entire province, and they explored every part of it for some eight days or more, but they could find no one save for a few women, who were of little use to us as they neither knew the road, nor could tell us anything of the lord or the inhabitants of the province. One of them, however, said that she knew of a town, two days' march away, called Chianteca, where we would find people who could tell us of the Spaniards for whom we were looking, for in that village there were

many merchants who traded in many parts. I then sent some people, with this woman as a guide, but although the village was a good two days' journey from where I was encamped and the road was bad and led through deserted country, the natives had been warned of my coming and no guide could be found.

It pleased Our Lord that when we had almost given up all hope, on finding ourselves with no guide and unable to use the compass, for we were among the rockiest and steepest mountains I have ever seen with no road to lead us out save the one we had come on, we found in the forest a lad of about fifteen, who, when asked, said he would lead us to some farms in Tanyha,[75] another province through which I had to pass, according to my map. He said that those farms were two days' journey from the place where we were then encamped. With this guide I departed, and in two days arrived at those farms where the scouts whom I sent ahead captured an old Indian who guided us to the villages of Tanyha, which are another two days' journey farther on. In these villages we took four Indians, and when I questioned them they gave me some definite news of the Spaniards whom I sought, saying that they had seen them, and that they were but two days' march from there in the town called Nito, which I had on my map. As it was a center of much trade, news of it was known in many places, as they had told me in the province of Aculan, which I have already mentioned to Your Majesty. They also brought me two women, natives of Nito, who gave me a more complete account, for they told me that they were in the town when it was taken by the Christians, who fell upon it at night, and they had been captured together with many others and had served certain of the Christians whom they mentioned by name.

I cannot describe to Your Majesty the great joy which I and all my company felt on hearing this news in Tanyha and knowing that we were now so close to the end of our so perilous journey. For, even on the last four days' journey from Acuculin, we had undergone innumerable hardships because there were no roads and

we had to cross steep and precipitous mountain passes where some of our remaining horses fell to their deaths, and a cousin of mine, called Juan de Avalos,[76] fell down a cliff with his horse and broke his arm; and had it not been for the plates of the armor he was wearing, which protected him from the rocks, he would have been dashed to pieces; and, even so, we had great trouble in bringing him up again. There were many other misfortunes besides, which would take too long to recount, but most of all we suffered from hunger, for although I still had some of the pigs which I had brought from México, we had eaten no bread for eight days, when we arrived in Tanyha. Our only food had been palmettos cooked with the meat and without salt, which had long been exhausted; with this and some palm kernels we survived. Neither did we find anything to eat in these villages in Tanyha, for, as they were so close to the Spaniards, the inhabitants had abandoned them some time before for fear of an attack, although had they but known the condition in which I afterwards found the Spaniards, they need have feared nothing on their account. The news that we were now so close to them made us forget all our past troubles and hardened us to bear the present ones which were no less great, especially that of hunger, which was the worst, because even those palmettos, without salt, were not sufficient, for they had to be cut with great difficulty from some very thick and tall palms, and it took two men a whole day to cut what they could eat in half an hour.

Those Indians who had given me the news of the Spaniards now told me that I would have to travel for two days over a bad road before reaching Nito, and that before the town there was a great river[77] which could only be crossed in canoes, as it was too wide to swim.

I immediately sent fifteen Spaniards on foot with one of those guides to explore the road and the river;[78] I also ordered them to see if they could, without being discovered, obtain some information about these Spaniards so that I might learn to what company they belonged—whether to that I had sent under Cristóbal de

Olid, or Francisco de las Casas, or under Gil González de Ávila.[79] So they departed, and the Indian guided them to that river, where they took a canoe belonging to some merchants and then hid themselves for two days. At the end of this time four Spaniards came from the town, which was on the far side of the river, in a canoe to fish. These they seized without anyone escaping and without being observed from the town. When they were brought before me, I learnt that the people there were of the company of Gil González de Ávila, and that they were all sick, and half-dead with hunger.

I then sent two of my servants in that same canoe to the town with a letter informing the Spaniards of my arrival and saying that I intended to cross that river, for which purpose I begged them to send me all the boats and canoes they had. I then set out with all my company to the river and was three days in reaching it. When I arrived, one Diego Nieto, who said he was in charge in the town, came bringing me a boat and a canoe in which I, with ten or twelve men, crossed over that night to the town, although in extreme peril, for a strong wind caught us, and, as the river is very wide at its mouth there, we were in danger of being lost, but it pleased Our Lord to bring us safely to land. On the following day I had a boat which was there made ready and ordered more canoes to be found and lashed together in pairs; in this fashion all the men and horses crossed in five or six days.

The Spaniards I found there were some sixty men and twenty women whom the captain Gil González de Ávila had left behind. I found them in such a plight that it moved us to the greatest pity simply to see them and to see the joy with which they greeted my arrival, for, truly, had I not come, not one of them would have lived long, for in addition to being few and unarmed and without horses, they were very ill and wounded, and dying of hunger, because they had exhausted the provisions they had brought with them from the Islands and those that they had found in the town when they occupied it. Furthermore, they had no means of obtaining more, for they were not in a condition to scour

the countryside looking for it. And even if they had had any, the town was situated in such a place that there was no way out, or rather they failed to find the one which we later discovered after much difficulty; and, moreover, they had never traveled more than half a league inland from the town.

When I saw the great straits these people were in, I determined to find them some support until I could procure means to send them back to the Islands where they might recover, for there were not eight among them fit enough to remain in the country as settlers. I therefore sent some of my people in the two boats that were there and in five or six canoes by sea to many different places. The first expedition went to the mouth of a river which is called Yasa[80] and lies in the direction of the road along which we had come, ten leagues[81] from this town of Nito, for there, I had heard, were many villages and abundant provisions. When they arrived at the river they sailed up it for six leagues and reached some quite large fields, but the natives observed their approach and, storing up all the provisions they had in some nearby houses, fled into the forest with their women and children and all their belongings. When the Spaniards reached those houses it began to rain so heavily that they were forced to take shelter in a large house which was there, and, as they were wet through, they thoughtlessly all took off their armor, and many even their clothes as well to dry them and warm themselves before the fires they had made. While they were thus unprepared the Indians fell upon them, and as they took them by surprise wounded many of them in such a manner that they were forced to re-embark and return to me as empty-handed as they had left. When they arrived, God knows how sorry I was, both to see them wounded, some of them seriously, and at the advantage the Indians had taken of them, not to mention their failure to bring any of the things we so desperately needed.

I immediately sent out another expedition in the same boats and canoes but under a different captain and with more men, drawn both from the Spaniards and the Méxicans who had accompanied

me. But because there was not room in the boats for all the people, I ordered some of them to cross to the other side of that great river which skirts this town and then proceed along the coast while the boats and canoes were to follow close inshore so as to help them across the many rivers and inlets. So they departed and came to the mouth of the aforementioned river where the other Spaniards had been wounded, but then they returned without any supplies and having done nothing save capture four Indians who were paddling a canoe at sea. When they were asked the reason for their failure they answered that with the heavy rains the river had swollen and was flowing so furiously that they had been unable to proceed up it for more than a league, but, believing that it would subside, they had waited eight days without the means to kindle a fire or any provisions except for the fruit from the trees in the forest, and some of them returned in such a condition that it was no easy task to save their lives.

I now found myself in such need that if it had not been for some few pigs left over from the journey which were most strictly rationed and eaten without bread or salt, we should all have ended our days there. I questioned those Indians we had captured in the canoe, through the interpreter, as to whether they knew of any place where we might go to find provisions, promising them that if they led me to such a place I would set them at liberty and give them many gifts besides. One of them said that he was a merchant, and the others his slaves, and that he had gone that way many times in his ships to trade and knew of a bay that reached from there to a great river, which all the merchants crossed whenever bad weather prevented them from navigating on the open sea. Beside that river there were many large settlements with very rich people, well supplied with provisions. He said that he would guide us to certain villages where we might have all that we required; but, in order to assure me that he spoke the truth, he offered to be put in chains so that should he have lied I might punish him as he deserved. I at once had the boats and canoes made ready and manned them with all the

able men left in my company and dispatched them with that guide. After ten days they returned just as they had left, saying that the guide had led them into some marshes where the boats and canoes were unable to maneuver, and although they had done everything in their power they had failed to find a way. I then asked the guide why he had deceived me, and he replied that he had not done so, but that those Spaniards with whom he had been sent had refused to go on, even though they were very close to reaching the sea where the river entered;[82] and, indeed, many of the Spaniards confessed that they had heard the sound of the sea very clearly, and therefore it could not have been far away.

I cannot describe what I felt on finding myself so helpless and almost beyond hope, believing that not one of us could escape alive but must all die of hunger. While thus perplexed, Our Lord God, who always undertakes to aid us in such necessities and, unworthy though I am, has so often assisted and succored me because I am engaged in the Royal service of Your Majesty, sent thither a ship from the Islands, not in the least expecting to find me there. In her came thirty men, not counting the sailors, and also thirteen horses and some seventy pigs, twelve casks of salted meat, and some thirty loads of bread of the kind used in the Islands. We all gave many thanks to Our Lord for having thus saved us in the hour of our need and I bought all those provisions and the ship herself, which cost me four thousand *pesos*.[83] I had already made great haste to repair a caravel which the Spaniards in Nito had allowed to fall almost into pieces, and had also begun to build a brigantine from the remains of others which had been wrecked thereabouts. By the time the ship arrived from the Islands the caravel was almost ready, but I doubt if we would ever have completed the brigantine had that ship not come, for it brought a man who, though not a ship's carpenter by trade, had considerable aptitude for our task. Later, in exploring the surrounding countryside, we discovered a track which led across some very steep mountains to a town called Leguela, eighteen leagues from Nito. There were abundant pro-

visions there, but, as it was so far and the road was so bad, it was impossible to transport them.

From certain Indians whom we captured in Leguela I learnt that it was at Naco,[84] where Francisco de las Casas and Cristóbal de Olid and Gil González de Ávila had been and where Cristóbal de Olid had died (of which event I have prepared a report for Your Majesty and will speak hereafter). This was confirmed by the Spaniards I found in Leguela [Nito], and I immediately ordered a road to be opened and sent out a captain with all the horsemen, keeping by me only the sick, the servants of my household, and such persons as wished to remain with me and leave by sea. I instructed that captain to go to Naco and attempt to pacify the people of that province, who had been somewhat disturbed by the presence of those Spanish captains; as soon as he arrived he was to send ten or twelve horsemen and as many crossbowmen to the bay of San Andrés, which is twenty leagues from that town. Meanwhile I would take all the sick and the others who had remained behind in the ships to the aforementioned bay, and if I arrived first, I would wait for them; but if they did, then they were to wait for me, so that I might tell them what they were to do.

After these people had left and the brigantine had been completed, I was about to embark with the rest of my company when I discovered that although we had some supplies of meat, we had none of bread, and as we had so many sick, it would be unwise to put to sea in such condition, for if we were delayed by the weather, we should starve to death instead of finding a remedy for our hardships. While seeking a solution to this problem, one who had been left as captain of those Spaniards in Nito told me that they had been two hundred strong when they had arrived with Gil González and had come in four ships and a very good brigantine. With the brigantine and the ships' boats they had sailed up that river and had found two large lagoons of fresh water, on the shores of which were many villages well supplied with provisions. They had sailed to the end of the lagoons, some fourteen leagues upstream, where

the river became so narrow and the current so fierce that although they had attempted to continue, they could make no more than four leagues in six days, although the river was still navigable. They had therefore been unable to explore that river adequately, but he believed that there were good supplies of maize to be found. But he said that I had too few people to go there with, for when they had gone, eighty of his men had taken a town by surprise, and although they had captured it, the Indians had returned, wounding several of them and driving them back into the ships.

Seeing, however, the extremity we were in and that it was more dangerous to put to sea without supplies than to go and find them on land, I decided to ignore the danger and go up that river; for apart from our having no alternative but to find food for those wretched people, it seemed that Our Lord God might permit me to discover something whereby I might render Your Majesty a service. I therefore counted the people well enough to accompany me and found some forty Spaniards who, though not altogether fit, would serve to guard the ships while I loaded. With these forty Spaniards and some fifty Indians who still remained out of those I had brought from México, I set out in the brigantine, two open boats and four canoes, leaving in that village one of my stewards to care for the sick whom I left in his charge. In this fashion I pursued my course upstream with great difficulty on account of the rapid currents, and in one day and two nights reached the first of the two lagoons, which was three leagues from our starting point and about twelve leagues round, and which has no villages on its shores, being surrounded by marshland. I spent one day crossing this lake and then came to a place where the river narrowed again. I sailed up it, and on the following morning reached the second lagoon, which is the most wonderful thing in the world to behold, for between the highest and the steepest mountains imaginable lay an inland sea so large that it must measure more than thirty leagues around. I sailed along one shore of it until, when it was almost night, we came upon a path which, after two-thirds of a league, led to a village, but the

inhabitants seemed to have been warned of our arrival, for it was abandoned and empty of all provisions. In the fields, however, we found much green maize, which we ate that night and on the following morning; seeing that we would not find there the provisions we sought, we loaded up that green maize and returned to the boats, without having encountered or even seen any natives of that land.[85]

I then sailed to the far side of the lagoon, but the crossing was made difficult by contrary winds and we lost a canoe, although the people were saved by the boats and only one Indian was drowned. It was late in the evening when we reached the shore, and so we were unable to land until the following morning, when we left the brigantine anchored in the lagoon and sailed up a small river in the boats and canoes. I then saw a road and landed with thirty men and all the Indians and sent the boats and canoes back to join the brigantine. I followed that road, and after a quarter of a league came upon a village which seemed to have been deserted a long while before, for the houses were overgrown with grass, although there were good plantations of peanuts and other fruit trees. I explored the village for a road leading to some other place, but when at last I found one, it was so choked with undergrowth that it appeared not to have been used for a long time. But as I could find no other, I determined to follow it and traveled five leagues that day through some forests so dense we had to climb the path through them on our hands and knees.[86] At last we came upon some maize plantations and in a small hut which was close by we captured three women and a man, doubtless the owner of the plantation. They guided us to other plantations where another two women were captured who, in turn, led us along a road to a very large plantation in the midst of which were some forty small houses which seemed to have been recently built. It would appear, however, that the inhabitants had been warned of our arrival, for they had all fled to the forests; but as we came upon them by surprise, they had no time to gather up all their possessions and so there was something left for

us, especially hens, pigeons, partridges and pheasants, which they had in cages; but we found neither dried maize nor salt. I passed the night in this place, and found some green maize which we ate with the birds, and this satisfied our hunger.

When we had been in this village a little over two hours, two of the Indian inhabitants returned and were very much alarmed to find such guests in their houses. They were seized by the sentries, and, when asked if they knew of any town nearby, replied that they did and that they would lead me there the next day, but that we would not arrive before dusk. On the following morning we departed with those guides, and they led us by a road worse than that of the day before, for in addition to being equally as overgrown we had, every crossbowshot, to cross one of the rivers which empty into the lake. This great quantity of water flowing from the surrounding mountains is what causes those lagoons and marshes to be formed and that river to flow so fiercely into the sea, as I have already described to Your Majesty.

Continuing on our way, we traveled seven leagues in this fashion without reaching a village, crossing forty-five large rivers and countless streams. We captured three women during the course of the day who were coming with loads of maize from that same town to which our guide was leading us, and they assured us that the guide was not deceiving us. At sunset, or just after, we heard a noise of people and drums, and when I asked those women what it was, they replied that it was a celebration they were holding that day. I then ordered all my men to hide in the forest as quickly as possible and sent some of my scouts right up to the edge of the town, and others I placed on the road to seize any Indian who might pass that way; thus we spent the night in a torrent of rain amid the most unbelievable plague of mosquitoes. Indeed, so rough was the road and so dark and stormy the night that two or three times, when I attempted to find the town, I failed even to find the road, although we were so close we could almost hear the Indians talking. Thus I was forced to wait until dawn, and we were awake

so early that we surprised them all while they still slept. I had given orders that no one should enter a house or utter a sound, but that we should surround the main houses, especially the one belonging to the chieftain, and a large hall in which our guides had told us all the warriors slept.

God and our good fortune so willed it that the first house we came upon was indeed that of the warriors; and, as it was now light and everything was plainly visible, one of my company, seeing so many men in arms and seeing how few we were to attack, even though our opponents were asleep, thought it expedient to call for help and so began to shout with all his might, "Santiago! Santiago!" which awoke the Indians. Some of them took up their weapons, others did not; and, as the house had no walls on any side, the roof being supported only by posts, they leapt out anywhere they wished, for we were unable to surround the place completely. I assure Your Majesty that had that man not shouted, not one of them would have escaped us, which would have been the finest exploit ever achieved in these lands, and might even have allowed us to pacify them all, by releasing them and explaining the reason of my coming and how we meant them no harm but rather were setting them free after we had captured them, and this might have benefited us greatly; but instead the contrary happened. We succeeded in capturing only some fifteen men and twenty women; some ten or twelve more who would not be taken were killed, among whom, unbeknown to us, was the lord of the village, who was later identified by the captives. Neither did we find anything to our advantage, for although there was some green maize, it was not the kind of provisions we were looking for. I remained in this village two days to allow my men to rest; and I asked the Indians we had captured if they knew of any town or village where I might find supplies of dried maize. They replied that they knew of one such town which was called Chạcujal,[87] which was very large and very old and well stocked with all kinds of provisions.

After two days I departed, led by those Indians toward the

town of which they had spoken; and that day we traveled a good six leagues, likewise over a bad road and across many rivers, and reached some extensive cultivation which the guides said belonged to the town we were bound for. We then went round them for about two leagues through the forest, so as not to be observed, and captured eight Indians, woodcutters and other laborers, who were hunting in the forest and coming unsuspectingly toward us; and as I always had scouts posted out ahead not one of them escaped us. As it was almost sunset the guides now told me to halt, as we were very close to the town. I did so and remained in the forest for three hours after nightfall. Then I began to proceed and crossed a river whose waters came up to our chests, and the current was so strong that we would have found ourselves in great danger had not we all held on to each other and thus crossed safely. Once on the far bank, the guides told me that the town was now at hand. I halted my men and, taking two companies, went forward until I could see the houses; and all was quiet and the natives seemed unaware of our arrival. I then returned to my people and ordered them to take some rest, placing six men on either side of the road within sight of the village. No sooner had I lain down on some straw than one of the scouts came up to me and said that a host of armed men were coming down the road, but that they were talking together and in other ways behaving as though they knew nothing of our presence.

I alerted my men as quietly as I could, but as the distance between us and the town was so short they discovered our scouts, and immediately let fly a shower of arrows and sent word round the town; then they retreated, fighting with us all the way, until we entered the town when, as it was dark, they disappeared down the streets. Because it was dark and I thought they might be preparing an ambush, I would not allow my men to disband, but, keeping them well together, I marched to a great square where they had their temples and shrines. When we saw these temples and the buildings roundabout in the same manner as those of Culua, our fears were much increased, for since leaving Acalan we had seen

nothing of this kind. Many among my company were of the opinion that we should leave the town and cross the river that same night before the Indians discovered how few we were and cut off our retreat. And truly it was not bad advice, for what we had seen of the village gave us every reason to fear. We remained, however, gathered together in that square for a long time, and never once did we hear a sound of people; and it seemed to me that we ought not to depart in that fashion, for perhaps the Indians, seeing that we remained, would be more frightened, whereas if they saw us retreat they might discover our weakness, which would place us in grave danger. It pleased Our Lord that it should so happen, for after having been in that square a long while I collected my people together in one of those great rooms and sent others out into the town to report if they saw or heard anything in the village. But they did not hear a sound; on the contrary, they had gone into many houses where fires were burning and had found a great quantity of provisions with which they returned most cheerful and delighted. We remained there that night keeping the best watch we could.

As soon as it was light we explored the whole town, which was very well laid out and the houses were very good and built close together. We found in all of them a large quantity of cotton, some of which was woven, some unwoven, and good-quality garments of the kind they use; we also found an abundance of dried maize, cacao, beans, peppers and salt, and many hens and pheasants in cages, and partridges and dogs[88] that they breed for food, which are quite tasty, and all kinds of provisions. So much indeed that had ships been available we could have loaded them with enough for a considerable time. But to take advantage of them we had to carry them twenty leagues on our shoulders, and we were in such a condition that had we not rested there for a few days it would have been all we could do to return to the boats, without carrying extra burden.

That same day I sent for a native of the town whom we had captured in those plantations and who seemed to be a person of

›. Map of Tabasco attributed to Melchior de Alfaro Santa Cruz. This map ccompanied Alfaro's report, one of the two now extant, of the province of 'abasco made in 1579. The circular form suggests that the mapmaker was nfluenced by what appears to have been a Maya convention (c.f. the cirular map in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel). For further details ee, Ralph R. Roys, *The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatán*, Carnegie nstitute of Washington Publication No. 548, p. 184. Reproduced from Alred Percival Maudslay's translation of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *True listory of the Conquest of New Spain*, London, 1908–1916.

importance, for when we caught him he was hunting with bow and arrow and was well dressed after their fashion, and spoke to him through the interpreter, telling him to find the lord and people of that village and say to them, on my behalf, that I had come to do them no harm but rather to speak to them of things which would greatly benefit them. The chief, or some respected citizen, of the town should therefore come to me, to learn the cause of my arrival, for they could be certain that much good would come of it, and much harm if he refused. And so I dispatched him with a letter of mine, for they are much assured in these parts by such things, although this was against the wishes of some of my company, who said that it was unwise to send him, for he would inform them of how few we were. The town was large and populous, to judge by the number of houses, and once they discovered how few we were they might join forces with the neighboring villages and attack us. I saw that they were right; yet, as I wished to find a way of equipping ourselves with sufficient provisions, and believed that if those people came to me in peace they might provide a means of transporting some of the provisions, I set aside all that might befall us; because truly the risk we ran of dying of hunger if we did not take back provisions was as great as that which could ensue from an attack by the Indians. I persisted, therefore, in dispatching the Indian, and it was agreed that he would return the following day, for he knew where to find the lord and all the people. On the following morning, however, when he should have returned, two Spaniards walking round the outside of the town and exploring the countryside discovered my letter fixed to a pole beside the road, by which we were certain we would receive no reply; and indeed neither that Indian nor any other person ever came, although we spent eighteen days in that town, resting and seeking for a means by which to transport those provisions.

Thinking on this matter, it seemed to me most expedient to follow the river downstream from the town to see if it flowed into the river which flows into those lakes where I had left the brigan-

tine, the boats and the canoes. I asked those Indians whom we held prisoner, and they replied that it did, although we did not understand them very well, nor they us, for their language is different from the others we have heard so far.[89] Using signs and a few words I understood of their language, I asked that two of them should accompany ten Spaniards and show them where that river joined the main one. They replied that it was very close and that they would return that same day. And so it pleased Our Lord that after walking for two leagues through some very attractive plantations of peanuts and other fruit trees they came upon the main river which the guides said was the one which flowed to the lake where I had left the boats; and they told us its name, which is Apolochic.[90] I then asked them how many days it would take by canoe to reach the lakes, and they replied five; so I sent two Spaniards with one of those guides who was to lead them by a short cut to the brigantine. I ordered them to bring the brigantine, boats and canoes to the mouth of that great river and to attempt to come upstream in a boat and a canoe to the point where the other river joined it.

When they had departed I ordered four large rafts to be built of timbers and large canoes. Each one carried about sixty-five bushels of dried maize and ten men as well as quantities of beans, peppers and cacao with which the Spaniards loaded them. When after eight days these rafts were at last completed and the provisions stowed on board, the Spaniards whom I had sent to the brigantine arrived and told me that six days previously they had begun to go up the river but had been unable to bring the boat to the agreed place; instead they had left it five leagues downstream with ten Spaniards guarding it. Likewise they had been unable to make much progress with the canoe, for they were very tired from rowing, but they had hidden it only a league away. As they were coming up the river they had been attacked by some Indians, and they believed that although they were few they would gather forces to await our return. I at once dispatched some men to bring the canoe up to where the rafts were, and, having loaded it with provisions, I

sent aboard those who were required to guide us with some long poles to keep us clear of the trees in the river which were most dangerous. I sent the rest of my people under a captain back down the road along which we had come, with orders that if he arrived ahead of me, he was to wait where he had disembarked and I would meet him there; if, however, I arrived first, I would wait for him. I then boarded that canoe escorting the rafts with only two crossbowmen, as there were no others.

Although the journey was most dangerous on account of the fast current and ferocity of the river, and also because we were certain the Indians would attack us on the way, I determined to go myself with the rafts to ensure that every care was taken. Therefore, commending myself to God, I allowed myself to be carried off down river, and we were swept along at such a speed that within three hours we reached the place where the boat had been left. We had hoped to unload some of our cargo onto her so as to lighten the rafts, but the current was so strong that they were unable to stop. I boarded the boat and ordered that the canoe, well provided with oarsmen, should always keep ahead of the rafts to discover if there were any Indians in canoes and give warning of any dangerous places. I remained behind in the boat, waiting for all the rafts to pass, for should anything occur I would be of more help to them coming downstream than going upstream.

Just before sunset one of the rafts struck a submerged log which somewhat unbalanced it; the fury of the waters soon righted it, however, but not before it had lost half its cargo. After we had traveled some three hours into the night, I heard some Indians raise a great cry ahead of us, but as I dared not leave the rafts I did not go forward to discover the cause of it, and after a while it ceased and all was silent for a time. A little later, however, I heard it again; this time it seemed much closer, but again it stopped and I was unable to discover what it was, because the canoe and the three rafts went ahead while I followed behind with the damaged raft, which was slower. For a long time we had no more cries and so dropped

our guard somewhat; I took off my helmet and rested my head in my hands, for I had a high fever.

Suddenly, at a bend in the river, we were caught by the current with such force that the boat and the raft were driven ashore, at the very place, it seemed, from where the shouting had come, for the Indians who had been brought up beside this river knew it well and knew that the current would force us into the bank at that point. Many of them were waiting there for us, and when the rafts and canoe reached them they shot at them with arrows, wounding nearly everyone on board, but as they knew we were following behind they did not attack them as fiercely as they later attacked us. The people in the canoe could not come up against the current and so were unable to warn us. When we struck the shore the Indians let forth a tremendous cry and assailed us with so many arrows and stones that they wounded us all; I was struck on the head, which was the only part of me unprotected by armor. It pleased Our Lord, however, that this should occur at a place where the riverbanks were very high and the water deep, and for this reason we were not captured, because those who attempted to leap down onto the boat and canoes missed us in the dark, and fell into the water, and few, I believe, can have escaped with their lives. So rapidly were we carried past them on the current that very soon after we could no longer hear their shouts. And so we traveled almost all that night without further encounter, though from time to time we heard them calling out from the distance or from the banks of the river; for both sides are inhabited and lined with beautiful plantations of cacao and other fruit trees. At dawn we found ourselves five leagues from the mouth of that river which flows into the lake where the brigantine was awaiting us. And we arrived there that day almost at noon, so that in a single day and night we had traveled twenty leagues down that river.

When we came to unload the provisions from the rafts onto the brigantine, most of them were discovered to be wet, and seeing that if they were not dried all would be lost and our efforts wasted

(and we had no other food supplies), I had all the maize that was dry taken out and stowed in the brigantine; the wet maize was then thrown into the two boats and the two canoes. I then ordered it to be taken as swiftly as possible to the town to be dried, for, because of the swamps, there was no place on the lagoon where this could be done. Thus they departed, and I told them to return straightaway with the boats and canoes to help me embark my people, for the brigantine and the one remaining canoe were not sufficient for the purpose. I then set sail and proceeded to the place where I was to await the people who were coming overland; and after three days they arrived, all very well, save for one Spaniard who, they said, had eaten a certain plant by the road and died almost instantly. They also brought with them an Indian whom they had surprised and captured in the town where I had left them; and as he was different from the other Indians of that land, both in dress and language, I spoke to him by signs and with the help of one among the prisoners who understood his language. Thus I learnt that he was a native of Teculutlan, and when I heard the name of this town it seemed to me that I had heard it before; and, indeed, when I returned to the town and looked up certain notes of mine, I discovered the name written there, whereby it seemed that overland from where I was to the Southern Sea was no more than seventy-eight leagues. For also in those notes it appeared that Spaniards of Pedro de Alvarado's[91] company had been in Teculutlan, a fact which the Indian confirmed. And I rejoiced greatly to know of the short distance which separated us.

Now that all my men were together and the boats still had not arrived, we soon finished the few dry provisions which remained, and then boarded the brigantine, although with great difficulty, for there was not enough room, thinking to cross the lake to the town where we had first landed, for the maize had been ripening then, and as twenty-five days had passed we expected to find much of it now ripe enough for us to make use of it. One morning, however, while sailing in the middle of the lake, we saw the boats

approaching, and so we all landed together. All my people, Spaniards as well as our Indian friends, and some forty-five Indian prisoners, went together to the town and found a very good crop of maize, much of which was ripe. They encountered no opposition; and Christians and Indians alike made three journeys each that day, for the fields lay close by. When the brigantine and the boats were loaded I returned with them to Nito, leaving my people transporting maize. Straightaway I sent back the two boats together with a third that had come ashore there from a ship, which had been lost on the coast coming to New Spain, and four canoes, in which all my people returned, bringing an abundant supply of maize. This was such a relief to us that it well repaid our labors, for had we not had it we should all have perished of hunger with no hope of relief.

I then had all those provisions stowed aboard the ships, and embarked the remainder of my company and all the people of that town who had followed Gil González and set sail on the ——— of ———[92] for the harbor in the bay of San Andrés. I first anchored off a headland and set ashore all those who were still able to walk, together with two horses that I had with me in the ship, and ordered them to proceed overland to the aforementioned harbor, where they were to meet or await the others who were on their way from Naco; for our ships were dangerously overloaded, whereas that road was well traveled and presented few difficulties. I sent also a boat down the coast to help them cross several rivers which lay in their path. When I myself arrived in San Andrés I discovered that the people who had come from Naco had preceded me by two days. From them I learnt that all the others were well and had an abundance of maize and peppers and many fruits of that country, but they had no meat or salt nor had they tasted any for two months. I remained in that harbor twenty days organizing what the people in Naco had to do, and looking for a place to settle on that bay, for the harbor is the best we have discovered on this mainland; that is to say between the Gulf of Pearls and Florida.

It pleased Our Lord that we should find a good and most

suitable site and when I sent certain of my men to explore some streams, though they had little equipment, they found good samples of gold, at distances of one and two leagues from the town. For this reason and also because the harbor is such a fine one, the surrounding countryside so fertile and so well inhabited, it seemed to me that Your Majesty would be well served if I were to found a town there. I therefore sent to Naco, where the remainder of the people were, to ask if any of them wished to become settlers, and as the land is good, nearly fifty, for the most part those who had been in my company, came forward, and so in Your Majesty's name I founded a town there. As the day on which we cleared the ground was the day of the Nativity[93] of Our Lady, I called the town by that name and appointed alcaldes and regidores and left there priests and church ornaments and other things necessary for the Mass. I also left them skilled craftsmen, such as a blacksmith with a very good forge, a carpenter, a calker, a barber and a tailor. The settlers had between them twenty horsemen and some crossbowmen; and I also provided them with certain pieces of artillery and some powder.

When I arrived in that harbor and learnt from those Spaniards who had come from Naco how the inhabitants of that and all the neighboring towns had left their homes and fled to the mountains and forest, and, although several of them had been invited to, now they were afraid to return on account of the harm they had received at the hands of Gil González and Cristóbal de Olid, I wrote to the captain who was there asking him to do all in his power to secure some of these Indians and to send them to me that I might reassure them. He did this, sending me certain persons whom he had captured on an expedition. I spoke to them and greatly assured them and made some of the principal persons from México speak to them; they told them who I was and all I had done in their land, of the good treatment all received from me once they had become my friends, and of how they were protected and governed in justice: they, their property and their women and children.

They told them also of the punishments received by all those who rebelled against Your Majesty's service and many other things besides, which seemed to reassure them somewhat. They answered, however, that they were afraid what they had been told was not the truth, for those other captains before me had said the same things, and more, but afterwards it was discovered to be false, for the women they had given them to make bread were not returned, neither were the men who had carried their baggage. They were afraid that I would do likewise. Nevertheless, they were somewhat reassured by what the Mexicans, and the interpreter who was beside me, had told them, and by seeing how well treated and cheerful they were in our company.

I then sent them away to speak to the lords and peoples of the villages, and after a few days the captain wrote to me saying that some of the people from the surrounding villages had returned peacefully to their homes, especially to the principal ones, which are Naco itself, where they are quartered, Quimistlan, Zula and Cholome,[94] the smallest of which has more than two thousand houses, besides a number of dependent hamlets; these had said that soon the whole land would be at peace, for they had sent out messengers reassuring the others and informing them who I was and of all they had been told them by the people of Mexico. They were also anxious for me to visit them, for by so doing the people would be more easily reassured. This I would most willingly have done were it not that I had to continue my journey so as to set in order certain matters which I will relate to Your Majesty in the following chapter.

Invincible Caesar, on my arrival at the town of Nito, where I found the people of Gil González de Ávila in such a state, I learnt from them that Francisco de las Casas, whom I had sent to find Cristóbal de Olid, as I have already informed Your Majesty, had left, sixty leagues down the coast in a bay which the pilots call Las Honduras, certain Spaniards who no doubt had settled there. As soon as I arrived in this town in the bay of San Andrés where in

Your Majesty's name I founded the town called Natividad de Nuestra Señora, and while I remained there to arrange the building and settlement of it, likewise to give orders to the captain and people in Naco concerning what action they were to take to pacify and secure those villages, I sent the ship which I had purchased to the aforementioned bay of Honduras to get news of the people there and to return with it. When I had completed my tasks, the ship returned bringing with it a representative of the town and a regidor, who entreated me to go and relieve them, for they were in extreme need because the captain whom Francisco de las Casas had appointed over them and an alcalde who had been appointed likewise had seized a ship then lying in the harbor, and of 110 men had persuaded fifty to follow them. The others had had nearly all their belongings taken from them and were left without weapons or any iron tools and were constantly afraid that either the Indians would kill them or they would die of hunger, as they had no means of obtaining food. A ship from the island of Hispaniola owned by a man called *bachiller* Pedro Moreno[95] had landed there, but although they had begged him to provide them with food he had refused to do so, as I heard at greater length when I reached that town.

To remedy this I once again embarked with all those sick people, though by that time some of them had died, intending to send them from that place to the Islands and to New Spain, as afterwards I did. I took some of my servants with me, and ordered twenty horsemen and ten crossbowmen to go overland, as I had been informed that the road was a good one, although they would have several rivers to cross. It took me nine days to arrive owing to contrary weather, but as soon as we had cast anchor in the bay of Las Honduras, I got into a boat with two Franciscan friars who always traveled with me and about ten of my servants, and went ashore to find the people of the town waiting for us on the beach. As I drew near, however, they all rushed into the water and lifted me out of the boat onto their shoulders to show how delighted they

were at my arrival; and so together we walked to the church which they had there. After having given thanks to Our Lord they begged me to be seated, for they wished to give me an account of all that had happened. They were afraid that, on account of an unfavorable report made to me, I might be angry with them, and they wished me to know the truth before I judged them on such evidence. I did as they bade me, and a priest who was there stood up and spoke on their behalf as follows:

"Sir, you well know how you sent all, or nearly all of us who are here present, from New Spain under Cristóbal de Olid, your captain, to settle these parts in His Majesty's name, and that you ordered us all to obey the aforementioned Cristóbal de Olid in all that he commanded, as we would yourself. And so we departed with him for the island of Cuba, where we were to take on board certain provisions and horses which we required. Having arrived at Havana, which is a harbor of that island, Cristóbal de Olid exchanged letters with Diego Velázquez and His Majesty's officials residing there, and they sent him some men. When we had furnished ourselves with all we needed, which was provided most fully by your servant Alonso de Contreras, we departed and continued on our way. Omitting some incidents that befell us on our journey which would be too long to tell, we reached this coast fourteen leagues beyond the port of Caballos, and as soon as we had landed Cristóbal de Olid took possession of it on your behalf in His Majesty's name and founded there a town with the alcaldes and regidores, who had previously been appointed to their offices. He likewise carried out certain other official duties relating to the foundation and settlement of this town, while acting always on your behalf and as your captain and lieutenant. Some days later, however, he made common cause with the servants of Diego Velázquez[96] who had accompanied him and made certain pronouncements which clearly showed that he had ceased to recognize your authority; and although most of us thought this ill done, we dared not reprove his conduct, for he threatened us with the gallows. Rather

than opposing him, therefore, we acquiesced in all he did, and we were even joined in this by certain servants and relatives of yours who likewise dared not and could not do otherwise. After this had been done he learnt, from six messengers whom he captured, that certain of Gil González's people were coming to see him. He went out to meet them by a river crossing they were bound to pass; and there he waited several days in the hope of capturing them. As they did not come, however, he left a captain on guard and returned to the town, where he began to fit out his two caravels and arm them with guns and munitions, preparing to attack a town of Spaniards which the captain Gil González had settled farther up the coast. While thus engaged in preparing his offensive, Francisco de las Casas arrived with two ships, and as soon as Cristóbal de Olid knew who it was, he ordered the guns of his ships to fire on him. Francisco de las Casas then hoisted flags of peace and called out that he had been sent by you, but the bombardment did not cease, and suddenly a volley of ten or twelve shots was fired, one of which went straight through one side of the ship and out of the other. Francisco de las Casas now realized his hostile intent and was able to confirm the suspicions already entertained against Olid, so he manned and lowered his boats and opened fire upon the two caravels in the harbor, which he soon captured with all the ordnance aboard, their crews fleeing to safety ashore.

"As soon as Cristóbal de Olid saw that his ships had been taken, he began to discuss terms with him, not intending to achieve anything, but simply to delay him until the people who were waiting for Gil González had returned, hoping thereby to deceive Las Casas, and indeed Las Casas did all he asked with great goodwill. Thus they began discussing terms without ever reaching any conclusion, until a storm blew up, and as there was no harbor but only the rocky coast it drove Las Casas's ships against the shore; some thirty men were drowned, and all they possessed was lost. Las Casas himself and all the others who escaped were naked and so battered by the sea that Cristóbal de Olid captured them all, and before they

entered the town made them swear upon the Gospels that they would obey and serve him as their captain and would never act against him.

"At this time news arrived that Olid's captain had seized fifty-seven men who were under the command of the alcalde mayor of the aforementioned Gil González de Ávila, but that afterwards he had released them, and each party had gone their separate ways. Olid was greatly angered by this and promptly marched inland to that town of Naco, where he had been previously, taking with him Las Casas and some of the others who had been captured with him, and leaving the rest of the prisoners behind in that town with a lieutenant and an alcalde. Many times Las Casas, in the presence of all, begged Olid to allow him to return to you and give an account of what had happened, or if not, to guard him well and not to trust him. Despite this, however, Olid refused to let him go.

"Some days later Cristóbal de Olid learnt that the captain Gil González de Ávila was encamped with a few people at a town called Choluma [*sic*] and sent some of his men against him. They fell on Gil González by night, capturing him and all his men; thus Cristóbal de Olid held both these captains for some time, and although they constantly demanded their release he would not grant it them. He also made all the people of Gil González swear to hold him as their captain, as he had those of Las Casas. Many times after the capture of Gil González, Francisco de las Casas, in everyone's presence, asked Olid to release them, and if he refused, to guard them closely, for they meant to kill him, but he would not. His tyranny became so intolerable, however, that one night, when all three were in a room with many others discussing certain things, Francisco de las Casas seized him by the beard, and with the penknife, for he had no other weapon, with which he had been cutting his nails as he walked about, stabbed him, crying, 'We can suffer this tyrant no longer.' Gil González and certain other servants of yours then disarmed the guards, and inflicted more blows on Olid; the captain of the guard, the ensign [alférez], the captain who had been sent

against González and others who came to his assistance were soon captured and disarmed, without any being killed; Cristóbal de Olid, however, escaped in the confusion and hid. Within two hours the two captains had pacified the people and imprisoned the more important among his followers; they then proclaimed publicly that whosoever knew of the whereabouts of Cristóbal de Olid should reveal it immediately on pain of death. They soon discovered where he was and placed him under heavy guard. On the following morning he was tried and both captains sentenced him to death, which sentence was duly executed by cutting off his head; everyone was greatly pleased to be so liberated.

"It was then proclaimed that all those who wished to remain and settle in that land should say so, and that those who wished to leave should do likewise. One hundred and ten men declared that they wished to stay, and all the rest, among whom were twenty horsemen, said that they wished to go with Francisco de las Casas and Gil González, who were returning to you and we in this town are of that one hundred and ten. Then Francisco de las Casas gave us all that we required, appointed a captain over us and directed us to this coast where we were to settle on behalf of Your Honor and in the name of His Majesty: he likewise appointed alcaldes, regidores, a notary, a representative of the town council, and an alguacil, and ordered us to call the town Trujillo.[97] He also promised us, and pledged himself as a gentleman of honor, that very shortly he would obtain from Your Honor more men, horses, arms, supplies and everything else that was necessary for pacifying the land; he gave us an Indian girl and a Christian as our interpreters. So we left him to go and do as he had commanded us; and he dispatched a ship to inform you of all that had happened, for the news would arrive sooner by sea and you would, therefore, send us help more swiftly. When we reached the port of San Andrés, which is also called Los Caballos,[98] we found there a caravel which had come from the Islands, and because that port did not seem to us a suitable place to build a town, and we had a report of this harbor, we chartered that caravel to

transport our baggage, and the captain went aboard with everything we possessed and some forty men, while all the horsemen and the rest of the people went by land with hardly more than the shirts on our backs, so as not to be encumbered lest anything befall us on our journey. The captain delegated his powers to an alcalde—the same one who is here with us now, for the other departed with him in the caravel, commanding us to obey him in his absence. And so we parted from each other to meet again at this port; on the road we had some skirmishes with the natives, who killed two Spaniards and a few of the Indians in our service.

"When at last we reached this harbor, exhausted and with our horses unshod, but cheerful, expecting to see our captain and baggage and arms, we were dismayed to find nothing there at all, for we ourselves had no clothes or arms or horseshoes, for they had all been taken by the captain in the caravel, and we were greatly perplexed, not knowing what to do. Finally we decided to wait until Your Honor sent help, which we were certain would come, and set about founding the town. We took possession of the land on your behalf and in His Majesty's name, and confirmed it with a deed, drawn up before the notary of the municipal council, as you shall see. Five or six days later, at dawn, a caravel appeared anchored at sea some two leagues from this port, and the alguacil went out in a canoe to discover whose it was. He returned with the news that it belonged to a bachiller Pedro Moreno of the island of Hispaniola, who had come by command of the judges who reside on that island to inquire into certain matters between Cristóbal de Olid and Gil González. He carried many arms and provisions in that caravel, all of which belonged to His Majesty.

"We were all greatly pleased by this news and offered many thanks to Our Lord, believing that our hardships were at an end. Then the alcalde and the regidores and some of the other settlers went to ask him to supply us, and explain to him our shortages, but on their arrival he armed the men and would allow no one to board the caravel; after much discussion, however, he allowed four or five

without arms to go on board. There they told him how they had come to settle at your orders in His Majesty's name, and, because our captain had left in a caravel with all our belongings, we were in need of provisions, arms, horseshoes, garments and other things. They believed that God had brought him there for our relief, and, as all he carried belonged to His Majesty, they begged and entreated him to provide for us, for by so doing he would serve His Majesty, besides which we undertook to pay for all he gave us. To this he replied that he had not come to provide for our needs and would give us nothing unless we paid him at once in gold or slaves.

"Two merchants who were on board and one Gaspar Troche, of the island of San Juan, told him to give us all we asked for, offering to stand security themselves for any sum up to five or six thousand *castellanos*, to be paid within any period he should decide upon, for he knew that they had sufficient means to repay. They did this, they said, because they wished to serve His Majesty and because they were certain that Your Honor would repay them, as well as thank them. But still he refused absolutely to give us anything whatever; indeed, he said he wished to depart and told us to do likewise. He threw us off his ship and sent after us one Juan Ruano whom he had with him and who had been the principal instigator of Cristóbal de Olid's treachery. This man then spoke secretly with the alcalde and the regidores and with certain others among us, saying that if we did as he asked, he would make the bachiller give us all we required and would even arrange matters with the judges in Hispaniola so that we should not have to repay any of it. He would return to Hispaniola and ensure that the judges provided us with men, horses, arms, provisions and all else we might require; the bachiller would soon return with all this and powers from the judges to become our captain.

"When asked what it was we had to do, he replied that before anything else we were to depose from their Royal offices the alcalde, regidores, the treasurers [*sic*], the contador and the veedor who had been appointed by Your Honor and to request the bachiller

Moreno to appoint him, Ruano, as our captain, and we should agree to pledge our allegiance to the judges and not to you. We were all to sign a petition to this end, and swear to obey and hold as captain the aforementioned Juan Ruano, and promise that if any of your men came with orders we were not only to disobey them, but also, if they attempted to impose your orders, to resist them by force of arms. We replied that we could not do this, for we had sworn otherwise and owed our allegiance to His Majesty, and to Your Honor in His name, as his captain and governor, and would not do as he asked. Juan Ruano then told us that we must either do as he said or die, for certainly Moreno would not give us so much as a jug of water if we refused but would sail away and leave us to our fate; therefore we were to consider carefully our decision. So we met again together and compelled by great necessity decided to do as he wished rather than die of hunger or, as we were unarmed, be killed by the Indians. We told Juan Ruano, therefore, that we would do as he requested us, and with this he returned to the caravel. The bachiller Moreno then came ashore with a large number of armed men, and Juan Ruano drew up the petition asking him to be our captain, and all, or nearly all, of us signed it and gave him our oaths. The alcalde, the regidores, the treasurer, the contador and the veedor all quit their offices, the name of the town was changed to La Ascensión, and certain documents were drawn up saying how we henceforth owed allegiance to the judges and not to you.

"Then he brought us all we had asked for, and sent an expedition into the surrounding country which returned with certain people whom he had branded as slaves and carried away with him. But he refused to give a fifth to His Majesty and ordered that in future there would be no treasurer or contador or veedor of the Royal rights, but that Juan Ruano, whom he left as our captain, would collect it all himself without any other record, account or audit. This done he departed, leaving as our captain the aforementioned Juan Ruano with certain requerimientos, in case any people should come here from Your Honor. He promised to return

soon in such force that no one would be able to resist him. After he had gone, however, we, seeing that what had been done was contrary to His Majesty's service and likely to give rise to greater disturbances than those past, seized Juan Ruano and dispatched him to the Islands, and the alcalde and regidores took up their offices as before. Thus we have been and still are loyal to Your Honor in His Majesty's name, and we beg you to forgive us the things done under Cristóbal de Olid, for in that matter, as in this, we were compelled by force."

I answered them saying that I forgave them in Your Majesty's name for all that had occurred in the time of Cristóbal de Olid, and absolved them of blame for what had happened since, because they had been constrained by necessity. I urged them to make sure they were not responsible for such disturbances and scandal in the future, because such things were the cause of great disservice to Your Majesty and they would be punished for them. But that they might more surely believe that I had forgotten what had happened and had wiped it from my memory, I said I would, in Your Majesty's name, help and favor them all I could as long as they did all they were required to as loyal vassals of Your Majesty; I, in Your Royal name, then confirmed in their offices the alcaldes and regidores whom Francisco de las Casas, as my lieutenant, had appointed. This pleased them greatly, and they were much relieved to find that their past offenses were not to be held against them. Because they assured me that Moreno would return very shortly with many people and dispatches from those judges who reside on Hispaniola, I did not at that moment wish to leave the port and proceed inland. The Spaniards, however, told me that there were certain native towns, some six or seven leagues from this town, with whom they had had some skirmishes while searching for food, but that some of them, if there were an interpreter by whom we could make ourselves understood, appeared ready to make peace, and had conveyed their goodwill by means of signs, although they had received no good at the hands of the Spaniards who had attacked

them and carried off some women and boys which Moreno had had branded as slaves and taken away in his ship; and God alone knows how much this news distressed me, for I realized the great harm that would follow such a deed.

In the ships I sent to the Islands, I sent a letter to those judges in which I set down at length all that the bachiller Pedro Moreno had done in this town, and with it a requirement on Your Majesty's behalf that the aforementioned Pedro Moreno should be sent to me under heavy guard, and with him all the natives of this land he had taken as slaves, for he had taken them in defiance of all the laws, as they would see in my letter. I do not know what they will do about this matter, but I will inform Your Majesty as soon as I receive their reply.

Two days after my arrival in this town of Trujillo I sent a Spaniard who understands the language together with three Indians from Culua to those towns which the Spaniards had mentioned; and I told this Spaniard and the three Indians everything they were to say to the chiefs and people of those towns, and to impress upon them that it was I myself who had come to these parts, for the numerous native merchants have carried news of me and of my doings in México along the trade routes to many lands. The first towns they went to were called Chapagua and Papayeca, which are seven leagues from the town and two leagues from each other. They are both very important towns, as it appeared later, for Papayeca has eighteen villages subject to it and Chapagua has ten.

And it pleased Our Lord, who we know by daily experience has especial care of Your Majesty's affairs, that they listened to our embassy with great attention and sent back with those messengers others of their own to satisfy themselves that what they said was true. When they arrived I welcomed them, and after giving them a few small things, spoke to them through my interpreter, for their language is almost the same as that of Culua, except for a few words and slight differences in pronunciation.[99] I again affirmed all that had been said and added many other things which I thought would

inspire their confidence, entreating them to persuade their lords to come and see me. With this they departed, greatly pleased. Five days later there came, on behalf of the people of Chapagua, a chieftain called Montamal, lord, it appeared, of one of the subject villages called Telica. On behalf of the people of Papayeca there came the lord of another subject village who was called Çecoatl, and his village Coabata. They brought some maize, hens and some fruit, and said that they had come on behalf of their lords and that I should tell them what I wanted and why I had come to their land. The lords, they said, had not come themselves for fear of being carried away in the ships, as had happened to certain of their people when the first Christians who landed there had caught them. I told them how much that action had distressed me and said they might be sure that no such injury would be done them in future, and I would send in search of those who had been taken away and have them returned. I pray to God those lawyers do not make me break my word, for I am rather afraid that they will not send back those Indians, but rather seek to exculpate the bachiller Moreno who took them, for I do not believe that he did anything here which was not by their instruction and command.

In reply to what those messengers asked me about the cause of my arrival in their land, I told them that I believed they already knew how eight years previously I had come to the province of Culua, and Mutezuma, who at that time was lord of the great city of Temixtitan and of the whole country, having been told by me how I had been sent by Your Majesty, to whom the whole world is subject, to see and to explore those lands in Your Excellency's Royal name, had received me very well and acknowledged the allegiance that he owed to Your Highness; and all the other lords in that country had done likewise. And I told him of everything else that had happened to me here. I had been commanded by Your Majesty to see and examine the whole land without omitting a single thing, and to found there towns of Christians to instruct them in the mode of life they were to follow for the preservation of their

persons and their property, as well as for the salvation of their souls. This was the reason for my coming and they might be certain that they would receive no harm but would profit greatly by it, for those who obeyed Your Majesty's Royal commands would always be well treated and maintained in justice, and those who were rebellious would be punished. I also told them many other things to the same purpose, but I shall not relate them here so as not to tax Your Majesty with lengthy writings and because they are of no great importance.

To these messengers I gave a few small things which they prize highly, although among us they are regarded as of little value, and thus they departed very happily. And because I asked them to, they returned later with provisions and people to clear the site of the town, as it was extensively wooded. Although the chiefs still did not come to see me, I pretended it was a matter of no consequence, and asked them to send messengers into the surrounding villages to tell them all I had said, and to request them on my behalf to come and help in building that town; and they agreed to do so. Within a few days fifteen or sixteen villages or, rather, independent towns had come, with a display of great goodwill, to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals; furthermore, they brought people to help us build the town and provisions on which we lived until assistance arrived from the ships which I had sent to the Islands.

At this time I dispatched the three ships that I had and another which arrived later which I also purchased, and in them I sent all the sick who were still alive. One was bound for the ports of New Spain, and in her was a long letter which I had written to the officers of Your Majesty whom I had left in my place, as well as to the various municipal councils telling them of what I had done there and how I was obliged to remain a while longer in those parts. I requested them to give all their attention to the responsibilities and duties which I had asked them to perform and gave them my advice about what to do in certain matters. I commanded this vessel to return by the island of Cozumel, which lay on the route, and to

pick up some Spaniards, more than sixty in number, who had been abandoned there by a certain Valenzuela, who had seized a ship and sacked the town on the island which was the first colony Cristóbal de Olid had founded. The other ship, which I had just purchased in an inlet close to the town, I sent to the town of Trinidad on the island of Cuba to load up with meat, horses and men, and to return with as much haste as possible. A third was sent to Jamaica for the same purpose. The large caravel or brigantine which I had had built was sent to Hispaniola with a servant of mine who was carrying letters for Your Majesty and for the judges residing in that island. It was later discovered, however, that none of these ships reached its destination. The one bound for Cuba was carried to Guaniguanico, and the crew had to travel fifty leagues overland to Havana to find their cargo. When this ship, which was the first to do so, returned, I learnt how the one I had sent to New Spain had picked up the people stranded on Cozumel but had then been wrecked on a headland on the island of Cuba called San Antón, or Corrientes; everything on board was lost, and a cousin of mine, called Juan de Avalos, who was in command of the vessel, drowned, together with the two Franciscan friars[100] who had accompanied me and some thirty more people whose names have been given me. Those who reached the shore had wandered through the forests not knowing where they were or where to go, and almost all had died of hunger. Of some eighty persons only fifteen remained alive, and these by good fortune reached that port of Guaniguanico where my other ship was anchored. Close by was a plantation belonging to a citizen of Havana where my ship was taking on a cargo, for there was an abundance of provisions; there those who were still alive were able to recover. God knows my grief at this loss, for besides having lost thereby relations and servants, many breastplates, harquebuses, crossbows and other weapons, my dispatches failed to arrive, which caused me even greater sorrow, as I shall relate to Your Majesty hereafter.

The ships bound for Jamaica and Hispaniola both arrived at

Trinidad in Cuba, where they met the licenciado Alonso de Zuazo, whom I had left as chief justice and one of those charged with the government of New Spain during my absence. They also found a ship in that port which those lawyers in Hispaniola were going to send to New Spain to ascertain the truth of the rumors that were circulating to the effect that I was dead.[101] When the ship's master heard that I was still alive he changed course, for he was carrying thirty-two horses, certain pieces of harness and provisions which he hoped to sell where I was at a better price; in this ship the aforementioned Alonso de Zuazo sent me letters telling how in New Spain there had been great feuds and disputes amongst Your Majesty's officials, and that it had been put about that I was dead. Two of them had publicly proclaimed themselves governors and had had themselves sworn in as such. They had then seized Zuazo and two other officials and also Rodrigo de Paz, in whose care I had left my house and property. This they had looted; they had deposed all the justices whom I had appointed and replaced them with others of their own making; and many other things they had done, which, as they are lengthy to relate and because I am sending the original letter to Your Majesty, I will not set down here.

Your Majesty may well imagine how much this news distressed me, particularly to learn how they repaid my services, looting my house which would have been ill done even though I were dead; for though they may say, by way of an excuse, that I owed Your Majesty some sixty thousand *pesos de oro*, they know full well that rather than my being in debt, I am owed 150,000 *pesos* which I have spent, and not extravagantly, in Your Majesty's service.

I immediately set about to right this situation; on the one hand it seemed to me that I should depart in that same ship in person and punish this great outrage, for now all those hereabouts who are given some office in my absence think that if they don't thumb their noses at me they're not worthy of the honor. Indeed, another captain whom Pedro Arias sent to Nicaragua has likewise rebelled

against his allegiance, as I will later inform Your Majesty at greater length.[102] On the other hand, I was very sorry to have to leave that land in its present circumstances, for that would mean losing it altogether, and I am certain that Your Majesty will benefit greatly from it and that it will be another Culua. For I have received news of very large and wealthy provinces with powerful lords richly attended, especially one they call Hueytapalan, or, in another language, Xucutaco, which I have known of for six years and, having made inquiries about it throughout my journey, have discovered at last that it is eight or ten days' march from that town of Trujillo; that is to say, some fifty or sixty leagues. And such wonderful news has been received of it that I marvel at what is said, for even if two-thirds of it prove false it must exceed Mexico in riches and equal it in the great size of the towns, the multitude of people and the government thereof. While thus perplexed, I reasoned that nothing could be well done or directed save by the hands of the Creator and Mover of all things, and I therefore had Masses said and ordered processions and sacrifices, beseeching God to guide me in the path where I might serve Him best.

After we had practiced these devotions for a few days, it seemed to me that after all I must abandon everything else and go and put a stop to those troubles. I left there as my lieutenant in that town a cousin of mine, called Hernando de Saavedra, brother of Juan de Avalos who was drowned in the ship bound for this great city, with some thirty-five horsemen and fifty foot soldiers under his command. After having given him instructions,[103] as best I could arrange about what he was to do, and having also spoken to some of the native lords of that country who had already come to see me, I embarked on the aforementioned ship with my household servants, at the same time giving orders to the people in Naco to go overland by the road along the south coast which Francisco de las Casas had taken to the place where Pedro de Alvarado had settled, for the road from then on was certain and safe, and they would be in sufficient numbers to go where they wished without fear of attack. I

likewise sent instructions to that other town, La Natividad de Nuestra Señora, and embarked in fine weather. But as we were about to set sail, riding on one anchor, a dead calm descended, so that we were unable to leave harbor. On the following morning news reached me on board ship that it was being whispered among the people I had left on land that they expected some disturbance in my absence; for this reason and also because the weather was unfavorable I landed again, made inquiries and by punishing certain of the ringleaders restored the peace. I stayed two days on shore because the weather prevented us from leaving port, but on the third the weather was favorable and we put to sea. We had gone no more than two leagues, however, and were doubling a long headland which forms one of the arms of the bay, when our main yard broke and we were forced to return to port to have it replaced. Three more days were spent on these repairs, but at last I set sail again with a fair wind and ran before it two days and nights during which time we covered fifty leagues or more, but then a fearful northerly gale caught us and broke our foremast off short at the cap, and we were forced to put back into port, which we managed only with the greatest difficulty. When we arrived we thanked God greatly, for we thought we were lost and I and all the people were so battered by the sea that we had to take some rest; and therefore while waiting for the weather to improve and the ship to be repaired, I came ashore with all my people. Seeing that I had now put to sea three times with good weather, and each time had been forced to return, I considered that God did not wish me to abandon that land, and my view was confirmed by the fact that some of the Indians who had been at peace were now in revolt.

I again commended the matter to God, ordered processions and had Masses said, and it seemed to me that if I were to send this ship, in which I was to have sailed for New Spain, to convey letters of authority to my cousin Francisco de las Casas and letters to the councils and officials of Your Majesty, reproving them for their misdemeanors, together with some of the Indian chieftains who

were with me to persuade the people there that I was not dead as they had been told, that then peace would be restored and the troubles which had begun soon brought to an end. I arranged everything accordingly, although I would have made many more provisions than in fact I did, had I known at the time of the loss of the first ship which I had equipped very fully and which I was certain had arrived many days previously, and with it the loss of my dispatches concerning the Southern Sea.

After having dispatched this ship to New Spain I was unable to go inland myself because I had not recovered from the results of the storm at sea, and indeed I am not fully recovered even now, and also because I was awaiting the return of the ships from the Islands and engaged in settling certain other matters. I sent my lieutenant with thirty horsemen and as many foot soldiers and ordered him to explore the hinterland. They traveled some thirty-five leagues up a most beautiful valley with many large towns rich in everything that grows in this land and well provided for the breeding of all kinds of herds and for the cultivation of any crop grown in Spain. They had no hostile encounter with the natives but spoke to them through the interpreter and the Indians of those parts who were already our friends, and persuaded them to remain in peace, with the result that more than twenty chiefs of important towns came before me and willingly offered themselves as Your Highness's subjects, promising to be obedient to Your Royal commands, which they have been up until now. From that day until the day of my departure there were always some of them in my company, and almost every day some went away and were replaced by others who brought provisions and served in every way that was asked of them. I pray God that they continue so and are guided to the ends which Your Majesty desires. And I have every faith that it will be so, for no bad end can come of such a good beginning unless it be through the fault of us who are in command.

The provinces of Papayeca and Chapagua, which, as I have

said, were the first to offer themselves in Your Majesty's service and as our friends, were also those who had rebelled when I embarked, and now that I had returned they were somewhat afraid, but I sent certain messengers to reassure them. Some of the natives of Chapagua came to see me but never the chiefs, and their villages were always empty of their women and children and their belongings. Several men came to serve us in the town, and I required them many times to return to their villages, but they would not, always promising to do so on the following day. I managed to lay hands on three of their lords, whose names were Chicohuytl, Poto and Mendoreto; once I had seized them I gave them a certain period within which they were to command their people to return from the mountains; otherwise they would be punished as rebels. Thus they returned and I released those lords, since which time they have been very quiet and secure and they serve us very well.

The natives of Papayeca never appeared, least of all the lords, who hid in the mountains with all their people, leaving the villages deserted. Although they were required to return many times, they would not obey, so I sent a captain with horsemen and foot soldiers together with many of the native Indians. One night they fell upon one of the two lords of the province, whose name was Pizacura, and demanded of him why he had been disobedient and rebellious. He replied that he would have returned to his village were it not for his companion, Maçatel, who had more influence in the community and had refused his consent; but he said that if they let him go he would spy on [Maçatel] so that they might capture him; and if then they hanged him all the people would return peacefully to their villages, for with no opposition he could easily persuade them. So he was released, which was the cause of much greater harm as it later turned out. Certain of our Indian friends spied on Maçatl [*sic*] and led the Spaniards to him. He was captured, and, having been told what his companion Pizacura had said of him, he was ordered to bring his people down from the mountains and back

into their village within a certain time, but we were unable to make him do this. He was therefore tried, sentenced to death and executed.

This has been a great example to the others, for afterwards the inhabitants of some villages who were also somewhat rebellious returned to their homes, and there is no village where the women and children are not returned and living without fear, except that of Papayeca, which I have been unable to reassure. After Pizacura had been released, the inhabitants of that province were tried and war was declared against them as a result of which some hundred persons were seized and enslaved. Among these was Pizacura himself, whom I did not sentence to death, although I might have done on the findings of his trial. I instead brought him with me to this great city together with two other lords from other towns which were somewhat rebellious, so that they might see the things of New Spain. I would then send them back so that they might spread the news of how the natives are treated here and how they serve, and then do likewise themselves. Pizacura, however, fell ill and died, but the other two are well and I will send them back when there is an opportunity. With the capture of this Pizacura and of another youth who seemed to be the rightful ruler, together with the punishment inflicted on those other hundred or so people who were enslaved, the whole province was made secure, and when I left there all the villages were inhabited and very peaceful, having been distributed among the Spaniards, whom they appeared to serve willingly.

At this time there arrived in Trujillo a captain with some twenty men, some of whom had been among those I had left at Naco under Gonzalo de Sandoval, and some were from the company of Francisco Hernández,[104] the captain whom Pedro Arias de Ávila, Your Majesty's governor, had sent to the province of Nicaragua. From them I learnt how a captain of Francisco Hernández's had arrived in Naco with some forty men, both foot and horse; he had come to the bay of San Andrés to look for the bachiller Pedro

Moreno, whom the judges in Hispaniola had sent out to these parts, as I have related to Your Majesty, and who, it seemed, had written to Francisco Hernández, urging him to rebel against the governor's authority, just as he had done with the people left by Gil González and Francisco de las Casas. That captain had come, therefore, to speak to him on behalf of Francisco Hernández as how best to throw off his allegiance to the governor and grant it instead to those judges in Hispaniola, or so it appeared from certain letters which he carried on him.

I now sent them back, and with them sent letters to Francisco Hernández himself, and an open letter to all his people, and wrote individually to certain of the captains in his company whom I knew reproaching them for their evil doings and for having been deceived by that bachiller, and assuring them that Your Majesty would be little pleased with them, and other things which I thought might dissuade them from the mistaken course on which they were bent. One of the reasons they gave in support of their behavior was that they were so far distant from Pedro Arias de Ávila that it was costly, troublesome and sometimes even impossible for them to be provided with all they required; furthermore, they were always in need of equipment and provisions from Spain, and these could be more easily obtained through those ports which I had settled in Your Majesty's name. The bachiller Moreno had written to them saying that he had settled all that land on behalf of the judges and would soon return with many men and provisions. I wrote that I would order those towns to provide them with all they required and to trade and maintain friendly relations with them, since we were all of us Your Majesty's vassals and engaged in Your Royal service, but that my offer was made only on the condition of their remaining obedient to their governor, as they are bound to, and not otherwise. Because they said that what they most needed at present were shoes for their horses and tools for working in the mines, I sent them two of my mules loaded with these things. When they reached the settlement of Gonzalo de Sandoval he gave them an-

other two mules, which I had there, likewise loaded with horseshoes and tools.

After these had departed, certain natives from the province of Huilacho,[105] which lies sixty-five leagues from the town of Trujillo, who some time before had sent messengers offering themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, came to see me saying that twenty horsemen and forty foot soldiers, together with many Indian allies from other provinces, had come and were subjecting them to grave indignities and injuries, taking away their women and children and stealing their property. They begged me to put an end to these evils, for, when they had offered themselves as my friends, I had promised to uphold and defend them against whosoever might do them harm. Afterwards my cousin Hernando de Saavedra, whom I had left as lieutenant in those parts and who at that time was pacifying the province of Papayeca, sent me two of the men about whom the Indians had complained. They had been sent by their captain to find the town of Trujillo, for the Indians had told them it was close by and they might go without fear because all the land was at peace. From them I learnt that the people who had offended the Indians were of the same Francisco Hernández and that their captain was one Gabriel de Rojas. I then dispatched, together with these two men and the Indians who had come to complain, an alguacil with orders of mine for Gabriel de Rojas, telling him to leave the province at once and to return to the natives the women and children and other property he had taken from them; besides this, I also sent him a letter saying that if he needed anything to let me know, for I would willingly supply him as best I was able.

When he saw my letter and my command, he at once did as I bade him, and the natives of that province were most contented, although they returned later to tell me that after the departure of the alguacil they had again been robbed. With this captain I once again sent letters to Francisco Hernández, offering all that I had of which he and his people were in need; for I believed that Your Majesty would be served thereby, and bidding him remain loyal to

his governor. I do not know what has happened since then, although I learnt from the alguacil whom I sent, and from those who went with him, that when they were together a letter from Francisco Hernández had arrived for Gabriel de Rojas, entreating him to return with all possible haste, as there was great discord among his men, and that two of his captains, one of whom was called Soto and the other Andrés Garabito, had rebelled because they said they knew that he intended to throw off his allegiance to his governor. Thus affairs remained in such a manner that only harm could follow to both the Spaniards and the natives. Your Majesty may judge how much harm results from these commotions, and how necessary it is to punish those who are the cause of them.

I wished to go myself to Nicaragua, believing that I might be able to find some remedy for these evils, which indeed would be a great service to Your Majesty. I was making preparations for the journey, and even opening a road through some high mountains I had to pass, when there arrived in the port of the town of Trujillo the ship which I had sent to New Spain, and in her a cousin of mine, called Diego Altamirano,[106] a friar of the Order of St. Francis, from whom I learnt, by the letters he brought me, of the many disturbances, quarrels and feuds which had broken out amongst Your Majesty's officials whom I had left there in my place, and of the urgent need for me to go there in person and resolve them. I therefore abandoned my journey to Nicaragua and my return by way of the south coast, which I am certain would have greatly served both God and Your Majesty, owing to the many large provinces that are on the way; for although some of them are at peace, they would have been more confirmed in Your Majesty's service by my having passed through them, especially those of Utlatan and Guatemala, where Pedro de Alvarado has always resided, which, after having rebelled on account of certain ill treatment they received, have never again been pacified. On the contrary, they have done, and continue to do, much harm to the Spaniards and to our Indian allies who live thereabouts, for the country is very difficult and thickly

populated; and the people are very fierce and brave in war, devising all kinds of methods of attack and defense, digging pits and using other devices to kill the horses which have had much success.

Although Pedro de Alvarado makes constant war against them with more than two hundred horsemen, five hundred foot soldiers and more than five thousand, and at times as many as ten thousand, of our Indian allies, he has been unable to subject them to Your Majesty's service; rather each day they grow stronger through the people who come to join them. I believe, however, that if I were to go that way I might, if God so willed it, win them over by kindness or some other such means, for some of the provinces rebelled because of the bad treatment they received in my absence, and a hundred or so horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers, commanded by the veedor who governed at that time, were sent against them together with many pieces of artillery and a great number of our Indian allies; but they repulsed them and killed ten or twelve Spaniards and many Indians and the situation remained unchanged. But when I arrived I needed only to send them a messenger announcing my arrival, and all the principal chieftains of the province, which is called Coatlan, came to me and explained the cause of their rebellion, which was most justified, for the Spaniard to whom they had been entrusted had burnt eight principal lords, five of whom died immediately, and the others a few days later; and although they had demanded justice, it had not been given them. I then consoled them so that they were contented and are now peaceful and serve as they did before I left, their being now no danger of further wars. I believe that the rebellious villages in the province of Coazacoalco likewise became peaceful in a similar way when they heard the news of my arrival, without my having to send a messenger to them.

Most Catholic Lord, I have already written to Your Majesty concerning certain small islands, called Los Guanajos, that lie at the entrance to the bay of Las Honduras, some of which are now deserted on account of the many expeditions sent there from the Is-

lands to take the natives as slaves. Some of them, however, still have a few inhabitants, and I learnt that another expedition was being fitted out in Cuba and Jamaica to complete this devastation. To prevent this calamity I sent a caravel to search among the Islands for the fleet and to require it on Your Majesty's behalf neither to land nor in any way to harm the natives; for I thought to pacify them and bring them to Your Majesty's service, because I had learnt something of them from those who had come to live on the mainland. At an island called Huitila,[107] this caravel came upon one from the expedition and brought the captain, one Rodrigo de Merlo, and all the natives he had captured in those islands to me. I ordered the natives to be returned to their homes but took no action against the captain, because he showed me a license he had given him by the governor of Cuba, a right which had been conceded to him by the judges who reside in Hispaniola. I, therefore, dismissed him with no other punishment than that of freeing the Indians he had captured, but he and his people all settled in those towns I had founded on the coast because they thought the land was good.

When the lords of those islands knew of the favor which I had done them and heard from those of the mainland of how well I treated them, they came to thank me for my kindness and to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, asking me to command them how they might serve. I commanded them, in Your Majesty's name, to cultivate their fields for the present, for truly they can serve in no other way. Thus they departed, and they carried to each island a written command of mine to be shown to any Spaniard who might come that way; this I assured them in Your Majesty's name would protect them from all harm. They also asked me to send a Spaniard to each island with them and, although, because I was on the point of leaving, I could not attend to it myself, I left orders for the lieutenant Hernando de Saavedra to do so in my stead.

I then boarded the ship which had brought me the news of the situation in New Spain, taking in her and in two others which were there only some twenty people of my company, together

with our horses, because the rest of them had decided to settle in those towns along the coast and the others were waiting for me on the road, thinking that I intended to travel overland. To these I sent orders to continue their journey and informed them of my departure and the reason for it. They have not arrived yet, but I have news that they are coming.

Having thus arranged all matters concerning those towns which I founded in Your Majesty's name, although much grieved that I was unable to leave them in the condition I hoped, and that was proper, I set sail on the twenty-fifth day of April, 1526, with those three ships, and the weather was so favorable that within four days I found myself 150 leagues from the port of Chalchicueca, but there I encountered a wind so strong that I could proceed no farther. Thinking that it would soon abate, I remained at sea for one day and night, but the weather was so bad that the ships were beginning to break up and I was forced to make for the island of Cuba. Six days later I put into the port of Havana, where I landed and was welcomed by the inhabitants, for there were among them many who had been my friends when I lived there. Because my ships had been badly damaged at sea, it was necessary to repair them, which delayed me there ten days, and to hasten my return I even purchased another ship which was being careened there, and left mine behind because she was leaking badly.

The day after my arrival in Havana a ship from New Spain entered that port, and on the second day another, and on the third day yet another. From these I learnt how all the land was at peace and most tranquil and secure now that the factor and veedor were dead, although there had been some disturbances for which those responsible had been punished. This cheered me greatly, for I had feared some unrest during the delay in my arrival, which I greatly regretted.

From there I wrote, though briefly, to Your Majesty, and departed on the sixteenth of May, taking with me some thirty natives of this land who had stowed away in those ships. A week later

I reached the port of Chalchicueca but was unable to enter because of a change of wind and stood two leagues out to sea. When it was almost dark I landed in the boat from my ship and a brigantine we found abandoned and proceeded on foot to the town of Medellín, four leagues from where I had disembarked; and without being observed by anyone in the town I went to the church to give thanks to Our Lord. I was soon discovered, however, and the people greeted me and I them. That same night I sent messengers to this city as well as to all the other towns in the land advising them of my return and providing for certain things which I considered necessary for the service of Your Holy Majesty and the good of the land.[108] I remained eleven days in that town to recover from the hardships of the journey, during which time I was visited by the chiefs of many towns and other natives of these parts who showed great joy at my return. From there I set out for this city and was a fortnight on the road, and at every point of the journey I was welcomed by many natives, some of whom had come from more than eighty leagues away, for, as they were expecting me, they had placed their couriers on the road to inform them of my arrival. So within a short while large numbers of them had come from many places far and wide to see me, and they all wept and recounted in such vivid and pitiful words the sufferings they had endured in my absence through the ill treatment they had received that they broke the hearts of all who heard them. And although it would be difficult to give Your Majesty an account of all the things they said, I might describe a few which are worthy of note but will leave them to be told *de ore proprio.*

When I arrived in this city the Spaniards and the natives had gathered there from every region of the land, and they welcomed me with such rejoicing as if I had been their own father. Your Majesty's treasurer and contador rode out to meet me with a large force of horsemen and foot soldiers, all in fine array and all showing the same welcome as the others. I then went directly to the monastery of St. Francis to give thanks to Our Lord for having saved me from

so many dangers and hardships and brought me to such peace and rest, and for having allowed me to see the land which was once so torn by civil strife now living quietly in harmony.

I remained six days with the friars giving account of my sins to God, and two days before I departed there arrived a messenger from Medellín who informed me of how certain ships had arrived in the port and how in one of them there was said to be a judge of inquiry[109] sent by Your Majesty. Nothing further was known, but I thought that it must be that Your Catholic Majesty, hearing of the civil disturbances into which Your Highness's officials had plunged the land that I had left in their charge and not being certain of my return, had ordered an inquiry into the situation. God knows how glad I was of this, for it would have greatly distressed me to be judge of this matter because as I had been injured and robbed by these tyrants it seemed to me that any decision I might make would be attributed by malicious people to personal revenge, which is the thing I abhor above all others; although to judge by their deeds, I could never have been so harsh that it would not have been less than they deserved. When I received this news I sent a messenger with all haste to the port to learn for certain, and I sent orders to the lieutenant and justices of that town of Medellín that no matter for what reason that judge came, coming as he did from Your Majesty, he was to be well received and attended, and lodged in a house that I have there, where I ordered that he and all his people were to be given every service they required; although, as it afterwards appeared, he refused to accept anything.

The day following the departure of my messenger, which was the feast of St. John, another messenger arrived while I was engaged in celebrations consisting of bullfights, jousting with wooden lances and other sports, bringing me a letter from the aforementioned judge and another from Your Sacred Majesty which informed of why he had come and how Your Sacred Majesty had ordered an inquiry into the manner in which I have governed this country since I have been here; and truly I was much

pleased by the immense favor Your Sacred Majesty was bestowing on me in wishing to be informed of my services and errors, and also by the benevolence with which Your Highness informed me of Your Royal will to grant me favors. For both these I kiss a hundred thousand times the Royal feet of Your Catholic Majesty, and do pray that Our Lord may permit me to repay some small part of so singular a favor and that Your Catholic Majesty may recognize my desire to do so, for recognition alone could be no small payment, in my opinion.

In the letter which Luis Ponce, the judge of inquiry, himself wrote to me, he informed me that he was about to leave for this city, and because there are two principal roads leading to it and he did not say by which he would come, I sent servants of mine along both of them to attend and escort him. But the aforementioned Ponce de León was in such a haste that, although I had dispatched them as swiftly as possible, they met him when he was less than twenty leagues from the city; and although my messengers say that he received them with due courtesy he would accept no service from them. I was sorry at this, for they said he greatly needed their assistance on account of his hurried journey, but I was also glad, for it seemed to me that he had acted as a just man who wished to fulfill his office with total rectitude, and as he had come to inquire into my government did not wish to give rise to suspicion against himself in any way. He came within two leagues of the city and spent the night there. I had everything prepared to welcome him in the morning, but he sent word that I should not ride out to him, for he wished to remain there until after lunch; he asked me, however, to send him a chaplain to say Mass, which I did. But fearing that this might be—as indeed it was—a means of avoiding a public reception, I made preparations nonetheless. Even so, he rose so early that, although I made all haste, he was already inside the city when I met him. We then went to the monastery of St. Francis and heard Mass, after which I told him that, if he wished, he might present his credentials there, for all the members of the municipal council were

there with me, and also Your Majesty's treasurer and contador. But he declined, saying he would present them the following day.

Thus it was that on the following morning we all gathered in the principal church of the city, the town council also being present together with the aforementioned officials and myself; and when he presented his credentials to us we took and kissed them and held them over our heads as letters from our king and rightful lord, which we swore to obey and comply with in all particulars as Your Sacred Majesty had by them commanded us. All the municipal officials handed him their rods of office, and all the other ceremonies were duly performed as Your Catholic Majesty will see from the account made by the notary of the municipal council in whose presence all was done. My residencia was then publicly proclaimed [110] in the main square of this city, but in the seventeen days I was there I was not asked a single question. During this time the aforementioned Luis Ponce, the judge of inquiry, was taken ill together with all those who had come with him, and it was Our Lord's will that he and some thirty of his companions should die of this sickness among whom were two friars of the order of St. Dominic; and even now many people are still sick and in grave danger of death, for it seems to have been some kind of plague which they brought with them.[111] Some of the people here have caught it too, and two of them died of it, while many have not yet recovered.

Immediately after Luis Ponce had passed from this life and was buried with all the honor and solemnity due to a person sent by Your Majesty, the municipal council of this city and the representatives of all the towns who had gathered here asked and requested me on Your Catholic Majesty's behalf again to take charge of the government and administration of justice which had previously been granted to me by Your Majesty's command and by Your Royal provisions, giving me their reasons for it and showing me what evils would result if I refused, as Your Holy Majesty may see from the copy which I have sent. I sought to excuse myself, as likewise appears in the aforementioned copy, but again they re-

quested it of me several times, showing me still greater evils which might ensue if I persisted in my refusal.[112] And I have firmly withstood their pleas until now, even though I can indeed see that some evil will come of it. But I wish Your Majesty to be certain of my honesty and fidelity in Your Royal service, for this I hold above all else and without Your trust in me all the goods of this world are of no value to me and I would not live. I have therefore put aside everything else to this end, and have maintained with all my powers in the office one Marcos de Aguilar, whom the aforementioned Luis Ponce had as his alcalde mayor, and I have asked and requested him to proceed with the inquiry into my administration; but this he has refused to do, saying that he does not have the authority. This has caused me considerable distress, for I desire nothing so much, and with good reason, as to see Your Holy Majesty truly informed of all my services and mistakes, because I most firmly believe that Your Caesarean Majesty will repay me with great and substantial favors, having regard not to the small extent of my capabilities but to the generosity with which Your Excellency is bound to reward him who serves so well and faithfully as I have done. I, therefore, do humbly beseech You with all the earnestness of which I am capable, not to allow this matter to remain in obscurity but to have the good and the bad of my services made public; for, as it is a matter of my honor, which I have sought through many hardships and by exposing my person to great dangers, I pray that neither God nor Your Majesty, out of reverence for Him, may permit the tongues of wicked, envious or malicious people to rob me of it. I ask of Your Sacred Majesty no other reward for my services; and may God grant that I shall not live without it.

Most Catholic Prince, it seems from what I have heard that from the time I first entered into this negotiation I have had many, various and powerful rivals and enemies; yet their malice and evil designs have never prevailed against the renown of my services and fidelity. Having now despaired of just success, they have contrived two schemes, by means of which it appears they have put a cloud of

darkness before the eyes of Your Highness, whereby they have turned You aside from the Holy and Catholic purpose, for which Your Excellency is renowned, in rewarding and recompensing me for my services. One of their schemes is to accuse me before Your Highness on a charge of *crimine lesae majestatis*, of saying that I am not bound to obey Your Royal commands, and do not hold this land in Your Royal name, but in a tyrannous and unspeakable manner, giving in proof of their assertions depraved and diabolical statements which are entirely false. If these people were to look upon my actual achievements impartially, they would judge them quite differently; for until now there has not been, nor shall there ever be whilst I live, a single letter or command from Your Majesty which has not been, is not, or will not be obeyed and fulfilled in every detail. Now the iniquity of those who have said this will become manifest and clear; for if there were any truth in what they say, I would not have traveled six hundred leagues from this city, by dangerous roads and through uninhabited lands, leaving this country in the hands of Your Majesty's officials who were expected to be the persons most zealous in Your Majesty's service, although their deeds did not merit the trust I placed in them.

They also attack me by saying that I have kept the greater part of the natives of this land to myself as my slaves, and from them I have obtained a great quantity of gold and silver which I have stowed away; that I have spent unnecessarily more than seventy thousand *pesos de oro* from Your Catholic Majesty's revenue; and that I have not sent to Your Excellency all that is owed to the Royal revenue, keeping it under false pretenses, though what these can be, I cannot imagine. I believe that these people have given coloring to a current rumor, but it cannot, I am sure, be such that the first use of the touchstone will not show their metal to be false. As to their saying that I hold a large part of the land, I confess that it is true, and likewise it is true that I have received a large quantity of gold; but I maintain that it is not enough to prevent me from being poor and in debt for more than 500,000 *pesos de oro*, without pos-

sessing a single *castellano* with which to pay it. For though I have gained much, I have spent more, and not in purchasing estates or other lands for myself, but in extending throughout these parts the sovereignty and Royal patrimony of Your Highness, by conquering for Your Excellency many realms and dominions which were won only at great risk to my person and after many hardships and dangers. This they, with their poisoned tongues, can never conceal or deny, for on examining my books they will find there more than 300,000 *pesos de oro* of my own which have been spent on these conquests; once these were exhausted I spent sixty thousand *pesos de oro* of Your Majesty's, not, however, on my own private expenses, for they never passed through my hands, but in paying on my instructions for the costs of the conquest, and whether they have been well spent or not may be judged from the results which are plain for all to see.

As to what they say about my not sending the revenues to Your Majesty, this is quite plainly the contrary to the truth, for in the short while that I have been in this land, I believe more wealth has been remitted to Your Majesty than from all the Islands and the mainland which was discovered and settled more than thirty years ago, at great expense to the Catholic Monarchs, your grandparents, which has not been the case in this land. Not only have I sent to Your Majesty all that is Yours by law but also some considerable amount of my own and of those who have helped me, taking no account of all that we have spent in Your Royal service. When I sent my first account to Your Majesty with Alonso Hernández Puerto Carrero and Francisco de Montejo, I did not merely send the fifth which belonged to Your Majesty of what had been taken up until then, but the whole amount that had been acquired, for it seemed proper, as it was the first spoils of our conquest. The fifth part which was Your Majesty's of all the gold that was captured in the city while Mutezuma still lived, that is, what we had melted down, amounted to some thirty thousand *castellanos*, and although the jewelry had also to be divided up amongst us all, they and I,

most willingly, agreed that the whole should be sent to Your Majesty, and this amounted to more than 500,000 *pesos de oro*. All of this, however, was taken from us when we were driven from the city as a result of the rebellion caused by Narváez's arrival in this land which, though a punishment for my sins, was not due to my negligence.

When this city was later reconquered and subjected to Your Highness's Royal service, the same was done again: after the Royal fifth had been taken from the gold that was melted down, we agreed that all the jewelry pertaining to my companions and myself should be sent to Your Highness, and their worth was no less than that of those which we had captured the first time. With all haste and every care I dispatched them, together with three thousand *pesos* in gold bars, in the charge of Julián Alderete, who at that time was Your Majesty's treasurer; but they were seized by the French. Neither was I to blame for this, but rather those who failed to provide a fleet to escort the vessel from the Azores as they should have for such an important shipment.[118]

When I left this city for the gulf of Las Hibueras I likewise sent to Your Excellency sixty thousand *pesos de oro* with Diego de Ocampo and Francisco de Montejo, and if more was not sent then it was because it seemed to me, and also to the officials of Your Catholic Majesty, that by sending so much together at one time we were exceeding and contravening the orders laid down by Your Majesty concerning the shipment of gold from these parts. Knowing, however, Your Sacred Majesty's urgent needs, we dared to send such a sum, and with it I also sent to Your Highness, by Diego de Soto, a servant of mine, all that I owned, leaving me not a single *peso de oro*. This was in the form of a silver fieldpiece which cost me, with the metal and casting and other expenses, more than 35,000 *pesos de oro*; in addition there were certain ornaments of gold and precious stones which I sent not because of their value, although that was not insignificant to me, but because the French had taken the first ones I sent and I was grieved to think that Your Holy Majesty had

not seen them. I therefore sent all I possessed, although that was trifling compared with the first consignments, so that a sample might be seen. Thus have I served Your Catholic Majesty with pure zeal and good intent, offering all I possess, and I cannot understand what reason there is to believe that I have held back anything which belongs to Your Highness. My officers have also informed me that during my absence they have sent certain quantities of gold, so that the shipments have continued to be sent whenever an opportunity has arisen.

Most Powerful Lord, I have also been told that Your Sacred Majesty has been informed that I have an income of two hundred millions from the provinces allotted to me; and because my desire is and has been none other than that Your Catholic Majesty should know for certain of my devotion in Your Royal service, and should be entirely certain that I have always told, and will always tell, the truth, I cannot better show it than by offering this great income to Your Majesty's service. There could be no better opportunity for me to persuade Your Majesty of the falsity of the suspicions which Your Majesty is so openly said to hold of me. I therefore beseech Your Majesty to accept all I possess in these kingdoms, leaving me, as a favor, only twenty millions; thus Your Majesty will receive a hundred and eighty millions, and I shall serve at Court, where I think no one will surpass me in my devotion, or overshadow my services to Your Majesty. And even in matters concerning this country, I shall be of great service to Your Majesty, for as an eyewitness I shall be able to advise Your Highness as to what must be done here to advance Your Royal service and prevent Your Majesty from being deceived by false reports. Moreover, I assure Your Holy Majesty that I shall render no less service by advising what action should be taken so that these parts may be preserved and the natives thereof brought to the knowledge of our Faith, and so that Your Majesty's substantial revenues may be increased rather than diminished, as has happened on the Islands and the mainland through bad government. If the Catholic Monarchs,

parents and grandparents of Your Highness, had been advised by people zealous in Their service and not with their own personal interest at heart, as in fact all those who have informed Their Highnesses and Your Majesty of the things of these parts have had, what might not have been gained by their having been won and held up to now, even in spite of difficulties and obstacles which have reduced the opportunities for profit?

Two things make me desire that Your Holy Majesty should honor me by permitting me to serve in Your Royal presence. The most important is to convince Your Majesty, and indeed the whole world, of my loyalty and devotion in Your Royal service, for this is more dear to me than any other benefit that may be granted me in this life, because it is in order to gain the reputation of a servant of Your Majesty and of the Royal and Imperial Crown that I have exposed myself to such dangers and suffered such unprecedented hardships, and not through a thirst for riches; for had that been my motive, I indeed have had plenty for a poor squire like myself and would not have lavished such wealth to achieve my other ambition which I hold as the principal aim of my life. My sins, however, have kept me from it, and I do not believe I can really satisfy Your Majesty of my loyalty and devotion unless this so great favor is granted me. Lest Your Majesty think I ask too much, I say that I will consider it no small mercy if Your Majesty should grant me but ten millions in those realms, leaving all else I possess here, although it is barely enough for me to appear at Court without shame. As I have had charge of the government of these parts in Your Majesty's Royal name, and have so much increased the Royal dominion and patrimony and have placed beneath the Royal Yoke so many provinces with so many and such noble towns and cities, I have put an end to many idolatries and offenses against our Creator, bringing many of the natives to the knowledge of God and planting in these lands Our Holy Catholic Faith, so that if there is no intervention from those who think ill of such things and whose zeal is directed toward different ends, there will, in a very short time, arise in these

parts a new Church, where God, Our Lord, may be better served and worshipped than in all the rest of the world.[114] I therefore entreat Your Majesty to satisfy my desire, which is to be admitted to the Royal presence where Your Highness will be very well served by me and convinced of my loyalty.

The other reason for my wishing to appear before Your Majesty is that I am most certain that I will be able to inform Your Catholic Majesty of everything concerning this land and the Islands, too, so that they may be provided for in a manner that will greatly advance the service of Our Lord God and Your Majesty. For there my words would be given greater credit than letters I write from here; since everything I say here will be attributed, as it has been before, to a desire for gain, and not to the zeal which, as Your Holy Majesty's vassal, I owe to Your Royal service. So great is my desire to kiss Your Majesty's Royal feet and to serve in Your Royal presence that I am unable to express it; but if Your Highness is not pleased to grant me this favor or finds it inopportune to maintain me in those kingdoms so that I may serve as I desire, I beg Your Highness to permit me to retain all that I now possess in this land or what my representatives will ask of Your Majesty in my name, granting it to me in perpetuity for myself and my heirs, so that I shall not arrive in Spain begging for alms. I shall consider it a most signal favor if Your Majesty would grant me permission to go and fulfill what I so fervently desire, for I know and trust in the Catholic conscience of Your Holy Majesty that once my services have been made manifest and the purity of the intention with which they were performed Your Majesty will not allow me to live in poverty. The arrival of this judge of inquiry seemed to me to offer a good opportunity for the achievement of my desire, and I even began to make preparations, but two things prevent me: the first was that I found myself without money for the journey because my house had been pillaged and property stolen, as I believe I have already informed Your Majesty; the second was the fear that during my absence there would be a rebellion or other disturbances among the

natives, or even among the Spaniards, for to judge by what has happened in the past one can easily foresee the possibility.

Most Catholic Lord, while I was engaged in writing this dispatch a messenger came to me from the Southern Sea bearing a letter which informed me of how there had arrived on those shores, close to a village called Tecoantepeque, a ship, which it seemed, from another letter that he brought from the captain of the vessel and which I have sent to Your Majesty, belonged to the fleet that Your Sacred Majesty sent to the islands of Maluco under Captain Loaisa. Your Majesty will read in this captain's letter of the incidents of his journey; I, therefore, will give no account of them to Your Highness, save to inform Your Excellency of the provisions I made in this case. I at once dispatched a reliable person with all speed to the place where the aforementioned vessel had landed to provide the captain with everything he might require should he wish to return, and to learn from him all the details of his voyage so that I might send a very full and particular account to Your Highness by the shortest possible route. In case this ship was in need of repair, I also sent a pilot to bring her to the port of Zacatula, where I have three ships prepared to embark on a voyage of exploration along those coasts, so that she might be refitted for Your Majesty's service and the success of her voyage. As soon as I receive any information from this ship I will immediately forward it so that Your Majesty may be fully informed and command me as to what most benefits Your Royal service.[115]

My ships, as I have already informed Your Majesty, are ready to start on their voyage, for as soon as I arrived in this city I began to make preparations for their departure. They would have sailed already but that they were waiting for certain arms, artillery and ammunition which were being brought from Spain for their defense. And I pray to Our Lord that by this journey I shall render a great service to Your Majesty's good fortune, for even if no passage is found I hope to discover a route to the Spice Islands so that Your Majesty may be informed every year of what is done there. If

Your Majesty chooses to grant me the favors[116] which I asked for concerning that discovery, I will undertake to discover a route to the Spice Islands and many others, if there be any between Maluco, Malaca and China, and so arrange matters that the spices shall no longer be obtained by trade, as the king of Portugal has them now, but as Your Majesty's rightful property; and the natives of those islands shall serve and recognize Your Highness as their rightful king and lord.[117] For I pledge myself, if the aforementioned additions are made to me, to go in person or to send thither such a fleet as will subdue those islands, and to settle them with Spaniards and to build fortresses so well equipped with artillery and other means for their defense that no prince of those parts or any other will be able to invade them. If, therefore, it pleases Your Majesty that I should undertake this enterprise, concede me all that I have asked, because I believe that Your Highness will be rendered a great service thereby, and if this should prove not to be so, Your Majesty may punish me as one who does not tell his king the truth.

Since my return I have also ordered expeditions to be sent overland and by sea to settle by the river of Tabasco, which is also called Grijalba, and to conquer many provinces thereabouts which will be a great service both to Your Majesty and Our Lord God; and the ships which trade in these parts will derive much benefit by having this port settled with Spaniards and these coasts subdued, for many ships have run aground there and the natives, who are still unconquered, have killed their crews.

I am also sending to the province of the Zapotecas, of which Your Majesty has already been informed, three captains to invade it in three different directions, so as to conquer it as swiftly as possible. This will most certainly be very beneficial, not only because of the harm which the natives of that province do to others who have been pacified, but also because they occupy the richest mining lands to be found in New Spain, from which, once they have been conquered, Your Majesty will derive great profits.

I have likewise prepared an expedition (and gathered to-

gether a great many of the people for it) to found a colony along the river of Las Palmas, which is on the north coast below the Pánuco and in the direction of Florida, for I have been informed that it is a very rich land with a harbor, and I do not think Our Lord God and Your Majesty will be less served there than in all the other parts, because I have indeed received good news of that country.

Between the north coast and the province of Mychuacan there is a certain tribe called the Chichimeca.[118] They are a very barbarous people and not so intelligent as those of the other provinces. I am likewise now sending sixty horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers together with many of our native allies to investigate that province and its inhabitants. I have given my men instruction that if they discover in these people some aptitude or ability to live as the others do and to be instructed in the knowledge of Our Holy Faith and to recognize the service which they owe to Your Majesty, they are to make every effort to pacify them and bring them under Your Majesty's Yoke; they are also to settle among them in whichever place seems most convenient. If, however, they find that they are not as I have said above and refuse to be obedient, the Spaniards are to make war on them and reduce them to slavery; so that there may be no part remaining of all this land which does not serve and acknowledge Your Majesty. By making slaves of this barbarous people, who are almost savages, Your Majesty will be served and the Spaniards will benefit greatly, as they will work in the gold mines, and perhaps by living among us some of them may even be saved.

It is known that among these people there is a certain part where there are many towns, whose inhabitants live in the same manner as the people here. Some of these towns have even been visited by Spaniards, and I am certain that land will soon be settled, for we have heard that it is very rich in silver.

Most Powerful Lord, two months before I left this city for the gulf of Las Hibueras I sent a captain to the town of Colimán,[119] which is by the Southern Sea, 140 leagues from this city. I commanded him to proceed down the coast from that town for 150 or

two hundred leagues for the sole purpose of exploring the coast, and also to discover if there were any harbors. This captain did as I commanded him, traveling some 130 leagues down the coast from Coliman and sometimes as many as twenty or thirty leagues inland and bringing me an account of many harbors which he found on the coast. This was of no small advantage because we have found few of them in all the lands we have discovered up until now. He also found many large towns and warlike tribes with whom he had several encounters and succeeded in pacifying some of them, but he was unable to proceed further because his men were few and he could find no pasture for the horses. In his account he brought news of a very large river which the natives had said was ten days' march from the place where he had halted, and of the people who dwelt along its banks they told him many strange and wonderful things. I am now sending him back with more people and arms so that he may explore that river, which, to judge by the reports of its width and great size, will most probably turn out to be a strait. As soon as he returns I will immediately send an account to Your Majesty of all that he knows of it.

All these above-mentioned captains are now about to start on their expeditions; may Our Lord be pleased to guide them as He sees fit. I can only say, for my part, that even though I fall still further from Your Majesty's favor, I shall not cease to give my services, for it is not possible that Your Majesty should fail to recognize my services in time; but, even should this happen, I will be content with doing my duty and knowing that all the world knows of my services and the loyalty with which I perform them, and I want no other inheritance for my children save this.[120]

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

IN the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are three persons and one, only, and true God Whom I hold, believe, and confess to be my true God and Redeemer, and of the most glorious and fortunate Virgin His Blessed Mother, our Lady and Advocate.

Let all who may see this Testament know that I, Don Fernando Cortes, Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, Captain General of New Spain and the South Sea for the Cæsarian Majesty of the Emperor Charles, fifth of this name, my sovereign Prince and Lord, being ill, but in such free and sound judgment with which it has pleased God to endow me, fearing death, as is natural to every creature, and desiring to prepare myself against such time as it may please God to call me hence, do for the good of my soul, and the peace and discharge of my conscience, execute, and recognise this document which I do make, and order as my last testament and final will, in the following form and manner.

I. First I direct that, should I die in the Spanish realm, my body shall be interred in the church of that parish wherein shall stand the house in which I die, and that there it shall remain until such time as it may please my successor to transport my bones to New Spain; this I charge and direct him to do within ten years and sooner if possible, and that he transport them thence to my town of Coyoacan, and there give them sepulture in the monastery of the nuns called La Concepcion, of the order of St. Francis which I have founded in my said town, with provision for the interment of myself and my successors.

II. Item: I direct that should it please God that my end and death should take place in this realm of Spain, my burial shall be attended to, according to the provisions of those

gentlemen whom I have named my executors, or of any one of them who may be present, and that everything suitable thereto be decently ordered.

III. I direct, furthermore, that the beneficed clergy and chaplains of the parish church of the town or place where I die shall carry my body, and that all the monks of the religious Orders shall also march in procession, headed by the cross, and assist at the obsequies which shall be celebrated; and I direct that the usual alms may be given to the said religious orders according to the judgment of my said executors.

IV. Item: I direct that, on the day of my death, fifty poor men be provided out of my means with full gowns of grey cloth, with large hoods of the same, and shall accompany my funeral procession bearing lighted torches, after which each shall receive one *real*.

V. Item: I direct that on the same day of my funeral, if it should take place before midday, and otherwise on the day following, all the masses possible shall be said in all the churches and monasteries of the said city or town or place of my death; and besides these masses, five thousand more shall be said on successive days in the following manner: one thousand for the souls in purgatory, two thousand for the souls of those who lost their lives serving under me in the discoveries and conquests which I made in New Spain, and the two remaining thousand for the souls of all towards whom I have obligations of which I am ignorant or forgetful; those which I do know and remember shall be discharged as I direct in this my testament. My executors shall recompense the said five thousand masses according to custom, and I beg them in all that concerns my funeral to suppress the worldly pomps, and devote money rather to the good of souls.

VI. Item: On the said day of my burial my executors shall furnish all my own servants and those of my sons with a suitable mourning dress, as they shall judge proper, and during six succeeding months, my servants shall continue to receive their usual stipend with their food and drink, exactly as during my lifetime. Those who do not remain in the service

of my son and successor Don Martin shall receive their payment in full on the day they leave his service.

VII. Item: I direct that when my bones shall be transported to New Spain for interment in the monastery church of Coyoacan, which I direct to be built, that this shall be done by order of the Marquesa Doña Juana de Zuñiga, my wife, and in such wise as she or my son or my successor at that time, whichever of them may be living at that time, shall direct.

VIII. Item: I direct that the bones of Doña Catalina Pizarro my lady mother, and those of Don Luis my son, which are buried in the monastery church of St. Francis in Texcoco, and those of Doña Catalina my daughter which are in the monastery of Cuahuanavac (Cuernavaca), be brought, and buried in my sepulchre in the said monastery which I found in my town of Coyoacan.

IX. Item: I direct that the hospital of Our Lady of the Conception, which I directed to be founded in the city of Mexico in New Spain, shall be finished at my cost according to the plan drawn. The principal chapel of its church shall be completed according to the model in wood made by Pedro Vasquez Jumetrico, and the plan described in the letter which I sent to New Spain, in this present year 1547. For these costs I set apart especially the rents deriving from my shops and houses in the said city, situated in the square and street of Tacuba and San Francisco, and in the street which unites them; this income shall be given exclusively to the said works until they are completed, nor shall my successor employ them for any other purposes. But it is my wish and will that the expenditure be made by my successor as patron of the hospital, and, when the works are finished according to the said plans, that the same rents shall be devoted to providing revenues for the wants of the administration, and the direction of the said hospital, following in this institution the order laid down by me before a notary public. Failing this, I direct that the same system of administration be adopted as that which obtains in the hospital of the Five Wounds, founded by Doña Catalina de Rivera (may she have glory), for maintaining the administrators, chaplains,

and other officers and servants attached to the said hospital.

X. Item: I direct that in the chapel of the monastery of St. Francis in Medellin, where my father Martin Cortes is buried, the memorial masses, for which I leave provision, shall be celebrated yearly in perpetuity. My successor or successors shall for all time see to this, for which purpose I name, as patron of the said chapel, my son and successor Don Martin Cortes, and after him those who shall follow him in the succession. He, holding the said patronage (or those who succeed him by right of primogeniture), may name as his substitute for the exercise of the said patronage such person or persons as may be desirable for such time as may please him, and hold full power to revoke such appointment whenever he may so desire, substituting any other who is deemed suitable. Such person, thus appointed, shall, in the absence of the head of my house, hold the same power and faculties as the said patron himself, for such time as his appointment may last.

XI. Item: I declare that since Almighty God Our Lord has vouchsafed to advance and favour me in the discovery and conquest of New Spain, and I have always received from His merciful hand very great favours and mercies, both in my victories over the enemies of His Holy Catholic Faith, and in the pacification and settlement of those kingdoms, from which I hope great service may accrue to God our Lord, I order that the following works be undertaken in grateful recognition of those said favours and mercies, and also to discharge and satisfy my conscience for whatsoever faults or burdens may lie thereon, but of which my memory no longer takes account to enable me to specify them:

XII. I order and direct that, in addition to the aforesaid hospital which I have already provided shall be built in the city of Mexico, a monastery of the nuns of the Conception, belonging to the Order of St. Francis, shall be built in my town of Coyoacan, in such place, and according to such plan as I shall indicate; and should I not leave these instructions, then I direct that my successor or his deputy shall found and build it, providing a community with such endowment as

shall be required. I designate the said monastery in my town of Coyoacan as my place of sepulture, which I direct shall be in the major chapel of the church of the said monastery, where no other persons except my legitimate descendants may be buried.

XIII. Item: I direct that a college shall be built in my said town of Coyoacan for students of theology and canon law; that there may be learned persons to officiate in the churches, and to train and instruct the natives in our Holy Catholic Faith. This college shall be provided with faculties, and receive a number of students, and the rules and constitutions which I shall establish for it shall be observed. It shall be built in such place, and after a plan suitable to the said institution, and with such regulations and ordinances as I shall prescribe, and, if perchance I should not explain these, I direct that my successor or his deputy shall organise and build it, adopting the statutes, constitutions, and ordinances governing the college of Santa Maria de Jesus founded in this city of Seville. The costs and expenses of the said college shall be covered and supplied from the rents which will be designated.

XIV. Item: I destine, for the endowment of the said hospital of Our Lady of the Conception which I am building in Mexico, two front ground plots of the houses of Jorge Alvarado, and of the treasurer Juan Alonso de Sosa, between my house and the aqueduct which extends to the houses of Don Luis Saavedra, which being now unoccupied, I assume the obligation to construct such buildings as may amply suffice for the said endowment. During such time as the said buildings are not constructed, the said hospital shall receive support from my estate to the amount of one hundred thousand *maravedis* of good money. I direct that the said endowment shall be furnished as is provided, and with the conditions I shall hereafter state, and I direct that my successor shall be free at any time to allot the said hospital some part of the said one hundred thousand *maravedis* income, in lieu of the said buildings, should he so desire, affecting this substitution in any assured manner he may wish.

XV. Item: as, likewise, I have stated and bound myself

to furnish to the said hospital lands near the city of Mexico, producing three hundred thousand *fanegas* of wheat, as is set forth in the said endowment to which I refer, I direct that this obligation be fulfilled, and I assign for such purpose a piece of land, which I own, at the extremity of Coyoacan, situated between that town, and the river which crosses the road leading to Chapultepec. Should this not suffice, the amount shall be completed, at the option of my successor, from other lands where I have had, and have, my plantations, situated beyond the said river in the direction of Chapultepec. Should my successor or successors at any time wish to substitute for the said hospital, as required by the endowment, other lands producing three hundred thousand *fanegas* of wheat, this may be done, on condition that they are as good as those I have designated. As I do not know whether some part of the lands, indicated and named by me for the said hospital, may not belong to me as Señor (proprietary lord) of that place, or by other title, I direct that any such be restored to their owners, who shall be paid the full value to their satisfaction. As I have worked such lands, profiting by them, under the belief that I might do so with a clear conscience, I direct that the rightful owners of the said lands be repaid the amount it may be shown I have derived from them, so that my conscience may be clean; my said successor shall be obliged, should these lands be shown not to belong to me, to make good the amount provided in the act of endowment to the said hospital.

XVI. Item: I declare and say that, as has been stated, the construction of the said hospital in Mexico shall be completed in the said city as above mentioned out of the rents of the lands and buildings I own in the square and streets of Tacuba and San Francisco; and this construction completed, the income from the said shops and buildings shall revert to my successor or successors. They shall henceforth devote this entire sum annually to the construction of the monastery of nuns, and of the above mentioned college which I directed to be founded and built in my said town of Coyoacan, using and distributing the sums necessary to put them in possession.

XVII. And, that the works of the said hospital, mon-

astery, and college above described may be speedily completed, and the service of God our Lord thereby promoted, as it is hoped, I direct that, in addition to the four thousand *ducats* derived from the buildings already indicated for the works of the said hospital in Mexico, and the said college and monastery in Coyoacan, six thousand *ducats* more shall be used from my estate each year from the date of my death, so that in all there will thus be ten thousand *ducats* devoted to this purpose; four thousand from the income of the shops and buildings for the work on the said hospital until it is finished; three thousand for the construction of the said monastery of nuns; and the remaining three thousand for the building of the said college. When the work on the said hospital shall be terminated, the four thousand *ducats* set apart therefor shall be divided into equal parts, and devoted to the works on the said monastery and college, so that each of these may thus dispose of five thousand *ducats* yearly. These works being completed, in order to relieve my successor of the obligation of continuing from thenceforth forever to give the six thousand and the four thousand *ducats* from the income of the said shops and buildings, these sums shall be distributed as follows: one thousand *ducats* for the endowment and estates of the said monastery of nuns which, as has been said, I directed to be founded in my town of Coyoacan; two thousand *ducats* for the endowment and expenses of the said college which I directed to be founded in the same town; and another thousand *ducats* do I adjudge to the said hospital of the Conception which I directed to be founded in the said city of Mexico. This last shall be with such condition that, by a yearly payment of this sum, the obligation assumed by me and my successor and successors (to build for the endowment of the said hospital certain houses, and two front ground plots of the houses of Jorge de Alvarado and the treasurer Juan de Sosa) may be acquitted, as well our obligation to provide one hundred thousand *maravedis* of annual income to the said hospital should we fail to construct the said buildings. This is also that I and my successor and successors may be released from the obligation, which I assumed when I endowed the said hospital, of giving it certain lands near the city of Mexico,

yielding three hundred *fanegas* of wheat; for it is my wish and intention that, by giving the said hospital an annual income in perpetuity of one thousand *ducats*, I and my successor and successors may be released from all claim upon the said houses, or in lieu of them, the said one hundred thousand *maravedis*, and the said lands producing three hundred *fanegas* of wheat; all of which both in whole and in part I direct shall return to the possession and enjoyment of my successor and successors. Should the said hospital not desist from such claim, I direct that this provision and endowment of one thousand *ducats* yearly income shall be of no value or effect, but this sum shall revert to my successor or successors.

XVIII. Item: I say that, inasmuch as it is seen by experience that the revenues from lands and houses, both in Spain and in New Spain, increase daily, my shops and buildings, above mentioned, may become of greater value, and yield an income exceeding the amount of four thousand *ducats* which I devise and give forevermore, as is attested by the endowments of the said monastery of nuns, the said college, and the said hospital, and it is my will that should the said shops and buildings become more valuable and yield more rent, that the excess of value and rent, over and above the said four thousand *ducats*, shall be divided as follows: two parts of the said excess to go to the said college and of the remaining two parts one each to the said monastery of nuns and to the said hospital.

XIX. Item: I say and direct that, by virtue of the grant made to me by the Emperor our King, and Lord of the towns therein mentioned, his rights of patronage over the churches of the said towns belong to me in conformity with a clause of the said grant, in which it is declared that I possess in those towns all the rights, contributions, and customs, and everything else which His Majesty has or may have in the other towns of New Spain, which, excepting the mines and salt, remain the property of his royal crown. Thus, except these two things specified in the grant, the right of patronage belonging to him, belongs for the same reason to me. In addition to the grant made me by His Majesty, I hold the said rights of patronage by concession of His Holiness, the bull

for which is deposited with His Majesty, and his Council for the Indies, that they may recognise as valid the said concession. I desire, and it is my will, that my successor or successors, may have and preserve forever the said right of patronage. As, at the time I solicited the concession from His Holiness, it was my intention that the natives of those towns should be better instructed in the doctrines of our Holy Catholic Faith, I direct and charge Don Martin, my son, and successor and successors, to have very special care of this, conferring the benefices of the said towns upon able men of good life and example, with the obligation to daily instruct the said natives; and that they take great care to oversee and ascertain very particularly how this is done and fulfilled. As the said concession from His Holiness says that I and my heirs and successors should have and receive the tithes and first fruits from the said towns, comprised in the right of patronage for the endowment of the churches, I direct that dowries, vestments, and other things necessary for the cult, and the wine for the administration of the Sacraments, be all provided for out of the said tithes and first fruits. During such time as this is not complied with, through no fault of my successor or successors, the said tithes and first fruits may not be employed otherwise, for, from this time forth and forever, I destine and apply these to provide the said churches with all whatsoever belongs to or concerns them in so far as may be necessary for the purposes above expressed, the control and enjoyment of the said right of patronage remaining to my successors the same as it has been conceded to me; hence it is my will that whatever may remain of the said titles and first fruits of these churches, over and above the expenses above set forth, being properties dedicated to God Our Lord, and to His holy temples, shall be used and distributed in works of His service, and for no other purpose I say therefor and direct that such surplus of tithes and first fruits, after each year's expenditure for the above mentioned objects, shall be adjudged perpetually by my successor or successors or their deputies as follows:—one half to the endowment of the said college, and the remainder divided equally between the said monastery, and the said hospital, in the same proportion as the

division which is made of the rents from the said shops and buildings.

XX. Item: I direct that ten thousand *ducats* be paid to my wife, the Marquesa Doña Juana de Zuñiga, which sum I received as her dowry; forasmuch as I received and expended them, and they belong to her, I direct that they be paid without dispute or question from the first and best properties of my estate.

XXI. Item: I say that, since, between Don Pedro Alvarez Osorio, marques de Astorga, and myself, it has been arranged and concerted that his eldest son and heir, Don Alvaro Perez Osorio, should marry Doña Maria Cortes, legitimate daughter of myself and the Marquesa Doña Juana de Zuñiga, my wife, and the conditions of this marriage have been set forth in a contract, it is my will that it should be fulfilled according to the stipulations; and as I have agreed and promised one hundred thousand *ducats* as a dower for the said Doña Maria, my daughter, of which the marques de Astorga, conformably to the said stipulations, has already received twenty thousand *ducats*, I desire that before everything else the remaining eighty thousand *ducats* be paid from the estates of the said marquesa, my wife, and from my own to complete the said dower, at the time and in the manner provided in the said contract. These sums shall be charged against the legitimate share of our estates which would belong to my daughter Doña Maria.

XXII. As I am obliged to dower Doña Catalina and Doña Juana, the legitimate daughters of myself and my wife, the said marquesa, I direct that, in discharge of this obligation as best I can, each of them shall receive fifty thousand *ducats*, making one hundred thousand for both; for which purpose I transfer this sum irrevocably during my lifetime to Melchor de Mojica, my administrator and secretary, who is here present and accepts the same in my name. These hundred thousand *ducats* may be taken from the joint estate of the marquesa my wife, and mine, and charged against the share her legitimate daughters would have of our estate. Failing the necessary sum, at the time of my death, to pay these hundred thousand *ducats*, I desire that whatever is wanting shall be

paid by my son and successor, Don Martin, or whatever other successor, by setting apart from my estate fifteen thousand *ducats* yearly, until the full amount of one hundred thousand *ducats* be made up, as said above.

I, Melchor de Mojica accept and receive the said dower of one hundred thousand *ducats* in the name of the said ladies, Doña Catalina and Doña Juana, as set forth in this article, and, in witness and confirmation of the same, I here sign my name.

MELCHOR DE MOJICA.

XXIII. Item: I direct, and place as a charge on my successor, and on the income of my estate, an annual pension of one thousand *ducats* in gold to each of my natural sons, Don Martin and Don Luis Cortes, for their lifetime, or until each of them may have an income of over five thousand *maravedis*. I direct that these sums be paid, free from any tax of any sort, annually; and from this time forth I establish them as theirs, from the best share of my rents. I direct that my sons, Don Martin and Don Luis, be subject and obedient to my successor in everything, in which they honestly may, as to the chief and head of the family from which they spring, and that for no reason shall they disobey or fail in their respect to him, but shall assist and serve him in everything not contrary to God Our Lord, or His holy religion, and Catholic Faith, or against their rightful king; and I direct that should either show notorious disobedience or disrespect, such as may be proven as such, they shall lose the benefits and substance they receive, and shall be considered as strangers to my house and children.

XXIV. Item: I direct that marriages for my daughters, Doña Catalina and Doña Juana, are to he arranged only upon the counsel, and with the approval, of the marquesa, their mother, and of my successor. Should either of them marry outside this condition, my successor shall not be obliged to pay anything of the dower I have provided.

XXV. Item: I direct that Doña Catalina Pizarro, my daughter by Leonor Pizarro, wife of Juan de Salcedo, a citizen of Mexico, be given the full amount of the income and increase of the cows, mares, and ewes which I gave her when she first

came to the kingdom of Mexico, together with the income from the town of Chinantla, and all else that I assigned for her marriage dower and delivered to the said Juan de Salcedo, husband of Doña Leonor Pizarro, her mother. And, as I have received from the increase on the said ranches a number of horses, bulls, rams, and monies, I direct that this amount be repaid out of my estate, to my daughter Doña Catalina, according to the account presented by the said Juan de Salcedo, at the price they were worth when I received them. I confess, now, that two receipts, made to me by Hernando de Saavedra, and Gil Gonzale de Benevides, for a certain amount in gold for some cows which I sold them at four different times, as will appear from the said receipts, really belong to the estate and increase of my daughter Doña Catalina, although they are made out to me; and I therefore direct that they be paid to her with interest, being hers, and coming from her estate. The amounts of the said receipts are two thousand *pesos* of good gold for the one, and two thousand seven hundred and fifty for the other.

XXVI. Item: I acknowledge another receipt from Francisco de Villegas, citizen of Mexico, given me for two thousand *pesos* in gold for some cows, of which, according to Juan de Salcedo's statement, he only owes one thousand, as he did not receive the full number of cows sold to him, which coming also from the property of my daughter, Doña Catalina, I order be paid to her.

XXVII. Item: I also acknowledge another receipt, of four hundred *pesos*, made me by Bernardino del Castillo, for mares, likewise coming from the property of my daughter, Doña Catalina; I order that this be paid to her.

XXVIII. Item: I acknowledge another receipt, for two thousand four hundred *pesos* in gold, given me by Alonzo Dávalos, for twelve mares and six fillies, coming from the property of my daughter, Doña Catalina; I order that this be paid to her.

XXIX. Item: I declare that all the cows and flocks at Matalango belong to my daughter, Doña Catalina, and to the said Leonor Pizarro, besides all the mares and colts at Taltizapan, which bear her brand of a large *E* on the haunch.

XXX. Item: I declare that, of the receipt made by Gil Gonzale de Benevides with Hernando de Saavedra, which, as above said, belongs to my daughter, Doña Catalina, three hundred and fifty *castellanos* in gold have been paid, which I received in four horses which I possess; I order that this be paid to the said Doña Catalina.

XXXI. Item: I declare that I gave a final quittance to the said Juan de Salcedo, citizen of Mexico, husband of the said Leonor Pizarro, stating that I gave and give it him in full receipt for all accounts he had with the estate and goods of Doña Catalina Pizarro, my daughter, which were delivered to him. I say that I gave the said final quittance, notwithstanding I was not disposed to give it without the accounts and payments, at the instance and entreaty of the said Juan de Salcedo, to save him the necessity of rendering the said accounts during my absence; for which he promised, under oath, that, on my return from my journey, he would present them in full, without fraud nor taking anything from the said Doña Catalina; and this he did, with Andres de Tapia present as witness.

XXXII. Item: I direct that, when it may please Our Lord that the said Doña Catalina, my daughter, should marry, she shall do so on the counsel, and with the consent of my successor, whom I beg to take special care to provide that his sister Catalina marries as becomes the honour of our house and her own.

XXXIII. Item: I direct that my natural daughters, Doña Leonor and Doña Maria, shall receive as dowries, each, ten thousand *ducats* from my estate, recommending them to marry with the counsel and consent of my said successor, whom I charge as in the former article touching his sister, Doña Catalina. Should either or both die before marrying, or desire to enter the religious life, let them receive for their support and expenses sixty thousand *maravedis* yearly; the remainder reverting to my son and successor Don Martin, and those who follow him.

XXXIV. Item: I direct that, as some persons have served on my farming estates, and I do not know whether they have been paid, the conditions agreed upon with me or

my administrators at the time of their engagement shall be ascertained, and that they be paid as the books of the administration show to be just, without wearying them with more controversy than is required to discover the truth. This to be done on the conscience of my successor and executors, without their being obliged to give any other account than that they have paid them.

XXXV. Item: I direct that all debts as shall appear from my account books, owing to people in my service, both here in Spain and in New Spain, shall be paid in accordance with the conditions established when they entered my service, and that this be done without delay or dispute. As Bernardino del Castillo was engaged in taking account of all that the licenciate Don Juan Altamirano has furnished and sent me, I direct that the statement of the said licenciate be accepted.

XXXVI. Item: I direct that all my debts of whatever nature public and private, when shewn to be justly mine, be paid without delay or process of law, but quickly and without incurring expense. As I may have debts for which I have no written proof, I direct that all such, if shewn to be mine, even without writing, be paid without process of law, up to the amount of one hundred *pesos* in good money.

XXXVII. Item: I say that I have spent large sums of money in New Spain and its provinces, which I conquered and brought under the dominion of the royal crown of Castile, both in the conquest, as well as in the armadas which I sent elsewhere, such as those I sent to Amaluco (Molucca Island), under the captain Alvaro de Saavedra, and one sent to Hibueras, with settlers commanded by Geronimo Prima, and another to the same province of Hibueras, of which Francisco de las Casas was captain. All were sent by order of our lord the Emperor, as may be seen from his royal instructions and signature, and as His Majesty, to discharge his royal conscience, and as a most Christian prince, sent me his royal *cedula*, which is among the papers in possession of the licenciate Juan Altamirano, and an order of his royal council, authorised an account to be made with me of all I have spent in the said conquests and armadas, I direct that this account be made

and presented to His Majesty, since he was pleased to order payment to me. This sum I wish and direct to go to my heir, the said Don Martin Cortes, my son and successor in my house and estate, and to the successors who shall follow him.

XXXVIII. Item: I direct that the said Don Martin, my son, (and those who may succeed), shall have the following upon his conscience: His Majesty granted me the towns, places, and lands of the estate I have and own in New Spain, with all the rents, rights, tributes, and contributions belonging to His Majesty, exactly as the former rulers used to receive them before the conquest. I have used all diligence to verify the said rents, tributes, rights, and contributions which those rulers enjoyed, and I was careful to continue the former masters where such tributes and rents are usually paid, in agreement with whom I have collected the said rents and tributes until today. I direct that, if it shall at any time appear that I was badly informed as to the above, and have taken anything not belonging to me, of which I was until today unaware, thinking I took my rights, it shall be rectified.

XXXIX. Item: as there have been many doubts and opinions as to whether it is permitted with a good conscience to hold the natives as slaves, whether captives of war or by purchase, and up till now this has not been determined, I direct my son and successor Don Martin, and those who may follow him, to use all diligence to settle this point for the peace of my conscience and their own.

XL. Item: I direct that, as in some places on my estates pieces of ground have been taken for orchards, vineyards, cotton-fields and other purpose, it must be ascertained whether such lands belonged to the natives of those towns, and, if so, I order that they be restored, with all such profits their owners might have derived from them, compensating, and receiving in total, discharge of all the rents and tributes which they were obliged to pay for them; and, in the case of Bernardino del Castillo, my servant, to whom, in past years, I gave a piece of land, situated on the outskirts of Coyoacan, on which he built a sugar mill, I order that this be done should it appear that the land belongs to third parties.

XLI. Item: I direct that, as I have received, in addition to the tributes paid me by vassals, other services both personal and real, and as on this point also opinions differ as to whether such may be accepted with a good conscience, this matter shall be investigated, and, if it appears that I have received more of such services than belonged to me, those natives shall be paid and indemnified in all that it shall appear they may justly claim.

XLII. Item: I direct that all my account books be examined, especially a large one in possession of Francisco de Santa Cruz, which my secretary and scrivener Juan de Rivera began, but which passed to the said Francisco de Santa Cruz, who keeps my said books. I order that all debts found therein, due to all persons whatsoever shall be paid, and likewise that all debts due to me be collected; and, I order that the said Francisco de Santa Cruz render his accounts for the time he has had charge of my business, and everything be settled with him, and that all on our side and the other be paid.

XLIII. Item: I say that, inasmuch as I loaned Bernardino del Castillo at the time of his marriage one thousand *castellanos* in gold and silver, besides six hundred more in furnishings for the shop next to the clock tower, as will appear from a receipt signed with his name, and deposited with the licenciate Juan Altamirano, he shall be credited with what I owe him for the time of his service which may be determined by a receipt signed by me when I left Coyoacan, and the remainder shall go to my successor.

XLIV. Item: I direct that, for as long as Doña Elvira de Hermosa, daughter of Luis de Hermosa, citizen of Avila, who is now maid to the marquesa, my wife, shall remain in the service of any of my daughters or of the wife of Don Martin, she shall be paid twenty thousand *maravedis* annually; and should she desire to become a nun, or to live unmarried in this city, she shall be paid from my estate two hundred thousand *maravedis* besides giving her the twenty thousand *maravedis* annually.

XLV. Item: I direct that, for as long as my cousin Cecilia Vazquez Altamirano may desire to remain with the marquesa, my wife, or with any of my daughters, or the wife of

Don Martin, she shall enjoy the same respect I have ever shown her; and I desire that, wherever she may choose to live, one thousand *maravedis* shall be surely and regularly paid her annually from my estate.

XLVI. Item: I direct that two hundred thousand *maravedis* be paid from my estate to each of the two daughters of the administrator, Juan Altamirano, my cousin, for their dowry, and marriage portion.

XLVII. Item: I direct that, for as long as the said Juan Altamirano may wish to retain the charge of the administration in my household, this shall be allowed him, and, with the profit assigned him by my *cedula*, shall be continued to him for as long as he may wish.

XLVIII. Item: I direct that three hundred thousand *maravedis* be paid to Doña Beatriz, and Doña Luisa, her sister, daughters of the marquesa my wife, to enable them to marry, two hundred thousand to the said Doña Luisa and to the said Doña Beatriz one hundred thousand *maravedis*.

XLIX. Item: I direct that, if Maria de Torres, now duenna with the marquesa, should wish to remain in her service, or in that of any of my daughters, or the wife of my son and successor, she be paid annually fifteen thousand *maravedis*, and should she want something for herself, she shall be given one hundred thousand whenever she wishes, in recognition of her past services, without subtracting any sums she may have received in that time, nor the fifteen thousand which I provide for the time she shall continue in service.

L. Item: I say that, as in the year 1542, while I was in Barcelona, Gonzalo Diaz my equerry was short forty *ducats* of my money which was placed in his hands, I ordered this amount to be deducted from his pay, and, although he sustained no harm, I now pardon him, and direct that no deduction of this sum be made in his accounts, and if any has already been made to cancel it, and pay him in full; besides which, I leave him as a mark of favour one hundred *ducats* in gold, to be paid him from my estate.

LI. Item: I direct that, although in the year 1544 my groom of the chambers gave me his note for forty-four

thousand five hundred and twenty *maravedis* for the value of certain pieces of silver for which he could not account when he was my plate-butler, for which he therefore owed me, nevertheless in consideration of his service, I forgive him that obligation, and pardon him, and he shall receive back his note, and be paid twenty *ducats* in gold from my estate.

LII. Item: I direct that, besides paying Geronimo de Andrada what is owing on his account he be given from my estate thirty *ducats* in gold, which I leave him in recognition of his services.

LIII. Item: I say inasmuch as there is a suit with the wife and heirs of the licenciate Nuñez, member of the council, who was my solicitor, concerning certain of our accounts, which showed him my debtor for large sums, and although I am well informed, and have a clear conscience, nor on my side has this suit been sustained through malice, but only to have justice, that, nevertheless I direct, if the widow and heirs of the licenciate Nuñez wish to settle our suit amiably, that two accountants be chosen to act for them with two of mine, to whom all necessary papers shall be given, and whose decision shall be accepted as final without other legal action. Should they not so agree, let the suit go on its ordinary course, as my only wish is to know the truth, and have justice done. Whatever sums may result from the suit, shall be distributed as is provided in a memorandum in the hands of my secretary, Melchor de Mojica; and the same shall be done with the sums received from the suit now pending with Francisco de Arteaga Martinez.

LIV. Item: I direct that thirty thousand *maravedis* be given as a marriage portion to a girl who is, and has been since childhood, a servant in my household and who is said to be a child of one Francisco Barco, born in Tehuantepec.

LV. Item: I direct that a suit of mourning, such as I have ordered to be given my servants, shall be furnished to Juan de Quintanilla, who came from Valladolid to this city of Seville to assist and treat me during my illness, and is present at my death. In addition, I leave him in recognition of his services fifty *ducats* in gold from my estate.

LVI. Item: I direct that, besides paying what is owing

to my page, Pedro de Astorga, he shall be given from my estate thirty *ducats* in gold, which I leave him in recognition of his services, during my illness; and, in consideration of this, I charge and direct my son and successor, the said Don Martin, to retain him in his household and service in the position I now have him.

LVII. Item: I charge and direct the said Don Martin my son and successor, to retain in his household and service, my valet Antonio Galvarro, as I have him, feeling confident that he will prove a good and loyal servant to him, as he has been during the time he has served me.

LVIII. Item: I direct that Diego Gonzalez, citizen of Medellin, at present living in Seville, shall receive a robe and a cloak of black cloth, some stockings, a doublet, and a cap; besides this twenty *ducats* in gold, all of which I leave him because of the devotion he has shown, and does show, to my family.

LXIX. Item: I charge and direct the said Don Martin, my son and successor, to always retain my accountant Melchor de Mojica in his service, for as he has so well and faithfully served me during the short time he has been here in my household, that I am confident he will henceforward give good service and counsel to my son Don Martin in the affairs and matters which he has handled with me. I charge and direct the said Melchor de Mojica to do this, for I place this confidence in him, and I wish and direct that he continue to hold the charge and position he does at present, for such time as he can, and the marques may desire.

LX. Item: I direct that the hospital of Amor de Dios be paid the alms which the accounts of Don Juan Galiano may show are owing, as I have done each month since I have been in Seville; besides which I order one hundred *ducats* in gold to be paid from my estate.

XLI. Item: I direct that the accounts of Master Vicente (for works executed in my house and room) be inspected, and paid, after deducting such sums as he has already received.

LXII. For as much as Don Martin Cortes, my son and my wife's, the said Marquesa Doña Juana de Zuñiga, who is my successor, is less than twenty-five years old, and more

than fifteen, I desire, and it is my will, that he remain under control of the guardianship and care of such tutors and administrators as I herein name for my children, until they attain the age of twenty-five years completed. During the interim, let him not withdraw from or evade the guardianship and control, so that, until he complete the said age, as I have herein established, his property and estate may be the more advantageously increased, and administered, and all that I direct and dispose by this testament may be the better and more quickly complied with. Thus from the direction and administration of the properties of my son, the said Don Martin, as well as for the control and care of the persons and goods of my legitimate daughters, Doña Maria, Doña Catalina, and Doña Juana, I name and appoint for tutors and guardians, the most illustrious gentlemen, Don Juan Alonso de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia; Don Pedro Alvare Osorio, Marques de Astorga; and Don Pedro de Arellano, Count de Aguilar. I entreat the same to graciously accept the said tutelage and guardianship, and, in accepting and receiving it, they may remember and respect what I beg and entreat them, for these my said children are of their blood and lineage, by protecting whom they do but fufill their duty as gentlemen, and profit their own lineage and quality. In recognition of their services and of their rights conformably to the law to be recompensed from my estate for the said tutelage and guardianship, I direct that, for each year during which their lordships exercise their functions, they shall receive fifty *marks* of silver, which I entreat them to agree to, and to accept in consideration of the causes and reasons above mentioned. I direct that my son and successor, the said Don Martin, shall, until he has completed his twenty-fifth year, receive twelve thousand *ducats* yearly for his support, and that of his servants. The remainder of my income may thus more fully and quickly provide for all that I have ordered and directed in this my testament. As the towns, properties, engineering works, mines, and other works belonging to my estate, to which, after my death, the said Don Martin, my son, will succeed, are divided and scattered through different provinces of New Spain, distant one from another, it is necessary that I, as one who knows

by experience what is necessary, should indicate persons capable of carrying on the administration. Hence I beg and entreat the said gentlemen, tutors, and guardians to approve the appointments and selections of persons which I shall leave, drawn up and signed with my name; for I am positive that the said *haciendas* will be directed and administered to the best advantage, and their lordships relieved of the labour and responsibility of selecting persons for this purpose.

LXIII. Moreover, I leave and name as my successor over my household and estate, Don Martin Cortes, my son by the Marquesa Dona Juaña de Zuñiga my wife, and after him his descendants and other persons named in the institution of my entail, which I institute by the authority of the emperor and king our Lord, according to, and by the form, and with the conditions, and all else contained in the said act of institution. Further, if it be necessary, I do now renew the institution of the said entail in the said Don Martin, my son, in the manner above set forth, and by the said authority and licence which I possess, and I leave as my universal heir the said Don Martin, my son, successor to all my properties, goods, landed estates, and rights, and whatever else I may possess outside the said entail; and I leave as my heirs the above mentioned Doña Maria, Doña Catalina, and Doña Juana, my legitimate daughters by the said marquesa my wife, for what I leave them as their rightful dowries, ordering that they content themselves therewith, without pretending to other rights or claims of any sort against my estate, on the ground of their legitimacy.

LXIV. To cover all expenses of this my testament, and to fulfil its provisions, I name and appoint as my executors in Spain the most illustrious lords, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Marques de Astorga, and Count de Aguilar, to all three of whom jointly, and to each singly, I give full powers to use by their authority whatever sums from my estate are required to provide for, and carry into effect, all the provisions of this my testament. And, for all that touches the administration in New Spain and those provinces, I name and appoint as my executors, the Marquesa Doña Juana de Zuñiga, my wife, and the lord bishop of Mexico, Fray Juan de Zumarraga, and

Father Domingo de Betanzos, of the Order of St. Dominic, and the licenciate Juan de Altamirano, all at this present time in New Spain. And, I revoke every and all other testaments which I may have made and delivered, and I desire, and it is my will, that none be executed other than this present writing; likewise I revoke whatsoever codicil or codicils I may have made and delivered either in writing or by word of mouth in the past. And this being seen and read in my presence with all that it contains, I sign it with my name, by my hand on each of its pages which are in all ten, all of which signatures I have written in the presence of the licenciate Infante.

Done at Seville on the eleventh day of the month of October, the year from the birth of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and forty seven.

Item: I say that, as, in one article of this my will, I have disposed and ordered that the four thousand *ducats*, from the rent of the shops and buildings which I have in Mexico, should, after the works on the said hospital, monastery, and college I have ordered founded be entirely devoted to the endowment, and property of the said college, monastery, and hospital to which I refer, should it at any time happen that the said shops and buildings should produce less than this sum of four thousand *ducats*, and my will and intention be defeated, I order that in such a year of shortage, my successor shall complete the amount from his estate, so that the said four thousand *ducats* may be paid in full without any diminution. This page is added to the other ten, done and signed on the same date. The Marques del Valle. Witness by his lordship's command, the licenciate Infante.

By his lordship's command,

MELCHOR MOJICA.

APPENDIX

On August 27, 1529, Fray Juan de Zumarraga, bishop of Mexico, addressed a lengthy report to Charles V., recapitulating the events of the conquest, and exposing the actual condition of the country, notably the official anarchy prevailing in the capital during the absence of Cortes in Honduras. The bishop's impartiality in all that concerns the conduct of Cortes and that of his enemies gives great value to his testimony, and I have thought well to translate that part of his letter which deals particularly with the state of things in Mexico up to the time of Cortes's visit to Spain. Read in connection with the narrative of the Fifth Letter, these passages will be seen to confirm the latter's statements in his various letters to the Emperor, many of which they also complete and elucidate.

I know of no English translation of this important document, but in the valuable collection of *Voyages, Relations, et Mémoires* of Ternaux-Compans an excellent French translation of the entire letter may be found.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM BISHOP ZUMARRAGA TO CHARLES V. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The grace, the peace, and the mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with your Majesty, and may Your Majesty read attentively this letter, which is written with the sincere and loyal intention of serving God and Your Majesty. I write dispassionately, and to make myself useful to the inhabitants of this country, both Spaniards and natives, and for the discharge of my conscience and the fulfilment of the duties of my office, which I have accepted as a cross and a martyrdom. I shall state the truth, even should it cost me my life, which is said to be menaced by the hatred of my enemies. He who shall judge us all will take account of the persecutions I suffer for His cause.

Immediately upon my arrival in this country, and after consulting the most serious religious men, as well as the conquerors and the oldest inhabitants, I addressed to Your Majesty a report on the condition in which I found it. But now that I have acquired more experience and have been able to inform myself by conversing with the natives, I am able to make known the Spaniards' manner of viewing things and all that has happened since the arrival of the royal *Audiencia* with which I came, and it is in God's name that I entreat Your Majesty to graciously correct the abuses.

Your Majesty knows that when Fernando Cortes first came to this country, he was sent by the Governor of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, to search for Grijalba, who had been sent by the governor with a fleet on a voyage of discovery. Velasquez ordered Cortes to return with Grijalba in case he found him, as he had no permission from your Majesty to undertake conquests. In case he did not find him, the governor's orders were that Cortes should trade along the coast, exchanging the merchandise he had brought from Cuba for that purpose, for gold; after which he was to return to Cuba. As Grijalba was already back before Cortes set sail, the latter should have abandoned his expedition for, with the cessation of the cause, the effect should cease. Cortes, however, seeing himself in command of men and ships, and led doubtless by an inspiration of God, who wished to deliver this country from the devil, did not obey the instructions of Velasquez. He left, and guided by divine Providence he soon reached the first harbour of Mexico, which is called San Juan de Ulua. The country pleased him greatly, and he thought to render Your Majesty a great service in colonising it. He therefore landed, contrary to the orders he had received, and wrote to Your Majesty and likewise to Diego Velasquez, to explain his conduct. Some approved of his addressing himself directly to Your Majesty and sending the gold he had obtained, but others blamed him, declaring he should have sent it to Velasquez. Thus the force of Cortes was divided into two parties, but his friends prevailed and proclaimed him captain-general. He succeeded in reducing the partisans of Velasquez to obedience, though only after much trouble, for they even tried several times to assassinate him. Providence preserved him for the conquest of this country, for according to all impartial people it would never have been accomplished without him. He obtained possession of all Mexico and its capital. Your Majesty knows the details of this achievement.

As soon as the country was subdued, Cortes, in response to the prayer of Your Majesty's treasurer, Julian de Alderete, and of all the conquerors, made a repartition of the Indians. The country was on the verge of destruction, for under pretext of seeking provisions, the Spaniards took possession of everything they found. This was the reason why he decided to make that repartition, in making which he however secured for himself and his friends everything most worth having. Many of the conquerors, and especially those who had shown themselves partisans of Diego Velasquez, were little satisfied with the share he allotted them. He had assigned the most important towns and provinces to Your Majesty, but afterwards he took them away from the royal officials who were already in possession of them, saying that by giving them as *Encomiendas* to individuals, one fifth of the tributes which the holders would be obliged to pay would bring more to the royal treasury, while all the profit went to the royal officials and their servants. He took for himself the royal city of Texcoco, which formerly belonged to the royal domain, and distributed the

rest as he pleased. A short time after the conquest and partition of Mexico, Your Majesty's officers, Alonso de Estrada, Rodrigo de Albornoz, Gonzalo de Salazar, and Pero Almendez Chirino, arrived. Cortes gave them the best reception, installing them in their offices and overwhelming them with favours. They all made him the greatest demonstrations of friendship, including even the factor Salazar.

At that time Cortes sent captains commanding a good number of men to explore the country in all directions and to examine which provinces would it be most suitable to colonise. Among these there was Cristobal de Olid, whom he furnished with a fleet and an army to colonise the province of Hibueras and the Cape of Honduras, which was reputed to be a very rich country. The preparations for this expedition cost Cortes a good deal of money. But Cristobal de Olid, who had served under Cortes, no sooner observed the wealth of the country than he resolved to become independent. As soon as Cortes learned this, he despatched several officials to summon him to recognise his authority, but as Olid obstinately refused to do this, Cortes decided to go in person, nothing daunted by the difficulties such a long overland journey offered.

Cortes set out therefore, leaving the licenciate Zuazo as chief justice of the entire country, and giving him power to decide all contentions. He associated the treasurer, Alonso de Estrada, and the accountant, Albornoz, with him in the government.

Hardly had Cortes left the city when Estrada and Albornoz quarrelled, abusing one another, and even drawing their swords. Informed of these disorders by letters which he received from Mexico, Cortes sent back from Guazacalco, where he then was, the factor Gonzalo de Salazar and the inspector Peralmindez Chirino, charging them to quell the disturbances. He gave them two sets of instructions. According to one they were, should they find Albornoz and Estrada reconciled, merely associated with the government, and all four were to govern in accord with the licenciate Zuazo, who, as jurisconsult, retained the exclusive administration of justice. But if the discord still continued, Salazar and Chirino were authorised by the other set of instructions to assume the reins of government alone. Urged by their ambitions, these two came to an understanding with Albornoz who so thoroughly detested Estrada that he consented to be deprived of his own power if only the other were involved in his fall and punished, as the author of all the troubles.

In agreement with Albornoz, the envoys of Cortes destroyed the first instructions, and only produced the others which provided that since Estrada and Albornoz could not agree, the envoys were to replace them in the government. At first Estrada submitted, but becoming then reconciled with Albornoz and learning from him the history of the destroyed papers, they both went to complain to the licenciate Zuazo, and demanded to be recognised once more as members of the government. Zuazo decided in their favour, but many troubles

and disorders ensued on account of this affair, and several times a civil war was on the verge of breaking out.

Salazar astutely attached himself to a certain Rodrigo de Paz, who was a relative of Cortes, and held the office of alguacil mayor. The latter exercised great influence in the country because the partisans of Cortes regarded him as their chief. Sustained by such an one Salazar ordered the arrest of the treasurer and the accountant, and holding them prisoners in their own houses, he began to proceed against their friends and partisans upon whom he inflicted a shameful punishment in public. Again a civil war was imminent and was only avoided, thanks to God and to the sermons of Father Martin de Valencia and some other holy religious men.

As soon as Salazar and Chirino found themselves masters of the government, and the municipal body had taken the oath to them, they began to steal right and left. They arrested and tortured the Indian chiefs to extort their gold and jewels from them. They distributed important *repartimientos* to all their adherents. Rodrigo de Paz having ventured to make some observations, and having sent some religious men to make them understand that they were ruining and losing the country, they arrested him to free themselves from the importunate censures. This arrest provoked a tumult, and for the third time civil war threatened. In spite of all, they tried him, and a few days later they hanged him after inflicting the most cruel tortures on him. Some time before this, they had already, on I know not what pretext, seized the person of the licenciate Zuazo whom they exiled, together with many of the principal adherents of Cortes, so that nobody could oppose their will, and they might be absolute masters of the government, which, in their hands, was the most disorderly imaginable. About this time Salazar and Chirino spread the report that Cortes had been killed by the Indians, and all those who accompanied him on his expedition to Hibueras as well. The friends of Cortes contradicted this news which so irritated the others that they had public proclamation made to the effect that any one bold enough to say that Cortes still lived should receive one hundred lashes. Salazar showed himself especially violent against Cortes, whom he publicly described as a heretic, a traitor, and an usurper. He added that even were Cortes still living, he would never allow him to return to the country; that he had not come to Mexico as factor, but that he carried a secret order from the king to arrest Cortes, and that he would have done this had the latter not left for Hibueras.

The Spaniards were thus again divided into two parties: the one to which Salazar belonged was composed of the former friends of Velasquez; the other, of those of Cortes. Salazar had all of these latter whom he could catch arrested, and the others took refuge in the forests when the news of their chief's death was spread in Mexico. Salazar and Chirino forced the municipal body to recognise them as governors in Your Majesty's name. To confirm the rumour of the

death of Cortes, they celebrated pompous funeral rites in his honour, in the convent of St. Francis. They took possession of and inventoried all he owned, and sold everything at the lowest price, for they were careful to have the appraising done by one Hernando Lopez, one of their warmest partisans. When the sale was finished, they got him to lend them a large sum of gold *pesos* which they sent to Spain for safety. Salazar also pillaged the house of the king of Texcoco, who had accompanied Cortes to Hibueras, saying that he had likewise perished in the expedition. It is certain that he obtained at least five or six thousand gold *pesos*, though it is said that there were more than thirty thousand.

When Cortes and his friends returned to Mexico, they could never learn exactly what had been taken from them, because the man who had made the inventory had fled to Spain where he died in prison at Seville. As for the king of Texcoco he could never recover anything of all they had taken from him.

A respectable woman whose husband had accompanied Cortes, having declared in her grief that the news was false, and that all were well, was ordered by Salazar to receive twenty lashes in public, as a sorceress. He was absolute master of the country, which he governed like a tyrant, and he had enriched his partisans with the Indians and spoils of Fernando Cortes and his companions: for he counted upon their self-interest to defend and support him should the latter reappear; all of which the former friends of Diego Velasquez who had joined his party were quite ready to do. The friends of Cortes, afflicted and despoiled of everything, took refuge in the convents awaiting such help as God might send them. Every week Salazar reviewed his soldiers, the meanest of whom bragged that, if Cortes was still alive, he would either take him prisoner or kill him with his spear.

Cortes during all this time was completely ignorant of all that was happening. He learned finally from a ship that reached Honduras, of Salazar's tyranny, and how he had treated his friends. As he could not leave the country, he sent one of his pages to Mexico bearing a revocation of his former patents and another by which he annulled all the powers of the royal officers who had by their abuses produced such a conflagration. He appointed his kinsman, Francisco de las Casas, governor in their stead. But when the page reached Mexico, Francisco de las Casas had long since disappeared, for Salazar had sent him a prisoner to Spain, in order to get rid of him. The page, fearing that the tyrant might hang him, took refuge in the convent of St. Francis. When the news of his arrival spread through the town, Estrada, Albornoz, Salazar, Chirino, and their partisans were greatly astonished, for there was hardly anyone left who believed Cortes to be still alive. When the former of these saw the letter of Cortes revoking all the powers he had given, they thought it a favourable opportunity to revenge themselves on Salazar, for all the affronts he had inflicted on them. They assembled secretly in the convent of St.

Francis, summoning together all the friends of Cortes who had taken refuge there. The latter did not dare to disobey Your Majesty's principal officers, who ordered them to follow them. They assembled all the alcaldes and regidors in a house and made them deliver to them the staff of justice as lieutenants of the governor, although they had no powers to show. Then they adjourned uproariously to the house of Cortes, where Salazar was installed. The latter had intrenched himself, and had with him many of his friends, well armed, though many had already deserted him. The assailants broke down the doors of the house by means of artillery and captured Salazar amidst such disorder that it is really a miracle that everything was not lost on that day, for the Indians had resolved to profit by that occasion to fall upon the Spaniards, massacre them to the last man, and liberate their country.

Estrada and Albornoz, masters of the person of Salazar and liberators of Chirino who had fled, began to govern in such wise as to fill their pockets. They took a large number of Indians for themselves, distributed others amongst their friends, and began legal proceedings against those who had sided with their enemies. Several of these latter were decapitated or hanged, and the others took refuge in convents, though some were even dragged out from them to be executed. All were deprived of their Indians and persecuted in every possible manner.

While Mexico was being devoured by this conflagration, Cortes came back. When it was known that he had left the port and was approaching the capital, an incredible dismay spread through the city. Everybody wanted to file complaints of the executions, robberies, and vexations which had taken place. Some accused Salazar and Chirino who were prisoners, while others accused Estrada and Albornoz who were governing.

When Cortes beheld the skein he had to untangle, he retired to the convent of St. Francis, where he confessed, received the communion, and afterwards consulted the Superior, and the wisest religious men concerning all that had happened, and the attitude he should adopt. But just at that time, the licenciate Luis de Leon, whom Your Majesty sent as judge of *residencia*, arrived in New Spain. As soon as he had exhibited his powers all the officers of justice consigned their wands of office to him. But a few days later God called him hence. Judging from the good report I have had of him from those who knew him, his death was beyond doubt a punishment which it pleased Providence to inflict on this country. He had designated the licenciate Marcos de Aguilar as his successor, but as the latter was very old, his infirmities prevented him from accomplishing anything. He died within a short time, after having named the treasurer, Estrada, to succeed him.

During the government of Alonso de Estrada and Gonzalo de Sandoval, Nuño de Guzman arrived in the province of Panuco, where Your Majesty sent him as governor. He had been to the island Hispaniola

and Cuba, where he stopped for some time. The inhabitants of these islands, who were for the most part enemies of Cortes and envious of the high position he had obtained, took advantage of Nuño de Guzman's stay there to prejudice the latter against him. Guzman warmly espoused the side of Velasquez, influenced by his kinsman, Gonzalo de Guzman, who is now governor of Cuba, and had been a long time in his service.

As soon as he took possession of his government, he began to show his ill-will by writing a most insolent letter to Cortes, while to the factor, Salazar, who was then in prison, he wrote another filled with proofs of friendship towards him. He kept up a constant correspondence with Salazar and even went to the length of considering as his own personal enemies, all those who maintained that Cortes, far from being a traitor, had rendered very great services to your Majesty. Some of these people he caused to be whipped, and he smashed the teeth of others with a stick, though they were guilty of no other crimes. He even dared to seize some persons on Mexican territory, whom he hanged. He infringed on the jurisdiction of Cortes, taking possession of a number of villages which were held in *encomienda* by inhabitants of Mexico; he inflicted tortures and vexations on the caciques, and established garrisons among them to force them to acknowledge his authority. So irritated were the inhabitants of Mexico by Guzman's conduct that one of the greatest proofs of respect and obedience they could have given Your Majesty was to refrain from taking arms and marching against him. Before leaving for Spain, Cortes exhausted every effort to tranquillise Estrada and Sandoval, who were both very much irritated. They consequently confined themselves to notifying Guzman that he need write them no more such letters as they would neither receive nor read them. Guzman had become the chief of Velasquez's partisans, and the foremost enemy of Cortes both because of the impressions he had already received before he landed in Mexico and also in consequence of the influence which the factor, Salazar, exercised upon him after his arrival. He hoped, with the latter's aid, to succeed in expelling Cortes from his government, and to obtain possession of it himself, for it is the demon of ambition and avarice that has been the cause of all the crimes which have ravaged this unhappy country.

The remainder of the letter deals with the conduct of Nuñez de Guzman, Delgadillo, and others during the absence of Cortes in Spain.

MASK OF QUETZALCOATL.

From the original in the British Museum.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1908.

Plate 13.

To face page 299.

APPENDIX.

MONTEZUMA'S GIFTS TO CORTÉS.

PADRE SAHAGUN, in his history of the Conquest, states that the first presents sent by Montezuma to Cortés were the ornaments of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Montezuma is reported to have said to his messengers: "Our Lord Quetzalcoatl has arrived, go and receive him and listen to what he says with great attention, see to it that you do not forget anything that he may say, you see that these jewels that you are presenting to him on my behalf, are all the priestly ornaments that belong to him." Then follows a detailed description of the ornaments of the deity beginning with "A mask worked in a mosaic of turquoise; this mask has a double and twisted snake worked in the same stones whose fold was (on) the projection of the nose, then the tail was parted from the head and the head with part of the body went above one of the eyes so that it formed an eyebrow, and the tail with a part of the body went over the other eye to form the other eyebrow. This mask was decked with a great and lofty crown, full of rich feathers, very long and beautiful, so that on placing the crown on the head, the mask was placed over the face," etc. The messengers also carried for presentation to Cortés "The ornaments or finery with which Tezcatlipoca was decorated," and "the ornaments and finery of the God called Tlalocantecutli" (Tlaloc). Also other ornaments of the same Quetzalcoatl, a mitre of tiger skins, etc.

It is interesting to know that the masks belonging to these four costumes and adornments of the Gods are still in existence, and that three of them can be seen in the

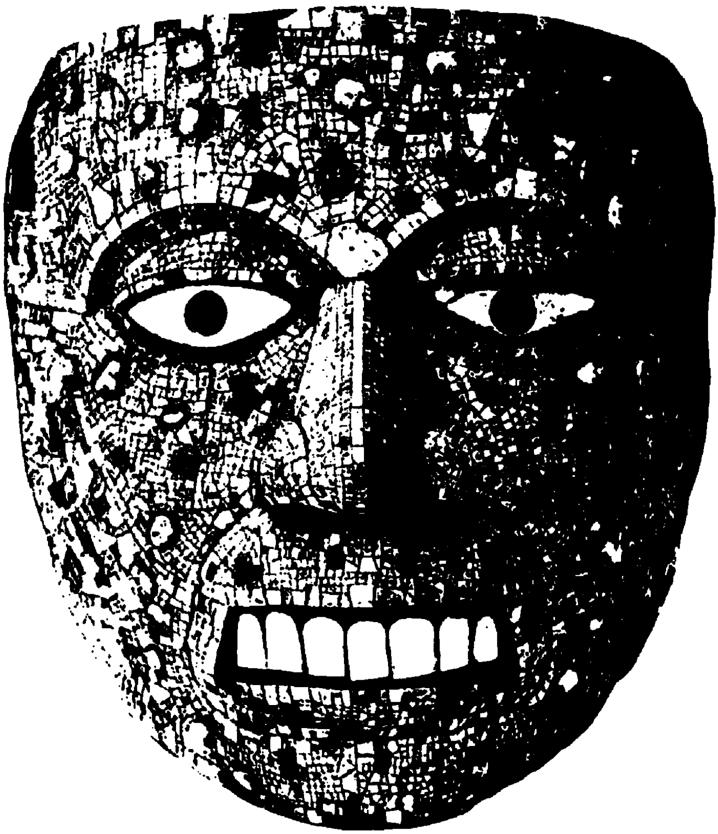
room devoted to American Antiquities in the British Museum.

The mask of Quetzalcoatl with the folds of the snake's body forming the eyebrows is easily identified, and the mask with the eyes of pyrites and the bands across the face is probably the mask of the God Tezcatlipoca.

The presents sent by Cortés to Charles V were conveyed to Spain in the charge of Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, who sailed from Villa Rica in July, 1519, and reached Valladolid probably in October of the same year, where they awaited the arrival of the Emperor. Bernal Díaz says that Charles V was in Flanders when the presents arrived in Spain, but this is not correct; the Emperor was in Catalonia and did not return to Valladolid until some time in 1520, when he was on his way to Coruña, whence he sailed for Flanders in May, 1520.

It is, however, remarkable that these masks and ornaments of the Gods do not appear in the list of the presents, signed by Puertocarrero and Montejo, which accompanied the letter from the Municipality of Vera Cruz, dated 10th July, 1519, nor in the *Manual del Tesorero de la Casa de Contratacion de Sevilla*, both of which documents were published in the *Documentos Ineditos para la historia de España*, Madrid, 1842. A note to the former document states that the gifts and the letter from the Municipality were received by the King, Don Carlos, in Valladolid during Holy Week, in the beginning of April, 1520.

As, however, this note mentions the letter from the Municipality only (*con la carta y relacion de suso dicha que el concejo de la Vera Cruz envió*), and makes no mention of the first letter sent to the Emperor by Cortés himself, which letter has never yet been found, it is possible that the masks and ornaments of the Gods were sent separately with Cortés's first letter, and were therefore not included



MASK OF QUETZALCOATL.

From the original in the British Museum.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1908.

Plate 14. *To face page 380.*

in the list of gifts sent by Cortés in conjunction with the Municipality.

Las Casas (*Hist. de las Indias*, Cap. CXXI), writing about these presents, which included two great discs, one of gold and the other of silver, says:—"These wheels were certainly wonderful things to behold. I saw them and all the rest (of the presents) in the year 1520 at Valladolid, on the day that the emperor saw them, for they arrived there then sent by Cortés."

There is a tradition that Charles V presented these gifts to the Pope (a Medici) for the family Museum, which is well known to have existed, and of which the present Museum of Natural History at Florence is an outcome. If these gifts were sent to Rome, as is probable, soon after their arrival in Spain, they must have been sent to Leo X (Giovanni de Medici), who died in 1521. If they were not sent before the death of Leo X, it is not likely that they were sent to Italy during the troublous years that followed, but they may have been taken to Spain by Cortés himself when he returned in 1528 and have been given to Clement VII (Giulio de Medici) when Charles V was crowned by him as King of the Romans at Bologna in 1529-30.

However that may be, I have the authority of Professor H. Giglioli, the Director of the Museum of Natural History in Florence, for stating that nearly all the known group of objects—namely, mosaic masks, mosaic decorated knife-handles, gold-plated and figured atlatls (spear throwers), etc.—were at one time in Florence. At the end of the sixteenth century, when Aldrovandi, who was a friend of the the Medici, founded his celebrated Museum at Bologna, he was given some of these articles from the Medici Collection at Florence; and these, with the exception of the turquoise mosaic mask mentioned below, were discovered by Professor L. Pigorini in the attics of the Bologna University and transferred to the Ethnographic Museum in Rome,

which he was then forming and which now contains perhaps the finest collection of these relics. However, the greater number of them up to the years 1819-21 were registered in the Florentine Museum under the title of *Maschere e strumenti de popoli barbari*, and were partly sent thence to the *Officina delle pietre dure* in that city to be broken up and used for mosaic work, being *Maschere di cattivi turchesi!*

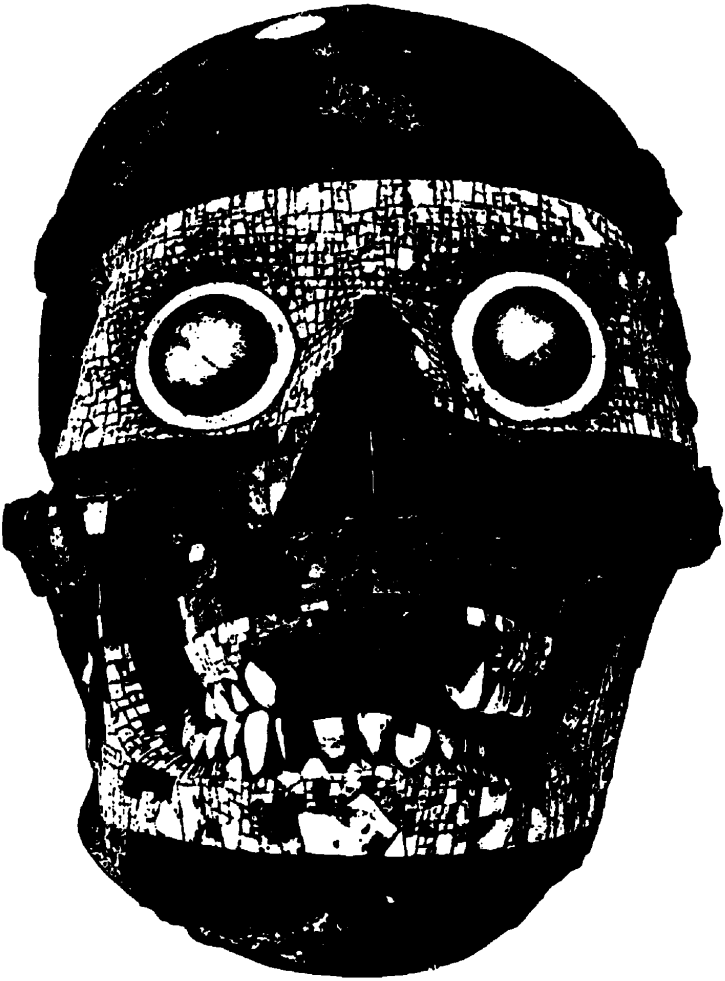
The last turquoise mosaic mask (now in Rome) was found a few years ago by Professor Luigi Pigorini in the store-room of the *pietre dure* laboratory, labelled with an inventory value of two francs and a half! As this mask shows the remains of tusk-like teeth, it is probably the Mask of Tlaloc.

Five years ago two magnificent plated atlatls[1] were found in the garret of a nobleman's palace in Florence, and sold by a dealer to the Ethnographical Museum in that city, for 500 *lire*, as "Indian Sceptres"; they were in a leathern case, stamped with the Medici arms. One of them is double-grooved, for throwing two darts at a time.

The whole number of known examples of this class of Mexican work did not exceed twenty in 1893, and of these eight are now in the British Museum. Many of them were bought by Mr. Christy and Sir Augustus Franks in Northern Italy, where they had been scattered after the dispersal of the Medicean Collection.

A full account of these interesting objects, by Mr. C. H. Read, is given, with illustrations, in *Archæologia*, vol. liv, 1895. Professor Pigorini published, in 1885, a full account, with coloured plates, of the collection in the Ethnographical Museum at Rome, in the *Memorie* of the R. Accademia dei Lincei at Rome. Another interesting paper on the subject was published by Dr. W. Lehmann in *Globus* (Band 91, No. 21), 6th June, 1907.

[1] Described and figured in the *American Anthropologist* (N.S.), vol. vii, No. 2, April-June, 1905.



MASK OF TEZCATLIPOCA.

From the original in the British Museum.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1908.

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MASK OF TEZCATLIPOCA.
Back view, showing how it was worn.
From the original in the British Museum.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1908.

Plate 16.

To face page 302.

sacado dela Libreria del Marques de Liche en Madrid . januar. 8 Aº 1690 .
por J. G. Sparvenfeldt

CARTAS YNSTRVCIONES Y CEDVLAS. DESV MAGESTAD. I FORTIFICACIONES. ECHAS POR EL INGEÑERO BAVTISTA. ANTONELI.

Ansi enespaña como enlas Yndias ocidentales. conlas plantas Y discrepciones delos puertos y costas. Y offensa y defensa dellas y anssimismo dealgunas plaças deafrica como eneste discurso sebera. Año de. 1608.

f. 26 – H. 11.

Facsimile of Title-page of

BAUTISTA ANTONELI: CARTAS, &c., 1608.

Reproduced, through the courtesy of Mr. Bernard Quaritch, by Donald Macbeth for the Hakluyt Society, 1908.

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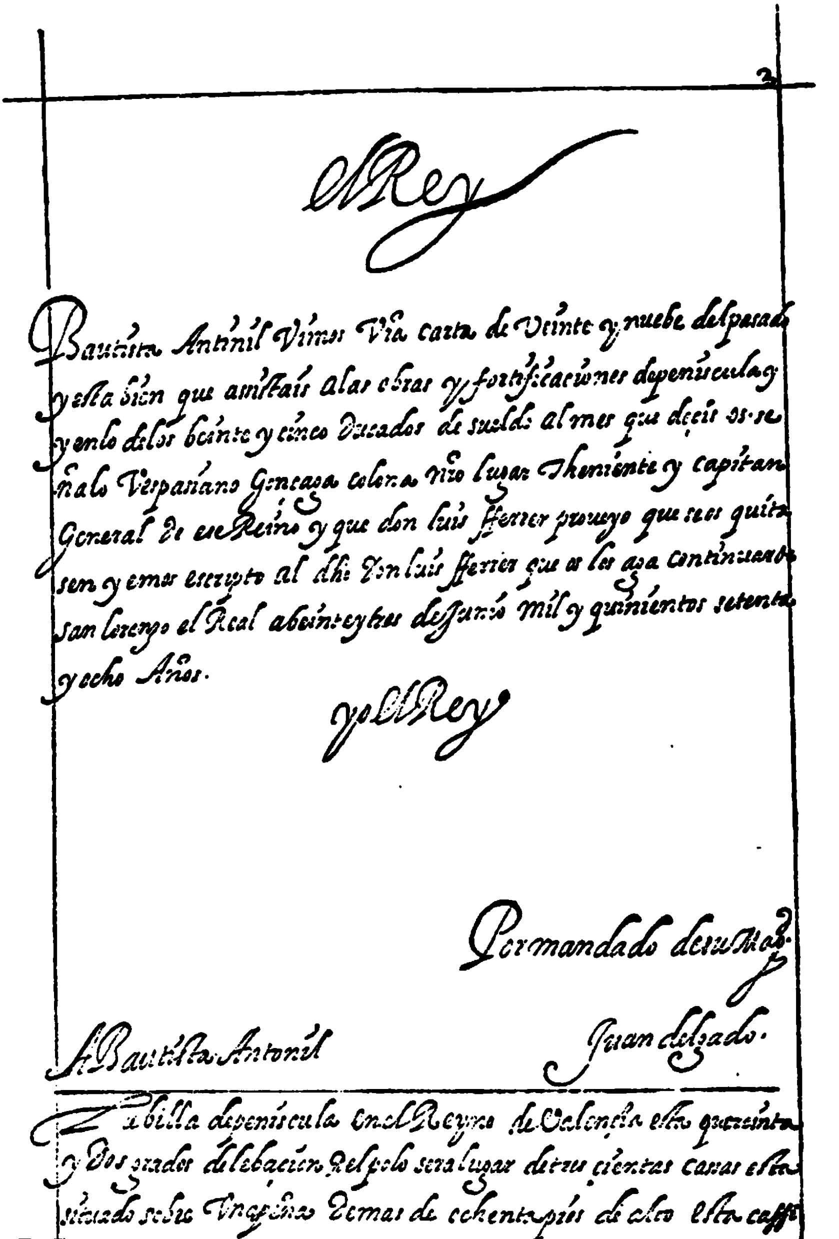

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El Rey

Bautista Antoneli Vimos Vra carta de Veinte y nueve del pasado y esta bien que asistais a las obras y fortificaciones de peniscula y en lo de los veinte y cinco ducados de sueldo al mes que decis os señalo Vespasiano Gonzaga colona nro lugar theniente y capitan General de ese Reino y que don luis ferrer proveyo que se os quitasen y emos escripto al dho don luis ferrer que os los aya continuando. San lorenço el Real a veinte y tres de Junio mil y quinientos setenta y ocho Años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado de su Magd.

Juan delgado.

A Bautista Antoneli

La villa de peniscula en el Reyno de Valencia esta quarenta y dos grados de lebacion del polo sera lugar de tres cientas casas esta situado sobre vna peña demas de ochenta pies de alto esta casi

Facsimile of Prefatory leaf

BAUTISTA ANTONELI: CARTAS, &c., 1608.

Reproduced, through the courtesy of Mr. Bernard Quaritch, by Donald Macbeth for the Hakluyt Society. 1908.

Plate 7.

To face page 303.

THE COAST OF ME

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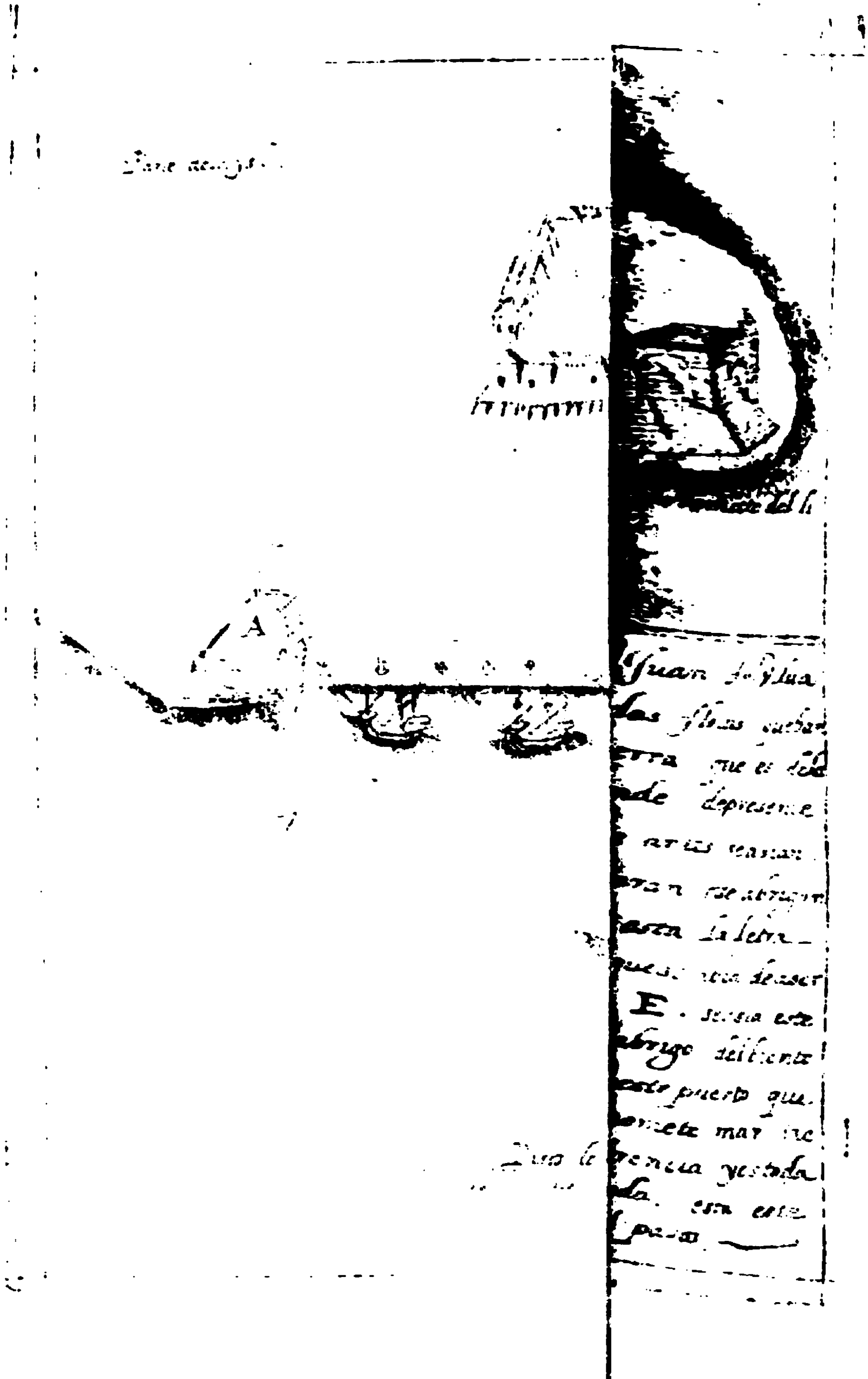

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APPENDIX A.

THE IZTAPALAPA CAUSEWAY.[1]

THERE is some difficulty in fixing the exact position of the Iztapalapa Causeway, and I have endeavoured in these notes to ascertain the correct position from the narratives of the conquerors and such side lights as later writers and maps throw on the subject.

It is as well first to quote in full the descriptions by Cortés and Bernal Díaz.

Second Letter of Cortés.

"The City of Iztapalapa has from twelve to fifteen thousand 'vecinos' (families) and stands on the shore of a great salt lake, half of it in the water and the other half on dry land . . . . .

"The day after arriving at this City, I set out, and after marching half a league I entered on a Causeway which goes for two leagues across the middle of this lake until it reaches the great city of Tenochtitlan which is built in the middle of the same lake. This Causeway is as broad as two lances and very well built, so that eight horsemen abreast could march along it, and in these two leagues from one end to the other of the said Causeway there are three cities, the greater part of one of them named Mesicalsingo (Mexicaltzingo) is built in this same lake and the other two, one named Niciaca[2] and the other

[1] I am deeply indebted to Professor E. Seler, of Berlin, for many references to early authorities and the correct location of the site of Acachinanco.

[2] Niciaca: Professor Seler says that this is Mixiuacan the South-East spur of the district of Zoquipan, which is the South-East division of the City of Mexico.

Huchilohuchico (Churubusco) are on the shores of it, with many of their houses in the water. The first of these cities may have 3000 'vecinos' (families), the second more than 6000, and the third 4000 or 5000. In all of them there are very good buildings of houses and towers, especially the houses of the chieftains and principal persons, and those of the Mosques and oratories where they keep their Idols . . . . . So I followed along the said Causeway and half a league before arriving at the body of the city of Tenochtitlan, at the entrance of another causeway which comes from the dry land (Tierra firme) to join this other,[1] there is a very strong fortification with two towers surrounded by a wall twice the height of a man (de dos estados), with its parapet embattled along all the enclosure that it makes with the two causeways, and there are only two gates, one for entry and the other for exit. Here there came out to see and speak to me nearly a thousand chieftains . . . and thus I stood waiting almost an hour while each one paid his respects. Already near the city is a wooden bridge ten paces wide, and the Causeway is open here so that the water may have space to go in and out, for it rises and falls, and also as a defence to the city, for they can place and remove some very broad and long beams of which the bridge is made as often as they like, and of these [bridges] there are many throughout the city, as further on, in the story that I shall tell about these things, your Highness will see.

"When we had passed this bridge, the Lord Montezuma came out to receive us with nearly two hundred chieftains . . . and they came in two processions very close to the walls of the street, which is very handsome and straight, and one can see from one end of it to the other, and it is two thirds of a league long, and on one side and the other

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[1] The small causeway leading to Coyoacan.

are very good and large houses both dwelling houses and mosques."

The following is the parallel passage from Bernal Díaz:—

"Early next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We advanced along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width, and goes so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to, and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to get by the crowds that came, and the towers and Cues were full of people, and the canoes from all parts of the lake. . . . . . .

"But let us get on and march along the Causeway. When we arrived where another small causeway branches off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there are some buildings like towers, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them.

"The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and, as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground and kissed the ground with their hands.

"There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba, and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma who was coming near in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques who possessed vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other

small towers the great Montezuma got down from his litter," etc., and the meeting between Cortés and Montezuma took place.

The first point to settle is the position of the Causeway connecting the Iztapalapa peninsula and the land to the west. As this Causeway was built as a dam to hold back the water of Lake Xochimilco from flowing into the waters of Lake Texcoco it naturally took the shortest course and ran nearly east and west. It seems probable that the Causeway followed the line of the present road known as the Puente de Churubusco. This Causeway or *Calzada* was in later years known as the Calzada de Mexicaltzingo, because, after leaving Iztapalapa, it passed through or near that town, and for the sake of clearness it will be so called in this note.

The main Causeway of Iztapalapa (or as it was afterwards called the Calzada de San Anton) ran in a northerly direction from the western end of the Calzada de Mexicaltzingo, direct to the City of Mexico, "which goes straight to the City of Mexico and does not seem to me to turn either much or little" (B.D.) that is along the line now followed by the Electric Tramway.[1] From the point of junction of the two causeways, which was probably at or near the spot where the Puente de Churubusco now crosses the tramway line, a road can be seen on the modern map passing the convent of Churubusco and entering Coyoacan, and this is probably the line of road or causeway which at the time of the Conquest connected the city of Coyoacan with the Iztapalapa Causeway and Mexico.

Cortés says that on setting out from Iztapalapa "after

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[1] The tramway from Mexico, after leaving the Puente de Churubusco, goes on through Churubusco to San Anton and Tlalpam, probably following an ancient line of road between the Pedregal or great lava field and the lake.

marching half a league (*i.e.* along the Mexicaltzingo Causeway) I entered on a causeway which goes for two leagues across the middle of the lake until it reaches the great City of Tenochtitlan."

Bernal Díaz makes no mention of the Mexicaltzingo Causeway and begins his description with the straight (Iztapalapa) Causeway across the lake.

The following quotations tend to confirm the location of the Causeway given above:—

"The next day the Alguacil Mayor with the people who were with him in Iztapalapa, both Spaniards and allies, left for Coyoacan, and from there [Iztapalapa] to the mainland there is a causeway about a league and a half long. When the Alguacil Mayor began his march, at the distance of about a quarter of a league he reached a small city [Mexicaltzingo] which also stood in the water, but through many parts of it he could ride on horseback. . . . . . . and he burned the city, and because I had heard that the Indians had broken much of the Causeway [of Mexicaltzingo] I sent two sloops to help them to pass, and they made a bridge of them so the soldiers could cross, and when they had passed over they went to lodge at Coyoacan, and the Alguacil Mayor with ten horsemen took the road along the Causeway to where we had our camp"[1] [*i.e.* to Acachinanco along the Iztapalapa Causeway].

"The Causeway of Mexicaltzingo, which holds back the lake of Chalco, and which begins at the town of Iztapalapa [and passes] through that of Mexicaltzingo is 5200 varas long and eleven varas wide."[2]

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[1] Extract from the description of the siege in the Third Letter of Cortés.

[2] "Relacion Universal Legitima y Verdadera del sitio en que esta fundada la Muy Noble, etc. . . Ciudad de Mexico," by Don Fernando de Cepeda and Don Fer. Alonzo Cárillo. 1637. 1 vara = 33 inches.

5200 varas is approximately the distance from the west end of the Puente de Churubusco to the modern Plaza of Iztapalapa.

Most of the earlier maps show this Causeway running from Mexicaltzingo towards Coyoacan and some of them also show a second causeway running parallel to it further to the South, connecting Culuacan with Tasqueña, a road which still exists, and was probably formed some years after the conquest when the level of the lakes was already lowered.

Following the Iztapalapa Causeway towards Mexico "half a league before arriving at the body of the city of Tenochtitlan, at the entrance of another causeway which comes from the dry land to join this other," [leading to Coyoacan according to Bernal Díaz] "there is a strong fortification," etc. (Cortés's Second Letter). The site of this fortification was known as Acachinanco; it was here that Cortés met the deputation of chieftains from the city, and it is here that during the siege of the city he established his headquarters. Acachinanco corresponds with the spot where the tramway line crosses the Rio de la Piedad. Quotations from authorities, on which this location is based, will be found at the end of this Appendix.

Before proceeding along the Causeway it is as well to consider the small causeway which Bernal Díaz speaks of as "leading to Coyoacan." If it went to that city, it must have gone towards the Western end of it, otherwise it would have been of little practical use, as its course would have been too nearly parallel to that of the Iztapalapa Causeway. It may have followed the line of a road shown on the Upsala map, a road which still exists. It must have been, as Bernal Díaz says, a small causeway (Calzadilla) and therefore easily broken down, for it is a curious fact

that no use was made of it during the siege, and it is never mentioned again.

Proceeding along the Causeway from Acachinanco: "Already near the city is a wooden bridge ten paces wide," etc. (Cortés's Second Letter). "When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the great Montezuma got down from his litter," etc. (Bernal Díaz). A bridge over a drainage canal still marks the site of this opening in the Causeway, and it is now known as the Puente de San Antonio Abad, named after the church of San Antonio,[1] which was built near or on the site of the "Idol towers" called Xoluco.[2]

Between the bridge at Xoluco and the great square of the city the road was crossed by two principal canals, one at Huitzilan, just to the south of what was formerly called the Hospital of La Concepcion and is now known as the Hospital de Jesus Nazareno, and the other on entering the Great Square of which the canal formed the southern boundary.

To return to the entry of the Spaniards into the city.

The deputation of chieftains which had gone to Acachinanco had returned to the city to warn Montezuma

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[1] This site is that occupied afterwards by the church of San Antonio Abad. When the island was not inhabited, this was the first site occupied by the Astecs, and was called Nexticpac. The temple found on this site by the Conquerors was called Xoluco. On the 19th January, 1530, the Cabildo gave a Solar (ground plot) to Alonzo Sánchez, "because he said that at his own expense he wished to build a hermitage to Señor San Antonio, the said (Cabildo) marked out for him where he could construct the said hermitage which is on the Causeway which goes from this city to Iztapalapa, to the extent of one solar in length on the left hand, to the point of an island that is there." So one can note that in 1530 the waters of the lake reached this site, and this was the limit of the city and island in this direction. (Orozco y Berra, "Hist. de Mexico," vol. iv, p. 289).

[2] Much confusion has arisen from the name Xoluco being attributed to the fort at Acachinanco, which Prescott, Orozco y Berra and other historians call the fort of Xoloc.

(who had probably halted at Huitzilan) of the approach of the Spaniards. Cortés and his soldiers then followed them along the Causeway, and, after passing the bridge at Xoluco, met Montezuma, who got down from his litter. The meeting therefore took place somewhere between the two bridges of Xoluco and Huitzilan. After the meeting Montezuma returned to his Palace, and the Spaniards followed him along the street, and were conducted to the Palace of Axayacatl, the late Emperor of Mexico and the father of Montezuma, situated at the N.E. corner of the Great Square.

The width of the Iztapalapa Causeway cannot be determined with exactitude. Bernal Díaz says "eight paces." Cortés says "the length of two lances and that eight horsemen could march abreast along it." The Anonymous Conqueror gives the width of the causeways as thirty paces or more. The "Relacion Universal," published more than one hundred years after the Conquest, gives the width of the Mexicaltzingo Causeway at that time as eleven varas, and says that the Causeway of San Anton (Iztapalapa) was seven thousand varas in length and ten in width. That the width could not have been much less than thirty feet is shown by Cortés's description of his camp at Acachinanco during the siege. "On one side and the other of the two towers on the Causeway, where I was lodged, they [the Indian allies] built so many huts that between the first house and the last there was [a distance] of more than three or four shots of a crossbow, and Your Majesty can see how broad was this causeway that goes through the deepest part of the lake, that on one side and the other there were these houses and there was a street left in the middle, along which we could go at pleasure on foot or on horseback, and there were always in camp, between Spaniards and Indians who attended on them, more than two thousand persons."

Sahagun. Historia de la Conquista de Mexico. Book 12. Ch. 30.

(The first day of the siege of Mexico City.)

"How the sloops which were built in Texcoco came against Mexico . . . . . and they came across the lake towards a landing place called Acachinanco, which is near to Mexico, in the direction of San Anton, the church that stands near to the houses of Alvarado."

"As soon as the twelve sloops arrived, all assembled in Acachinanco, and the Marquis moved to Acachinanco."

Betancurt. Teatro Mexicano. Sucesos Militares. Ch. x.

(After the capture of Guatemoc.)

"and so as to guard the three kings who were prisoners . . . . he [Cortés] sent them in the sloops to Acachinanco, together with the ladies, for greater security."

Sahagun. Historia de la Conquista. Book 12. Ch. 16.

(The first entry of the Spaniards into Mexico).

"How Montezuma went out peaceably to receive the Spaniards at the place they call Xoluco which is on the canal which is near the houses of Alvarado a little this side of the place they call Vitzillan [Huitzilan] . . . . . Montezuma reached the Spaniards at the place they call Vitzillan, which is near the hospital of La Concepcion [Jesus Nazareno]."

Sahagun. Book 12. Ch. 30.

(During an attack on the City).

"The Spaniards reached a place called Vitzillan, which is near the church of San Pablo; there, another thick wall had been placed and on the flanks of it were a great many Mexicans; the Sloops were delayed there while the cannon were got ready to destroy the wall."

Tezozomoc. Cronica Mexicana, written about 1598.

(The priest of the goddess Chalchiuhtlicue charged to receive the fountain Acuecuexatl brought from Coyoacan to Mexico by Ahuitzotl).

"And going in procession they reached the spot called Mazatlan . . . . and when the water, which was called Acuecuexatl arrived, he began to cut the heads off of Quail, and as soon as he had finished drinking the water he saluted it saying, 'You are very welcome, Lady. I come to receive you for you will arrive at your own house in the midst of the dense reed thicket, Mexico, Tenochtitlan . . . .

"When the water reached Acachinanco, where there is an enclosure and a Hermitage of San Esteban,[1] they took one of their children and opening his chest with a (stone) knife they sprinkled the water with the hot blood, and as the water carried along the heart of the child, it began, at once to boil up, and increased in such a way that it rose above the wooden bridge where the people were passing.

"When the water reached Xoloco they cut the head off another child . . . . . and there at the bridge they had a canoe placed where the water fell and it was running in all directions carrying a conduit of water for the palace. On arriving at Ahuitzilan which is now the hospital of Our Lady [now Jesus Nazareno] the water poured into another conduit and was brought down and distributed:—there also another child was decapitated and sacrificed to the water, and it went straight on passing through the Royal Palace: and went on to fall into the district called *Apahuaztlan*, which is now the district of Tlaltelolco Santiago, in the enclosure that now stands there behind the hermitage of La Asumpcion de Nuestra Señora, and there they sacrificed another child."

Tezozomoc. Ch. 69.

". . . . they called to Tlillancalqui to arrange the captives from Aculnahuac in Cuyanacazco, on the Causeway which is now that of Our Lady of Guadalupe—and the captives from Tacuba they put in a place which they call Mazatzintamalco which is now close to the orchard of the Marques

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[1] The road running from the site of Acachinanco to the Viga Canal is still called the Calzada de San Esteban, and the hermitage of San Esteban is marked close by the Viga Canal on the map of Mexico in the book by M. Chappe d'Anteroche, published in Paris in 1772.

del Valle. In the same way he called to Tocuiltecatl, and said that the captives from Cuahuacan, Xocotitlan, Matlatzinco, and Coatlapan, and those called the Chinampanecas, Culuacan, Mizquic, etc., should arrange their captives in another place, which was Acachinanco, where the first cross[1] was placed, which now stands in the direction of Cuyuacan, on the high road which now enters Mexico."

Tezozomoc. Ch. 67.

". . . they came all together, those from Tlaxcala. Huexotzinco and Cholula, with the Mexican Ambassadors . . . . and by nightfall they were in the place called Apanoayan, and when they reached it they rested; and the Mexicans said to them: 'Gentlemen and brothers, we must enter by night into the city of Mexico so that the Mexicans shall not see you . . . . ;' with this they all went on with the greatest caution. As soon as they arrived at Acachinanco the Mexicans said to them 'We are already in Tenochtitlan'."

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[1] See Map of Mexico from the Upsala Museum.

APPENDIX B.

THE TACUBA (TLACOPAN) CAUSEWAY.

THERE is no difficulty in locating this Causeway as it still exists as the main road from the great Plaza of Mexico to the town of Tacuba. The difficulty lies in locating and identifying the *cortaduras* or openings for the canals which passed through the Causeway from North to South. This is a matter which will have to be further dealt with when describing the early maps of the city. It suffices for the present to state that the three principal openings (which in ordinary circumstances were crossed by wooden bridges) were named :—

Tecpantzingo, now the Puente de Mariscala.
Tolteacalli, near the Church of San Hipólito.
Toltecaacalopan, now the Puente de Alvarado.

It was at the first of these, Tecpantzingo, that Cortés placed the portable wooden bridge which he had constructed, and it was here that it stuck fast.

Tolteacalli was the opening where the greatest slaughter took place, and it was to mark the spot that a small Hermitage was there set up by one Juan Garrido, almost immediately after the capture of the city, and was named La Ermita de los Martires, and dedicated to San Hipólito in commemeration of San Hipólito's day, 13th August, 1521, on which the city fell.

Toltecaacalopan retains the name, given to it at the time of the Conquest, of Alvarado's leap.

Cortés, in his Second Letter states that there were eight bridges, and Orozco y Berra suggests that three

of these were between the Great Plaza and Tecpantzingo, and that two other openings were made by the Mexicans at the time to increase the difficulties of the Spaniards.

The three openings between the Great Plaza of Tenochtitlan and Tecpantzingo, from which the bridges had been removed, had probably been sufficiently filled in during the previous day's fighting and presented no difficulty to the flight of the Spaniards on the Noche Triste.

The distances traversed on the Noche Triste are approximately as follows :—

	Yards.	*Miles.*
From the Spanish quarters to Tecpantzingo . .	1000	say 1¼
„ Tecpantzingo to Tolteacalli . . .	740	
„ Tolteacalli to Toltecaacalopan . . .	500	
„ Toltecaacalopan to the Ahuehuete Tree at Popotla on the margin of the lake . .		2¼
„ The Ahuehuete Tree to the Plaza of Tacuba . .		1
„ Tacuba to Los Remedios		4½
		9

PLAN OF MAGUEY[1] PAPER,

MEASURING 241 CM. BY 163 CM., PRESERVED IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, MEXICO.

FOR some years past I have seen this Plan hanging on the walls of the National Museum, and was told that it was a Plan of the ancient city of Mexico, but even a brief examination is sufficient to show that it could not be a Plan of the whole of the ancient City (Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco) for the general outline of the principal causeways and streets of the ancient City is well known and does not agree with that of the causeways shown in the Plan.

The Plan is evidently the work of a native draughtsman, and the writing in Spanish has been added later.

In 1907 permission was granted to me by Señor Don Genaro García, the Director of the National Museum, to have the Plan photographed, and an excellent negative was taken by Mr. Waite, of Mexico City, and a process-

[1] Paper made from the fibre of the American Aloe (*Agave Americana*), probably beaten out in the same way as the Tappa is made in the South Sea Islands from the bark of the paper mulberry. Such Maguey paper is still secretly made in out-of-the-way villages in Mexico for the use of the "brujas" or witches in working magic (see Professor Starr, *An Indian Mexico*, 1908).

print made from this negative, with numbers printed in red ink, is given as a key-plan.

Bromide enlargements were also made in sections from the negative, and from these the outline was traced and transferred to drawing paper.

Miss Adela Breton, who left England for Mexico in April, 1908, very kindly undertook to make a careful examination of the original Plan, and to fill in all the details on the transferred tracing (which is about half the size of the original) and to colour it as exactly as possible after the original Plan.

A coloured lithograph of Miss Breton's copy is now given.

EXTRACTS FROM A REPORT ON THE MAGUEY PLAN, BY MISS ADELA BRETON.

Mr. Maudslay asked me to make a copy of this Plan and to procure all the information available from those best qualified to judge from knowledge of Tenochtitlan. I therefore went to Mexico in April, 1908.

Señor Genaro García, Director of the Museo Nacional, kindly allowed the Plan to be taken down from its place on the wall of the outer room of the Direction, removed from the heavy frame, and placed in the room of the archæological department, so that for four months I was enabled to study it thoroughly. Two more months might have been spent with profit in trying to make out many names written in faded ink, and in studying them and the picture glyphs with the Nahuatl dictionary. Such work can only be done when eyes and brain are fresh, and when there is not too much noise and movement going on around one.

A good photograph of the Plan had been made by Mr. Waite for Mr. Maudslay, who had also sent me an enlarge-

ment to about one half the size of the Plan, but in both the details were obscure. By working over them with pen and ink, some knowledge of the main facts was obtained, and then a rough tracing from the enlarged photograph was the foundation of a copy in which I have endeavoured to give every line visible in the original.

The Plan is about 241 cm. high, and 163 cm. wide, painted on sheets of Maguey fibre, the outlines and details in black, the canals blue, the paths a sandy tint, and the *chinampa* strips of cultivation green. At some time it has been badly fixed on canvas, after being for a long period folded in four, and consequently worn away at the edges of the folds. It is creased and puckered so that the lines do not come straight, and pieces of the fibre were hanging loose in many places, but this I remedied with starch paste. On three sides the edges are worn off in jags, and the drawing evidently went beyond the present limits. On the side marked *Poniente* the edge has been roughly cut all along, and does not appear to be the original margin.

The lower part of the Plan is more finely drawn and carefully finished than the upper, and appears to have had much more colour on the details. Many of the door-posts and lintels of the houses are coloured red, and the owners' faces orange. The central and upper parts have been much patched, additions made, canals covered over, and some houses added on bits of Spanish paper. The square space in the centre where Axayacatl sits, was evidently scraped bare in order to introduce his figure, obliterating part of the battlements of the temple just above. The fibre there is scraped smooth, whereas, if the upper layer is merely worn off, the under layer remains rough.

There is a marked difference between the types of the faces to the south of the dividing path or calzada and the

majority of those to the north. Although the former vary sufficiently to make it probable that they were intended for portraits of the house-owners, they conform on the whole to a type which has a long nose, set at a slight angle to a retreating forehead, a protruding mouth, with singularly full lower lip, and a receding chin. The mass of straight hair hangs in a thick fringe over the forehead. At the north end there are bulging foreheads, noses at an angle of 90°, lips tightly pressed together, and pointed chins. The houses are also differently constructed. The portraits of the kings and chiefs also show varieties of type, and the artist's careful observation extended even to the way they placed their feet.

Cortés' chair is the same as that depicted in the Lienzo de Tlaxcala, and the low seats of some of the chiefs are like those in a picture MS. belonging to the Museum, and apparently written in Otomi, though no one could give me any information about it. There is a striking resemblance between some of the personages in it and those at the north end of the Plan. It is remarkable that no high temple-pyramid is contained in the Plan. This shows that it does not include the centre or principal part of the ancient city.

About 300 persons and houses are represented, and there are six temples, two churches, and a *teopan.* In addition to the kings and chiefs in the row apart, there are some notable names such as Tlacotzi and Tlilancalqui (the latter as Tlilan), men mentioned at the time of the conquest among the "principales." Then there is Tlacochcalcatl, rendered as the "House of the General," and near it is seen that of the standard-bearer, if their names may be taken literally. A strip seems to be missing in the middle of the east side of the Plan where the figure of the King Tizoc should have come.

The workmanship of the Plan is remarkable for the

swiftness and certainty of the line drawing, equally in the bold waves of the canals and in the exquisite delicacy of some of the ideograms. There are some little heads only from 4 to 6 millimetres high. The finest pens procurable were needed to copy these. The careful accuracy of the artist is also shown in the angular dots which on the shields of Atzcapotzalco represent the bits of stone and obsidian collected by ants. Portraits of two kings of Atzcapotzalco are given, one an old and toothless man, the other young and with quite a different profile. The elder is perhaps Tezozomoc; the other may be his son, but as there seems no record of the defeat of the former, why should he be apparently in supplication?

The glyph-names written in Spanish letters are sometimes shortened or strangely spelt, as *q̄chol* for *quecholli*, *hoçoma* for *ozumatli*, and *vitztl* for *huitzitl*. It may be noted that the ink used for them has much faded, whereas the black colour of the Plan itself is still jet black.

History of the Plan.

Señor Don Manuel Orozco y Berra, the well-known Mexican Historian, in his *Memoria para el Plano de la Ciudad de Mexico* (Mexico 1867) gives a list of the known plans of the city from the earliest date, and commences his list with the Plan here reproduced. His description and criticism of the Plan is as follows:—

> "There is in the National Museum a picture, two metres long by a metre and a-half in width on Maguey paper, in ancient Aztec drawing, giving the Plan of a town according to the method of the geographers of the Mexican empire. Some would have this to be the Plan of the primitive Tenochtitlan,[1] and suppose that Montezuma ordered it to

[1] Tenochtitlan—the City of Mexico.

be made as a gift to the Conqueror Don Fernando Cortés.

"In my humble opinion this is in no way correct, with the exception that the drawing is an ancient drawing representing a town. The shape of the Plan, the little that it accords with what we know of the Mexican Capital, the chieftains who are painted on the margin as Kings or Caciques of that City, do not in any way authorise us to declare that it belongs to Tenochtitlan.

"In addition to this, in the same hand and with the same painting, one finds a church with a cross, an annotation which the geographers of Montezuma could not have placed there, and which leads us to believe that the work is not contemporary with but posterior to the conquest.

"II. In the same National Museum there is a modern copy[1] of this picture, painted upon cloth, in which they have intended to repair the mutilations which disfigure the original. To this some legends were capriciously added, following the theory that this was a Plan of Mexico. As one can understand, such legends do not fulfil their purpose and are simply imaginary, but without doubt they have given rise to the carelessness in attribution which we have mentioned above.

"III. These assertions gained credit not only here but also in Europe. In the voyage to Mexico by Mr. Bullock, in the *Atlas Historique avec l'explication des planches*, Paris, 1831—there is a copy on a small scale from the Plan which we are considering, with this legend:—Plan de l'ancienne ville de Mexico d'après le plan original dressé sur les lieux par ordre de Montezume pour Fernand Cortés, et apporté en Angleterre par Mr. Bullock.

"IV. A lithographic copy of the same Plan has come to light, published in Mexico, on a very small scale, giving an incomplete idea of the original. If these were what they pretend to be, these four drawings would form a group giving expression to the origin of topographical representation of the City of Mexico, and would be an exemplar of the geographical knowledge of the Aztecs, a beautiful

[1] This copy cannot now be found.

acquisition if it were true. But as, to me, this is not certain, we must leave the pictures and drawings in the exclusive position of Archæological memorials."

A small and very imperfect sketch of the Plan is given in the original edition of Bullock's work, *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico*, by W. Bullock, F.L.S. London, Murray 1824, where it bears the title "Ancient Mexico from the original map, made by order of Montezuma for Cortés, brought to England in 1823 by Mr. Bullock."

The small and partly defaced label,[1] printed in English, which still adheres to the edge of the Plan, was no doubt placed there by Mr. Bullock, who, on his return to England, exhibited his Mexican collections at the Egyptian Hall, London. The Catalogue of this Exhibition is preserved in the British Museum Library.

The following extract is from Mr. Bullock's *Six Months' Residence and Travel in Mexico*:—

> "The ancient MSS. or pictures done by order of Montezuma by the best artists of his kingdom, and which conveyed intelligence of the movements of the Spaniards, are executed on skins of deer, and some on a species of paper made of the fibre of the great American Aloe. They are articles of much interest, and so much prized by the Government, that though I experienced from the public Authorities the greatest liberality, and every assistance in my pursuit for information concerning the ancient state of the country, yet no offers of mine could induce them to part with these MSS. until I had given them an assurance that, after they had been copied in England, I would transmit them again to Mexico.

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[1] "No. 3. A unique map of the Ancient City of Mexico made by order of Montezuma for Cortés to send to the King of Spain. In this the pu . . . Temples, &c., are accurately . . ."

"The mutilated map of the original city, in the state in which it was found by Cortés on his first arrival, is believed to be the only authentic document at present existing that can convey any idea of the size and regularity of its Plan.

"This map is now unfortunately only a fragment."

* * * *

Mr. Bullock also states that the Plan formed part of the collection of the Chevalier Boturini.

Boturini, a Milanese by birth, went to Mexico in 1735 and travelled extensively in the country, making large collections of Indian antiquities, manuscripts, maps, and hieroglyphical charts.

Owing to disputes with the Mexican Government over a Bull that he had procured from Rome authorising the coronation of the sacred image at Guadalupe, which had not been sanctioned by the Council of the Indies, he was thrown into prison and his papers and collections were taken from him. Although Boturini was afterwards sent to Spain, where he was restored to favour and appointed "Historiographer General of the Indies," his manuscripts and collections were never returned to him, "but were deposited in apartments in the Viceregal Palace in Mexico so damp that they gradually fell to pieces, and the few remaining were still further diminished by the pilfering of the curious. When Baron Humbolt visited Mexico, not one-eighth of this inestimable treasure was in existence."[1]

Presumably Mr. Bullock returned the original map to the Mexican Government, who placed it in the National Museum, where it is still preserved.

In Boturini's work entitled *Idea de una nueva Historia*

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[1] See Note on Boturini in Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. I.

General de la America Septentrional, by El Cavallero Lorenzo Boturini Benduci (Madrid 1746) is found the following entry:

> "Index of the contents of this historical Mexican Catalogue. S. VII. Maps.
>
> "VII. Maps. No. 15. An original map on Indian paper, as large as a [bed] sheet. Showing the site of the said Imperial City, which (as I suppose) was beautified in the reign of Izcohuatl with the royal canals, and the details of each district and house.
>
> "I imagine that in heathen times Mexico was something like Venice in plan. The map is torn in the middle, and it depicts both the heathen kings and the Christian Caciques who governed it [the city]."

Professor E. Seler, of Berlin, to whom Miss Breton's copy of the map has been submitted, places the date of the last emendations as about 1557-1562, as the last of the Caciques represented on the eastern margin of the map is Cristóbal de Guzman, who was chief during those years.

The difficulty in determining the exact location of the Plan is very great, and may perhaps never be completely overcome. Notwithstanding the remarks above quoted from such an important authority as Orozco y Berra, I think that the portraits of the rulers of Mexico on the edge of the Plan are presumptive evidence that this Plan refers to the City of Mexico. The orientation is marked in Spanish writing, and although it may be accepted as a general direction it is not likely to have been obtained by actual observation. Further assistance from the Spanish annotation on the Plan is to be gained from two legends, one on the N.W. section of the Plan, which I take to be

"Camino de Atzcopotzalco," and the other in the South West Corner, which may be interpreted as "Salto de Alvarado Camino"

There is another Spanish legend, the words "Sta. Maria" attached to the figure of a Christian Church surmounted by a Cross. This may without doubt be identified as the Church of Sta. Maria la Redonda, founded in 1524, three years after the siege and fall of the City, as a parish church for the Indians, and which still exists.

These three indications alone would suffice for the location of the Plan as a western suburb of the City of Mexico.

The whole of the ground plotted in the map is composed of Chinampas, which, if not actual floating gardens, as that term originally implied, are similar to the numerous Chinampas which can now be seen along the sides of the Viga Canal and in the neighbourhood of Lake Xochimilco, within a short distance of Mexico City, where only sufficient room is left between the long garden plots for the passage of a narrow dug-out canoe.

In addition to the three well known causeways there were doubtless several smaller paths connecting the City with the Mainland, and indeed six causeways in all are shown in the picture map published in 1524, but that map is clearly very inaccurate. However, it must be borne in mind that the lake was very shallow, only a few feet deep, and that when the channels had to be deepened for canoe traffic, pathways along which bare-footed Indians could travel might easily be formed by throwing up the mud from the bottom of the lake. Such embanked pathways could as easily be broken down on the approach of an invader, or would become submerged when the water of the lake was high, as there is reason to suppose was the

case at the time of the siege.[1] The "Camino de Atzcopotzalco" marked on the Plan was presumably one of such pathways.

Beyond the general indication of locality already noted, nothing can be stated with certainty, and this is all the more strange as the greater part of the Plan has the appearance of having been drawn with the greatest care and attention to details.

In any attempt to fix the location more accurately, the first question to be answered is whether the main causeway and canal A-B is the Calzada de Tacuba, or some other causeway to the north of it.

I was at first inclined to think, from the size and importance given to A-B on the Plan, that it must be intended for the Causeway of Tabuca, and when Miss Breton went to Mexico, in 1908, I gave her a memorandum supporting this view for submission to the Archæological authorities in Mexico.

Further study, however, has compelled me to abandon this explanation, and I now venture to suggest that the canal and causeway A-B is the western portion of the first principal transverse canal and causeway north of the Calle de Tabuca, that is, the canal of which the eastern part is traceable in the modern city by the names still retained of the former bridges, from the Puente del Carmen to the Puente de Zacate.

There is a remarkable N.W. trend of the Calle de Hidalgo on the modern Plan (1900), at variance from the rectangular plan of the surrounding streets, and this may very well indicate the western course of the canal after passing the Puente de Zacate. If this sug-

[1] Between the years 1520-1524 the waters of the lake receded so considerably that grants were made to Spaniards of land extending to some considerable distance on either side of the Tacuba Causeway. This shrinkage is not likely to have occurred so rapidly unless the water in the lake had been abnormally high in 1520.

gestion be accepted, Santa Maria is located in its proper position.

The canal E-F would be the canal shown on the Sta. Cruz map as running S.W. from the tower of Sta. Maria. Portions of this canal are clearly shown in Tomas Lopez's map of the city, drawn in 1776. It passed to the west of the church of San Juan de Dios, and was possibly the waterway crossing the Tacuba Causeway at Tolteocalli, where the great slaughter took place on the Noche Triste, and the site was afterwards marked by the erection of the church of San Hipólito.

The canal running from the top of the Plan under the bridge c, and passing through the intersection of A-B and E-F to the bottom of the Plan, would be the canal which is still shown on the modern Plan of the city as running N. and S. one block to the west of Sta. Maria.

The canal G-H would be the second principal transverse canal north of the Causeway of Tabuca, the eastern part of which is still marked by the names of the bridges from Puente Blanco to the Puente de Guerras.

The transverse canal, still marked on the modern Plan north of the Calle de Hidalgo, would be one of the intermediate canals between A-B and G-H of the Plan.

We now come to the canal and path C-D running across the Plan from S.W. to N.E. :—

During the siege of the city, in 1521, Cortés divided his forces into three parts; his own division advanced from the south along the Iztapalapa Causeway, Gonzalo de Sandoval took command of the division advancing from the north along the Tepeacac (Guadalupe) Causeway, and the division under Pedro de Alvarado had its headquarters at Tacuba, and, after an abortive attempt to reach Tlaltelolco by way of Nonoalco, apparently advanced from Tacuba along the western or Tacuba Causeway. Cortés reached the great Plaza of Mexico

during the first days of the siege, and the objective of all three divisions then became the great market place and temple enclosure of Tlaltelolco situated in the northern part of the city.

During the first fortnight or three weeks of the siege Alvarado returned each evening to camp at Tacuba, but this did not prove a satisfactory method of attack, and to quote Bernal Díaz who was himself a soldier in Alvarado's division—

> "When we saw that however many water openings we captured by day—and in doing this many of our soldiers were killed and most of us were wounded—that the Mexicans returned (by night) and repaired them again, we agreed that we should all go and station ourselves on the causeway, in a small plaza where there were some Idol Towers which we had already captured and where there was space to place our 'ranchos,' although they were very poor ones, and when it rained we all got wet, and they were fit for nothing but to cover us from the dew."

This change of headquarters, from Tacuba to the small plaza on the causeway, probably took place between the 17th and 20th June.

It seems to me that there are two good reasons to suppose that this camp on "the small plaza where there were some Idol Towers" was not situated on the Tacuba Causeway, but on some other causeway leading more directly to Tlaltelolco. The first reason is that no mention is made of Tolteocalli, the water opening where the Spaniards suffered such fearful slaughter on the Noche Triste, and it is hardly possible that the Spaniards could have again passed by that site without Bernal Díaz making some allusion to it. The second and more convincing reason is that, had Alvarado continued his advance along the Tacuba Causeway, there can be no doubt that he and Cortés (who had already pushed his way from the great

temple enclosure of Mexico for some distance along the Calle de Tacuba) would have attempted to join hands, but they make no such attempt, and the two divisions never came together until they met in the market-place of Tlaltelolco on the 28th July, and it was not until the 24th of July, when Alvarado had already fought his way to Tlaltelolco, that Cortés was even able to communicate with Alvarado's camp through the City.

I therefore suggest that the canal and causeway C-D coincides with the canal and causeway shown on the Sta. Cruz map, running from the west of San Hipólito towards Sta. Catalina, and that this was the route followed by Alvarado in reaching Tlaltelolco, and that the Temple of the "ojo de aqua" (*a*) marks the site of his encampment "in a small plaza where there were some Idol Towers."

This causeway must have branched off from the Tacuba Causeway at the Salto de Alvarado, but the Spaniards may have left the Tacuba Causeway at a point still further to the west, and have reached the point C by the pathway of which a portion is shown on the Plan. There would, therefore, have been no reason for Bernal Díaz to have mentioned the sites on the Tacuba Causeway rendered memorable by the horrors of the Noche Triste.

With the exception of the statement already quoted from Bernal Díaz, we are left completely in the dark as to the position of Alvarado's camp, and no mention whatever is made of the departure from the main Tacuba Causeway and the change in direction of the attack; but that the advance in the direction of Tlaltelolco was along a causeway is made quite clear from the description of the fighting given by Bernal Díaz, and the following quotation shows the condition of the suburb through which they were fighting their way.

> "As soon as we had set up our ranchos where I have stated, from there on ahead we endeavoured at once to (destroy) the houses and suburb and to fill up the water openings that we captured. We attacked the houses on land and pulled them down, for if we set fire to them they took too long to burn, and one house would not catch fire from another, for as I have already said at other times, each house stood in the water and one could not go from one to the other without crossing bridges or going in canoes. If we attempted to go in the water by swimming they did us much damage from the Azoteas (flat roofs) so that we were more secure when we demolished the houses. When we captured some barrier or bridge, or bad pass, where they offered much resistance, we endeavoured to guard it both by day and by night."

The irregular crossbar marks on the causeway, extending from the figures on horseback along the causeway C-D, appear to indicate masonry, and may mark the site of a wall protecting the Chinampas from the wash of the waters of the lake.

On the right-hand side of the Plan the features of the ground are left unplotted, and the space is occupied with the figures of the rulers of Mexico; but it will be observed that the last line of Chinampas on the right contains but few houses, and it may be that the land here was exceptionally low and swampy and unfit for buildings. The name "Calle de Chinampas" still attaches to a street three blocks north of the Alameda.

It is noticeable that all the houses to the south of the main causeway have their roofs to the north, and all those to the north of the causeway (with the exception of the temple at the "Ojo de aqua") have their roofs to the south, and I have ventured to suggest that this may indicate that the land of the people of Tlaltelolco extended to the north side of the causeway in this western suburb of the city; and, further, that the position of the figure of Axayacatl

near the temples among these northern Chinampas may be meant to record the fact that he was the conqueror of Tlaltelolco in the war between the two divisions of the City of Mexico, Tlaltelolco and Tenochtitlan.

The accompanying transcript from the modern Plan of the City shows the suggested location of the Maguey Plan.

[I am indebted to Professor Eduard Seler, of Berlin, for the following Notes on the Hieroglyphs, but owing to his absence in America it was not possible to submit proofs to him for correction.]

MAGUEY PLAN.

3. Yhuipanecatl, from Iuitl = feather and Pan = on, upon " A foot print on feathers" given by Chimalpain, the historian of the Chalca, as the name of an ancient tribe of the forefathers of the Chalca-Tenanca.
4. . . . mecatl (?).
5. Atocayan—this cannot be the name of a person. Atocatl = a water-spider. Atocan is a village near Quauhtitlan. Atocayotilmatli is a blanket with the water-spider pattern.
6. . . . . ahua (?)
10. Texcalla (?) Texcallan = the place of the oven, the rocky place. Texca = a bug.
12. Papalotl = a butterfly. The wings and the spiral tongue easily recognisable. The name is given by Torquemada as the name of a Tlaxcallan prince.
13. Tencahua. Read Tezcahua = owner of the mirror.
14. Tzihual. Read Tzihuac mitl = arrow made of a thorny plant. This was the weapon of the Chichimecs. The name occurs as the name of a person in MS.—Mexicains No. 3, Bibliotheque Nationale.
15. Tetevan (no glyph).
16. Capacho. The glyph appears to represent a hand, pachoa.
20. Atamalhua = the owner of water-tamales. That is to say, the fasting meal which the Mexicans had to eat during the Atamalqualiztli.
21. Mimich, for Michin = fish.
22. Macatl = deer.
23. Hocoma, for ocomatli = monkey.
25. Mitecatl = a resident in the arrow country (Mitlan). The glyph appears to represent an arrow and a shield.
26. Hacampia . . . . read hacampouhqui, that is acam-pouhqui = a person of no importance.
27. Axaya . . . catl, Axaya(cate)catl, (?) one from the land of Axayacatl.
28. Tenacatl, for Tenancatl = one from the town of Tenango.

32. Cuicatl = song.
33. Cuilotl = painter, writer: also a slender or slim man.
34. Huitzitl, for Uitzitzilin = a humming bird.
35. Cuecueyocahua = shining, or, owner of ear-rings (Cuecueyotles).
36. Telpochaca, for Telpochyaca or Telpochyaqui = chief of the young warriors. The glyph signifies Telpochtli = youth, and Acatl = reed.
37. Qua . . . uolloc, Quauhcolloc (?).
39. Tzoh . . . . (?).
40. Atl . . . (?).
41. Toqualhua = the owner (or lord) of our food.
42. Opoch = Left hand: also the name of a god.
43. Cohuatl = snake.
44. . . . . chihua (?).
45. Xocotlahuan, for xocomicqui = drunkard (?).
52. Chimal, for Chimali = shield.
54. Xochitl = flower.
60. . . a . . cohuatl = . . . snake.
68. Acayu . . . for Acayutl or acayotl = reed or channel.
69. Tzinquauh = stalk, stem, handle. Of Tzinquauhytol = handle of a knife. The glyph shows a tree, *i.e.*, wooden (quauh), and the human hind parts with a Maxtle (?).
70. Tepozhuan, read Tepozhua = the owner of the copper axe.
71. Cencon = maize-pot. From Centli or Cintli = maize-ear, and Comitl = pot. The glyph shows three ears of maize in a pot.
72. Xalcohuatl = sand snake.
73. Chimal = shield.
74. Olin = movement (a day sign).
75. Cequauh = one eagle (the name of a day).
76. Nilmich, read Minich = fish (cf. 15, A. P. M.).
77. Telpoch = youth, young warrior.
78. Tochtli = rabbit.
79. Quauhtlahuana = an eagle drinking pulque.
80. Xochicozca = flower necklace.
81. Tlacochcena (?).
87. Quacocotl = head pricked (with thorns).
88. Cohuatlavitec = thunder-struck snake, or struck by the snake.
89. Xochitl = flower.
91. Tlacoch calcatl = lord of the spear-house (the general).
92. Cohuatl = snake.
93. Mapapallovan, read Mapapallona = owner of the butterfly in the hand.
94. Tevehuan, read Teuc-hua = owner of princes (?).
95. Tecanemitl, read teca nemi ni = who lives with others? or tecanenemini = who goes with others (?).

96. Quetzalcohuatl = green-feathered snake.
97. Coyolcue = skirt (cueitl) ornamented with bells (coyolli).
98. Tlocalcatl, read Teocalcatl = The man of the God house or temple. The glyph represents a house with stone knives (tecpatl) and feather balls (ivitl) on its top. Both the stone knives and the feather balls would indicate a sacrifice.
99. Tentotl. This should read either Ten-tetl = lip ornament (c.f. toto-tentli = birdsbeak and tetl = stone) or te-tototl = stone bird. The first reading is preferred.
100. Yllamateuhtli = the old princess.
103. Tecon = stone pot.
104. Maxtlan, read Maxtlatl = breech cloth (?).
105. Tzoquauh, read Tzôquauh or Tzonquauh = hair tree or hair wood (that is top-tree). The glyph shows the elements of a tree with a knotted ribbon similar to that used in hairdressing of Mexican chieftains.
106. Tatlilnalhuan, read Tetlilnelohuani, or Tlatlilnelohuani = one who mixes up with black tint (one who uses black paint (?) A. P. M.)
108. Tucon read Tecomatl = a drinking cup.
109. Nomitl, read nemitl, nemini = one who lives or moves.
110. Xochimatl = flower hand.
112. Huitzitl = humming bird.
113. Xicotli = large stinging hornet.
115. Tlamacoc, read Tlamacac = one who makes an offering.
116. Tepehua, read Tepehuan = a mountaineer.
120. . . . xochitl (?).
121. Calton (?).
123. Huitzitl = humming bird.
124. Pa-paçol (?).
125. Tlayacapanecatl = a citizen of Tlayacapan, or born in Tlayacapan. (A village of this name existed in the State of Morelos.) The glyph shows a standard (pamitl) on the nose (yacatl).
126. Payn = the runner. The standard in the glyph indicates a sacrifice. The God Painal, who conducted the victims to the sacrificial stone, is signified by "the runner."
127. Cuitlacohuacatl = the man of the place of the tail snake (?).
129. Tlilhuan = owner of black paint.
130. Cohuatlan = the place of snakes.
131. . . . tlal-p . . . (?).
132. Mapan . . ena (?).
135. Tzoyolatl = dirty water, or cayolatl, mosquito water.
144. . . ozcan, read Tezcan (?) cf. Texcatl = mirror.
146. Xal . . . , read Xalaxayacatl (?) = sand water face.
147. Quaquauh = man with horns.

165. Huil . . read Huitztli = thorn.
166. . . . . Nopaltenotl, or nochtototl (?). There is a bird of this name mentioned by Hernandez.
169. Chimal = shield (?).
171. . . lg . . ani, read Tlaelquani = refuse eater, or Zalguani = sand eater.
172. Hollaccan, read hotlaccani = way trotter, runner.
173. Maitl . . u . . qui (?).
179. Cocatl (?).
181. Axahuacan (similar to glyph of Uaxyacac, fig. i, p. 471. Seler vol. iii).
182. Mollahuan = drinking pepper sauce.
183. Tecon, tecomatl or xical, xicalli = a cup (?).
185. . . . mitl. The glyph shows an arrow in an atlatl.
186. tzinco (?).
187. Maco., Macac = giving (?) with some word to be added.
188. Qua . . ton, read Quauhtzon = warrior hair (?) The glyph appears to represent the dressed hair (temimilotl) of the Mexican Chieftains.
189. Cozcatl = necklace.
193. Tecutli . . quan. The word Tecutli = prince, is quite clear; the remainder is unintelligible.
194. Uquatla . . yotl. There is no beetle or other insect known by this name.
195. Tototl . . . . (?).
197. Me . . can (?).
198. Tzompantli = skull — scaffold.
201. Atatzcolle (?).
202. . aca . . pol (?).
204. Y . . . . tila (?).
205. Metabacan (?).
207. . . izo . . (?).
209. Chalchalayotl, a kind of pumpkin (ayotl).
210. Atoyatl = (?).
211. Hueyatl = great water, lake.
212. Ytzcuinatl = dog water.
213. Nauahuan. The glyph signifies "four." The name Naua-hua = the owner of a circle, of speech, or embracing, or Nauh-awa-ni = gambling with four.
217. Elcohuatl = breast snake. The glyph represents the Tezcaco-huatl, that is the mirror snake, but there is a word Tezcatl = breast, mirror.
219. Opoch = left hand (or opoch = Fisherman ?).
221. The glyph is in village names, etc., and may be understood as Tonalli = the warmth of the sun.

222. Huitzitl = humming bird.
223. Cuatli (read Cueitl = skirt?—A. P. M.).
224. Cohuatl xoxouhqui = greenish blue snake.
225. Copalchehuan, read Copal-chihua-ni = maker of Copal, or copachouani, *i.e.*, com-pachouni = depressing or breaking down a pot.
226. Tlo . . (?).
233. . . ecihuatl, read . . . cihuatl = female. The glyph shows the hair as worn by Mexican women, also the facial painting consisting of two short black strokes on the lower margin of the cheek.
234. . . linalli, read Malinalli = twisted (grass).
236. . . pallahuâ (?).
243. Oc . . . (?).
244. Cipactli = Caiman ; the first day sign.
245. Atzon = water hair.
247. Tetecatl.
251. Cue . read Cueitl = skirt.
252. Mopill . . a, read Mopilhuati = child-bearing woman.
253. Chihuamazatl, read Cihuamazatl = female deer.
254. Tlacayahuacatl, read Ayahualolcatl, or Tlaayahualcatl, the man from the Pueblo of Ayahualolco or Ayahualco = place of ring water.
255. . . alhuan. The glyph is the same as No. 129, Tlilhuan = owner of black paint.
259. Amichitl, read Amichin = fish water.
260. Xacamitl, read Yacamitl, a well-known word used to designate a small rod of Chalchihuitl or other material used by the princes and kings for insertion in the septum of the nose.
261. . . . yc . . . uitl, read ome ycxitl = two feet.
262. Cholltotl (?).
263. Moquepa . . a, read Moquech panohua = carried on the shoulders . .
266. Huitzitl = humming bird.
267. Cohuiz, read Cohuix = inhabitant of Cohuixcan (state of Guerrero). [In the MS. dictionary Cohuiz = Merchant "corredor."—A. B.]
268. Mocuhuatoa (?).
269. Tochitl = rabbit.
273. Cohualhuan . . . snake.
274. Tecpacozcatl, read Tecpancozcatl = Palace necklace or Teopancozcatl = temple necklace.
300. Tlacuilloc, read Tlacuilo = painter (?).
301. . . moloc (?).
302. Ytzcuinatl, read Itzcuinatl = water dog.

303. Vavalatl, read yauallatl = circling water.
305. . . . cua (?).
306. De . . itl, read yluitl = festival (cf. 221. A. P. M.)
307. Tlacotzinco = under the flowering stalks.
308. (?).
309. (?).
310. Zancapam, read Zacapam = in the grass.
311. (?).
313. . tetli (?).
314. Vitztl, read Vitzitl = humming bird.
315. T-leocon, read Tlacoch = javelin.
319. . . . read Atzinco = (?).
322. . . tla . (?).
327. Cf. 319.
328. (?).
329. Tecu . . tzitl, read Tecuicitli = crawfish, lobster.
330. De . . catl, read Tetezcatl = stone mirror (?).
333. Acaye . tlal = tobacco ground (?).
334. Vevetlal, read Ueuetlal = ancient field.
336. Acatl = reed. The glyph represents a shield and obsidian sword, which signifies "war."
343. Ovohuan, read oyohuani or oyouani = the warrior shouting his war-cry (?).
344. Tecpanecatl = palace man.
346. . zoin . . ia (?).
348. . . . (?).
349. . . . (?).
352. Ch . . oca . avacatl (?).
356. . av . . och, read quauhtoch.
357. Huillocpalhua, read Huilocpalhua = owner of the Uilocpalli (= pigeon seat), a certain kind of bread of circular or curved form, made and eaten on the Tlacaxipenaliztli feast.
358. Texozoc = (?).
359. Chamacoyotl = the proud coyote (compare Chamatl = he who boasts or praises himself vainly), or the coyote with thick hair.
360. Atitlava, read Atitlan-hua = owner of the water margin.
361. Atazcapanecatl = the man from the land on the water mirror.
362. Izcue (?).
363. Qchol, read quechol or Tlauhquechol = the spoonbill bird (Tlatalea ajaja).
377. Can . . (?).
378. Dotoch, read Tototl = bird (?).
379. . . .
380. Quauht . l . a (?).
381. Mazacatl = hand grass

387. . . . huehue = ... old man.

388. Tecomecatl = the man from the land of the drinking vase (tecomatl). The glyph shows a pot = Te con (comitl) and a rope = mecatl (?).

389. Tototlacol, read Tototlatol = bird speech.

390. Ytzcuin = dog.

391. . . . acouacatl = (?).

394. Coyoca, read Coyocan = place of the Coyote.

395. Chimali, read Chimalli = shield. Teohua = priest.

398. Xlava . . . (?).

399. Odo . . vatl, read Cozoyavall, cocoyaualli, or cocoyaualolli, the technical term for a Chichimec head ornament of similar form figured in the Sahagun manuscript.

400. . . . (?).

401-2. Mauhyatl cohua . read Mahyocohuatl = trembling snake. The glyph shows a snake and a figure similar to the Egyptian glyph for "water," obviously intended to express the "trembling."[1]

403. Maicxitl = hand foot, or foot in place of the hand.

404. Vitzitl = humming bird.

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[1] 401. Cohua, read Cohuatl = snake.
402. Mauhyatl = trembling or rough water. There are two separate heads, each with a glyph, and the Chinampas run in opposite directions.—A. P. M.

MEXICAN KINGS AND CHIEFTAINS.

I. Itzcoatl (Itzcouatzin) reigned thirteen years, A.D. 1425-1437. The conqueror of the Tepanecs of Atzcapotzalco.

In front of him is the shield of Atzcapotzalco and a figure with the word evidently intended for Tezozomoc written underneath it.

II. Montezuma Ilhuicamina (Motecuhzoma Ilhuicaminatzin) reigned twenty-nine years, 1438-1467. Conqueror of the Tepanecs of Atzcapotzalco.

III. Axayaca (Axayacatzin) reigned fourteen years, 1467-1480. The figure is placed towards the middle of the Plan, near two temples.

The number of the years of his reign is not shown.

IV. The figure is obliterated; the numerals which amount to six may be incomplete. Above is a figure probably of Tezozomoc and the shield of Atzcapotzalco.

It is possible that this was the original position of Axayaca, and that the figure was erased and re-drawn in its present position (III).

V. A dark-faced figure with the glyph of Montezuma Ilhuicamina above it, and the numeral three behind it.

There is a possibility that this is intended for the figure of Tizozic or Tizoc, the King who succeeded Axayaca and reigned four years, 1480-1484.

VI. Ahuitzotl (Auitzotzin) reigned seventeen years, 1484-1501. The number of the years of his reign is not shown.

VII. Montezuma (Motecuhzoma) Xocoyotzin reigned nineteen years, 1501-1520.

The surface of the Maguey paper is worn away and some of the numerals have become obliterated. Montezuma is represented as conversing with Hernando Cortés.

VIII. Hernando Cortés seated on a chair. The hieroglyph above the head of Cortés probably expresses the name by which he was known to the Mexicans, and is the only example known.

IX. Cuitlahuac (Cuitlanatzin) reigned eighty days, 1520-1521. This is indicated by the single blue dot = one year, and a figure meaning ilhuitl = day, four times repeated. It is here intended to represented twenty days 4 × 20 = eighty days.

X. Guatemoc (Quauhtemoctzin) reigned five years, 1521-1525.

XI. Xochiquentzin reigned eleven years, 1525-1536, but only as a warrior chief (quauh-tlatô = speaking eagle) as indicated beneath the year number.

XII. Vanitzin reigned four years, 1536-1540, as a king.

XIII. Teuetzquilitzin reigned eighteen years, 1540-1557.

XIV. The Judge Esteban de Guzman, three years, 1554-1557.

XV. The Chief Cristóbal de Guzman, six years, 1557-1562.

As Cristóbal de Guzman is the last chieftain named, it is suggested that the last additions to the map were made about 1562.

MAP OF THE CITY AND LAKE, MEXICO,

PUBLISHED IN 1524.

THIS Map was issued with the Latin translation of the second and third letters of Cortés, made by Pietro Savorgnani, of Forli, Secretary to the Bishop of Vienne in Dauphiné, and dedicated to Pope Clement VII. It was published in Nuremberg in the year 1524.[1] It contains a chart of the Gulf of Mexico, showing Yucatan as an Island, and a bird's-eye-view of the City and Lake of Mexico, far from accurate, but containing many points of interest.

The imperial flag, flying over what must be intended for Coyoacan, implies that it was drawn after the siege was over, and when Cortés had established his headquarters at Coyoacan. By that time the City of Mexico was in ruins, but the Map purports to show the City in the days of Montezuma.

The principal feature of the Plan is the exaggerated representation of the great Temple enclosure of Tenochtitlan, which is depicted as square and surrounded by a wall with four gateways, one nearly in the middle of each side. Within the enclosure, on the west side, stands the great Teocalli of Hiutzilopochtli and Tlaloc, marked *Templum ubi sacrificant.* It faces the east, and shows the two towers or sanctuaries with a full human face between them, probably representing the sun. To the south of the Teocalli is a Tzumpantli, or scaffolding, on which were displayed the skulls of the victims, and on the north side

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[1] See Bibliographical Note to Macnutt's Translation of Cortés' Letters, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

stand two lesser temples. Below these buildings runs the legend, *Capita sacrificatorii*, which evidently belongs to the Tzumpantli. In the middle of the enclosure stands a headless human figure, holding out a scroll in each hand. Beneath this figure is the legend *Idol lapideum*. To the north of this figure a small square is drawn. To the south of the figure is what appears to be a tree or trees, surrounded by a fence, and beyond this some buildings abuting on the southern gate of the enclosure.

In the middle of the eastern part of the enclosure stands another large Tzumpantli; on the south side of it there is a temple enclosed by a wall, and on the north side a temple standing by itself with a triple roof.

THE IZTAPALAPA CAUSEWAY AND SOUTH-EAST SECTION.

To the south of the temple enclosure is the market-place, marked *Platea*, with two small buildings in it. From this market-place, almost at its south-east corner, starts the street and causeway of Iztapalapa. A short distance outside the limits of the City a tower stands on the causeway, doubtless intended for Acachinanco. The causeway terminates towards the south in a transverse causeway (the Calzada de Mexicaltzingo), with buildings on the south, probably intended to represent the town of Mexicaltzingo. The eastern branch of the transverse causeway leads to the city of Iztapalapa, which is marked with its name, and the western branch would lead to Churubusco and Coyoacan.

On the eastern side of the market-place is depicted the Palace of Montezuma, with the legend *Dom. de Mutetiuma*; this extends to the south-east corner of the temple enclosure, and behind it is a garden enclosed within a wall.

On the south part of the east side of the temple enclosure is the aviary, marked *Domus Animalium*, with the figures of men, birds, and beasts; between the aviary and the street running east towards the lake is another building, standing in a grove or garden.

THE EASTERN STREET, OR CAUSEWAY, AND NORTH-EAST SECTION.

The street running from the eastern gate of the temple enclosure to the lake is clearly marked, and terminates in a building marked *Templum ubi orant.* Against the northern half of the eastern wall of the temple enclosure a large building is depicted, doubtless intended for the Palace of Axayacatl.

Between the north-east corner of the temple enclosure and its northern gateway is an oblong space, marked by diagonal cross-lines, which may be intended for bridges, but as they abut on the wall of the enclosure that is not probable, and possibly they represent Chinampas or garden plots, and a large house with three towers stands to the north of them.

At the extreme north-east angle of the City, an arm of the lake finds entrance, and this is probably intended to mark the waterway by which Sandoval entered with the sloops during the last days of the siege.

THE TEPEACAC (GUADALUPE) CAUSEWAY AND THE NORTH-WESTERN SECTION.

From the northern gate of the temple enclosure a broad road runs to the north with three bridges marked on it. It trends to the west and then divides into two causeways, one apparently leading to Tepeacac (Guadalupe) and the other to Tenayoca.

The great market-place and temple enclosure of Tlaltelolco is very inadequately shown, being reduced to a small square marked *Forum*, entered by four gateways, approached by a broad street from the east and by a short diagonal street from the south-west. The northern gateway opens on a causeway, apparently leading to Tenayoca. The western gateway leads to a causeway marked with three bridges, which runs towards Tacuba. On the north side of this causeway are some buildings probably intended for Nonoalco.

From the northern gateway of the temple enclosure of Tenochtitlan to the north-west angle of the enclosure is an open space like a broad street, and this street is continued along the whole of the west wall of the enclosure.

A prominent building on the north side of the Calle de Tacuba (at the east end) cannot be identified.

THE TACUBA CAUSEWAY AND THE SOUTH-WEST SECTION.

The Tacuba Causeway is divided into sections by a number of bridges, and the western half shows the Aqueduct coming from the spring at Chapultepec, which is shaded by a grove of trees, with the legend *Ex isto fluuio conducunt aquam in Civitatem.*

On the south side of the Tabuca Causeway, near the limits of the city, a causeway, divided into two sections, is shown leading to a building in the lake marked as *Viridarium D. Muteezuma.* From this building a short causeway leads to another building in the lake marked *Domus ad Voluptatem D. Muteezuma*, and from this building another short causeway runs to join the houses on the west side of the Iztapalapa Causeway.

The large building, with towers on the south side of the Tacuba Causeway and facing the western wall of the temple enclosure, is doubtless intended for the old Palace of Montezuma.

The Albarrada or dyke of Netzahualcoyotl is very distinctly shown, and its structure of wooden posts and wattle is clearly indicated. It is marked with the legend *Aggeres ad tutelam domorum a Lacus fluctibus.*

The city of *Tesqua* (Texcoco) is shown on the eastern shore of the lake.

An island in the lake with buildings on it probably represents Tepepolco (Peñon del Marqués), and a town to the south of it, built half in the water, is possibly intended for Iztahuacan or Chimalhuacan.

Notes on the Map of 1524.

On the whole, as a Map made without measurements, and probably from memory, this Map is not a bad representation of the comparative positions of the principal features indicated. The size of the temple enclosure of Tenochtitlan is greatly exaggerated, and the importance of the market place and temple enclosure of Tlaltelolco is correspondingly reduced. As I hope to show later when dealing with the orientation of the great Teocali the positions of the buildings within the temple enclosure has been reversed, and the great Teocali should face the west.

With regard to the two causeways shown to the west of the causeway of Guadalupe: At the commencement of the siege Cortés sent Sandoval to occupy Tepeacac. In describing this event Torquemada says:—

> "Pedro de Alvarado advised Cortés that on the Tepeaquilla (Tepeacac) side the Mexicans entered and left the city

by a causeway which went to some towns on the mainland, and by another small causeway which was near to it, . . . Cortés ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval, although he was wounded, to go and station his army at a town, Tepeacac, whence one of the causeways started, and Cristóbal Flores and Geromino Ruiz de la Mota were stationed with their sloops between Sandoval and Alvarado, at a small causeway, which was broken in some places, so that the investment of the city was completed."

The Sta. Cruz Map shows no sign of a causeway branching off from the Guadalupe Causeway, but in the modern Map of the Federal District there is a trace of a road along the west side of the Salinas de la Magdalena which may be the line of an old causeway. There is, moreover, a causeway distinctly marked on the Sta. Cruz Map, running in a north-westerly direction from the site of the temple enclosure of Tlaltelolco in the direction of Tenayoca, and a road in that direction through Ahuehuetes is still shown on the Map of the Federal District. The two subsidiary causeways on the Plan under consideration would thus be satisfactorily accounted for.

The Causeway of Nonoalco probably forked before reaching land. The southern arm of the fork would run to Tacuba as shown, the northern arm would run to Azcapotzalco, but neither this northern arm nor the city of Azcapotzalco are shown on the Plan.[1] The Causeway of Nonoalco and the two arms of the fork are quite clear on the Map of the Federal District.

The same error of omitting the fork is repeated on the delineation of the Tacuba Causeway, where the aqueduct from Chapultepec is depicted as though it were the main causeway, whereas it is well known that the aqueduct

[1] The town which I have taken to be Tenayoca has no name attached to it, and it might be urged with equal probability that it is intended for Azcapotzalco.

followed what is now the Calzada de Veronica, and the main causeway ran by Popotla to Tacuba.

Of the causeways in the south-west section leading to the two buildings in the lake it is difficult to give any probable explanation. It may be that the *Viridarium* and *Domus ad Voluptatem D. Montezuma* are intended for Chapultepec, in which case they should be moved near the spring and grove shown on the margin of the lake. It may be that they are buildings of which all knowledge is lost.

It is rather curious to note that the small causeway running from Coyoacan to Acachinanco is not shown on the Plan and that no bridges are marked on the Iztapalapa Causeway. The short road towards the south-west which starts from the south side of the Tlaltelolco Temple enclosure is probably the road shown in the Maguey Map, by which Alvarado reached Tlaltelolco during the siege.

MS. MAP OF THE CITY AND VALLEY OF MEXICO.

BY ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ.

NOW IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA, SWEDEN.

THE life and work of Alonso de Santa Cruz, who flourished towards the middle of the sixteenth century, are most fully described by his contemporary, Alejo de Vanegas de Basto, *Las diferencias de libros que hay en el universo*, Toledo, 1540 (2nd ed., 1546), by Nicolao Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova*, Romae, 1672; and by Navarrete, *Noticia biografica de Alonso de Santa Cruz*, Madrid, 1835. Further authorities are adduced in the excellent and exhaustive monograph on the *Islario General* of this great cartographer (published as *Festgabe des K. u. K. Oberstkämmer-Amtes für den xvi Internat. Amerikanisten-Kongress*, Innsbruck, 1908), where also is reproduced from the *Islario* itself a Map of the City of Mexico corresponding in all its details—as far as it goes—with the MS. Map in Upsala University. That it is, however, not actually identified with the latter (a reduction of which was reproduced in Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile-Atlas*) is admitted by the compiler, Herr Franz, R. v. Wieser, who (on pp. ix and x) gives a bibliographical and cartographical list of his author's works.

The Sta. Cruz Map is surrounded by an ornamental band, and has a decorative ribbon border at each end; these are not shown in the reproduction.

There is also a label (of which the edge is shown)

bearing an inscription which is almost entirely obliterated, except the first word, " Alfonsus," in capital letters.

The reproduction, here given by the kind permission of the Librarian of the University of Upsala is founded on a photographic Copy made by the Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt. This was worked on by Miss Adela Breton, who went to Upsala for the purpose of studying the original Map and making all the necessary corrections and elucidations. The outline was drawn for the stone with the utmost care by Col. H. Brereton, R.E., and the coloured stones were executed by Mr. Thomas Way.

Appended is a list of the names of the towns as they are written on the Map, with the modern name of each town added where identification does not present too much difficulty; a note of interrogation is placed before the names c towns which cannot yet be located. The decipherment of the hieroglyphic names has not been attempted, although some of them are well known. When these are all worked out, it will add considerable interest to the Map.

N.W. Section.

(?) Uncuaca.
Chimalpan = Chimalpa.
Sta. Fe (Arasuchil).
(?) Oniltepeque.
Atlacubaya = Tacubaya.
Chapultepeque = Chapultepec.
Tlacuba = Tacuba.
Techemalpa (S. Augustin) = Coaximalpa (?).
Cuuiacan = Coyoacan.
Vicelopuza = Churnbusco.

S.W Section.

Culuacã = Culhuacan.
Xnmylco = Xochimilco.
Mexicalzingo.
Yxtucalco = Iztacalco.

S. W. Section.

Estopalapa = Iztapalapa.
Cuernavana = Cuitlahuac.
Mizquique = Mixcuic.
Tepepulco = Peñon del Marques.
(?) Çinatepeq̄.
Ayozingatengo = Ayotzingo.
Chalcoatengo = Chalco.
Estapaluca = Iztapaluca.
Chimaloacan = Chimalhuacan.
Cuayitza = Cuahutlapan (?).
Chimaloaca = Chimal (S. of Amecameca).
Amaq̄meca = Amecameca.
Tnlmalamlo = Tlalmanalco.
Coatebec = Coatepec.
Coatlican = Coatlichan.

N.E. Section.

Tliltepe = Tlilan (?).
(?) Oxagnacan.
(?) Chiazingo.
Gilotepam = Jilotepec (?).
Sta. Maria de la Victoria = de los Remedios (?).
Tepetipac = Totoltepec (?).
(?) Temaztitlan.
(?) . . eztitla.
Azcapotzalco.
Tepuztlan = Tepotzotlan.
(?) Xapanja.
Tolazingo = Tula (?).
(?) Amloaca.
Ahuehue . . a . = Ahuehuetes.
Tanaiaca = Tenayoca.
Tultlitan = Toltitlan.
Cuautlitlan = Cuautitlan.
Citlaltepeque = Citlaltepec.
Tepezquinac = Tequixquiac.
Apazco = Apaxco.
Çunpāgo = Zumpango.

S.E. Section.

Tepeaca = Guadalupe.
Xaltocan.
Sultoca = Xaltocan or Sotula (?)

S.E. Section.

Chicnatitlan, S. Juan = Chiconautla (?)
(?) Tntrican tinatitlan.
(?) Techuztlan.
Tccuinslan = Tequixtlan.
(?) Teniztlan.
Tepezpan = Tepexpan.
Chiaviztla = Chiautla (?).
(?) O . . inca.
Tezcuco = Texcoco.
Tepetlauxtoc = Tepetlaxto
Otumba.

MAP OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO,

ABOUT 1608.

BY ENRICO MARTÍNEZ.

THIS Map was found in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, and should be dated about 1608, and not 1626, as stated in the title. Enrico Martínez, or Henri Martin, was the distinguished engineer who originated the great scheme for the drainage of the Valley and planned the great cutting and tunnel of Nochistongo through which to drain the water of the Rio de Cuautitlan and Lake of Zumpango to the Atlantic slope.

In the report written by Enrico Martínez in 1626 he states that the drainage works, commencing at the Lake of Zumpango, then extended for 15,830 varas, of which 8130 varas was tunnel and 7700 varas was open cutting, and that (with interruptions) he had been engaged on the work for fourteen years and eleven months. He died in 1632, and was buried in the parish church at Cuautitlan.

The tunnel was later on changed into an open cutting, still known as the Tajo de Nochistongo, this again has been superseded by the modern drainage works which have only recently been completed.

PLAN DE LA VILLE DE MEXICO,

BY CHAPPE D'AUTEROCHE.

THIS Plan is found in *Voyage en Californie pour l'observation de Passage de Venus sur le Disque du Soleil le 3 Juin*, 1769, by Chappe d'Auteroche. It is perhaps the earliest published Plan of the City made from a survey. It is interesting as showing some of the ancient canals still intersecting the City.

APPENDIX.

DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF MEXICO.

IN compiling a Diary of the Siege many difficulties are met with. Neither Cortés nor Bernal Díaz are accurate in the matter of dates, and they not only contradict one another but often contradict themselves.

In the year 1521 Easter fell on the 31st March.

One point on which both are agreed is that the division of the forces and the announcement of the commands was made on the second day of the feast of Espiritu Santo, which feast in the year 1521 fell on Sunday, 19th May. The second day of the feast would therefore be the 20th May, and Bernal Díaz says that the companies of Alvarado and Olid had orders to start on the day following (21st May), but on account of the defection and execution of Xicotencatl (of which Cortés makes no mention) that their departure was delayed until the next day (22nd May). Nevertheless, Bernal Díaz says the companies of Alvarado started on the 13th May, and Cortés gives the date as the 10th May.

Then, again, Bernal Díaz, twice over, mentions ninety-three days as the length of the siege. The siege, we know for certain, ended on the 13th August, so that to make up ninety-three days he must have begun his count on the 13th May.

It is impossible to reconcile these various statements, and in the following Diary the departure of Alvarado and Olid from Texcoco is assumed to have taken place on the 22nd May, as that date fits in best with the events that follow.

The next certain date is (31st May) "Friday, the day after the feast of Corpus Christi," on which day Cortés says that Sandoval left Texcoco for Iztapalapa, and he himself embarked in the sloops and fought a battle on the lake.

The disaster to the Spaniards, when so many of the soldiers were captured alive and dragged off to be sacrificed to Huitzilopochtli, may, with some certainty, be dated Sunday, 31st June. In July, the mention by Cortés of the Feast of Santiago, enables some dates to be fixed, and San Hipolito's day, 13th August, is definitely given both by Cortés and Bernal Díaz as the date of the capture of Guatemoc and the termination of the siege.

Between these fixed points the dates of the different events can only be approximated from such indications as "after having heard Mass" (probably a Sunday or Feast day), "already more than forty-five days had been spent in this siege," "Three or four days passed in concerting this plan," "The next day," etc.

After drawing up the following Diary from the Narratives of Cortés and Bernal Díaz, I compared it with the dates given by Orozco y Berra, in his *History of Mexico*, and found that there was hardly any difference.

Cortés being himself in command and writing his letters to the Emperor within nine months of the end of the siege (the Third Letter is dated 15th May, 1522) is more trustworthy in the matter of dates and the sequence of events than Bernal Díaz, who wrote many years afterwards and frequently repeats himself and places events in the wrong order.

It has not been thought necessary to disentangle the events described by Bernal Díaz in his narrative of the siege, but merely to place occasionally a date in a footnote, to enable the reader to refer to the Diary.

APPENDIX A.

THE MARCH OF HERNANDO CORTÉS FROM MEXICO TO HONDURAS.

THE march of Hernando Cortés from Mexico to Honduras was not the least important exploit of that great Captain, but it has received comparatively little attention at the hands of historians. Prescott devotes a few pages to it, but makes no attempt to follow it in detail; he states in a note:[1] "I have examined some of the most ancient maps of the country by Spanish, French, and Dutch cosmographers in order to determine the route of Cortés. . . . . . I can detect on them only four or five of the places indicated by the General."

Don Pascual de Gayangos, in an Introduction to his translation of the Carta Quinta, the Fifth Letter of Cortés to the Emperor Charles V, says that "few are the indications—and those very slight—of the route they (the Spaniards) followed," and he makes no attempt to define it. However, a careful comparison of the only two accounts of the march, that by Cortés himself in the Carta Quinta, and that given by Bernal Díaz, and some personal knowledge of the country traversed, makes it possible to trace the line of march for a considerable part of the way with some hope of accuracy.

Cortés left the City of Mexico on the 12th October, 1524. The Carta Quinta was written on his return to the City, and is dated 3rd September, 1526. Bernal Díaz wrote his account of the march about 1566, when he was

[1] Book VII, ch. iii, *Conquest of Mexico*.

an old man, and although he possessed a wonderfully retentive memory, it is safer to trust for all details to the account written by Cortés so soon after the events.

From Mexico City to Coatzacoalcos the journey was over country already well known, and the expedition may be considered as starting from the latter town.

The force numbered about 400 Spaniards, 130 of whom were horsemen, and some 3000 Mexican Indians.

The Indians of Coatzacoalcos provided Cortés with a map, painted on cloth, showing some of the pueblos he was likely to pass through on his journey.

The first part of the route lay across the innumerable interlacing waterways, lagoons and swamps forming the deltas of the great rivers flowing from the mountain ranges of Chiapas and Guatemala.

There were few paths or tracks which could be followed, as the Indians travelled by water in their canoes, and consequently they could give little or no information how to get from place to place by land.

The route followed from Coatzacoalcos to the pueblo of Copilco is fairly clear, and Bernal Díaz and the Spaniards from Coatzacoalcos had already traversed it several times. Many rivers and streams had to be crossed, some of them in canoes, and Cortés states that he made fifty bridges, one of them 934 paces in length.

Bernal Díaz, as we have seen, states that in after years Spaniards spoke of "the Bridges of Cortés" as they would speak of "the Pillars of Hercules."

In the map of Tabasco by Melchior de Alfaro Santa Cruz, which, with the memorandum accompanying it, dated 1575, was discovered some years ago among the Archives of the Indies at Seville by my friend the late Dr. Sebastian Marmion, there is written along the course of the Rio Guimango the following legend :—" In this river, which is the Rio Guimango, there is to-day beneath the water the

timber of a bridge built by the Marquis, which is preserved low down in the water."

Bernal Díaz, who had been sent on ahead to Cimatan, was to have returned to meet Cortés at Iquinuapa; however, Cortés makes no mention of that pueblo, and it seems more probable that they met at the neighbouring pueblo of Copilco.

From Copilco Cortés marched to Nacajuca and then went on, crossing many streams and swamps, until he struck the River Grijalva, which he calls the Quezalapa.[1] This river was crossed (probably near the site of the modern town of San Juan Bautista) in canoes sent up stream by the Indians of Tabasco, and the march was continued up the right bank of the river as far as the pueblos of Zaguatan.

Zaguatan is not marked on any modern map, but on the Santa Cruz map the "tres pueblos llamados Çaguatanes" are shown in a position which makes it certain that they must have stood on the Rio Tacotalpa, a branch of the Rio Grijalva, ten or fifteen miles to the south of San Juan Bautista, and these pueblos are mentioned in the memorandum accompanying the map as Astapa, Xaguacapa and Xalapa, three pueblos which still exist. Here the expedition rested for twenty days. This was followed by a two days' march from Zaguatan to Chilapa and thence another two days' march to Tepititan or Tamastepeque, as Cortés calls it, near the foot-hills of the mountains of Chiapas.

It is quite impossible to reconcile the accounts of the journey from Zaguatan to Tepititan with the latest maps. Undoubtedly the Spaniards passed through Chilapa before reaching Tepititan, but this may not be the Chilapa

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[1] Probably the same as Mezcalapa, the name now confined to an upper branch of the same river.

marked on the recent maps (Alfaro Santa Cruz mentions Chilapa as between Macuspana and Tepititan). Both accounts state that the river Chilapa was crossed after leaving the pueblo of that name, and that four days were occupied in its passage, and as no mention is made of crossing the river at Tepititan, that pueblo must have been on the right bank of the river and not on the left bank as now located.

Then followed three days' march through dense forests and swamps to Ystapa (or Istapa), a name that has altogether disappeared from modern maps.

If Cortés took an easterly course he would have struck the Rio Usumacinta somewhere near the Laguna de Catasajá, and we may safely locate Ystapa in that position. Ystapa is marked on the map of Santa Cruz (which, however, is in this part hopelessly out of drawing) as higher up stream than Jonuta, which is still an inhabited village.

A halt of eight days was made at Ystapa, followed by one day's (?) march to Tatahuitalpan on the Usumacinta, which I locate near the modern village of Monte Cristo.

Cortés then asked the way to Ciguatecpan, a name that is not to be found on any map, and he tells us that it is higher up stream than the pueblo of Usumacinta, which is still marked on the maps. He received the usual answer from the Indians, that they did not know the way by land as they always travelled by water. However, they undertook to do the best they could as guides, with the result that after crossing a deep creek, which I take to be the Rio Chacamas, the expedition became hopelessly lost in the dense forest,[1] and the men became exhausted and in danger of starvation, until on the third or fourth day, by

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[1] Bernal Díaz records the long march during which they lost their way as between Ystapa and Tamastepec (Tatahuitalpan). Cortés records it as between Tatahuitalpan and Ciguatecpan, and the latter is probably correct.

following a compass bearing in a north-easterly direction, they again struck the Rio Usumacinta near the pueblo of Ciguatecpan, which is not marked on any map, but must be somewhere near the modern Tenosique.

From Ciguatecpan Cortés wished to get to Acalá. This name has completely disappeared. However, I feel fully confident that the province of Acalá was on the Rio San Pedro Martir, an affluent of the Rio Usumacinta, both from the subsequent course of the route followed, and from the fact that Cortés sent canoes down stream from Acalá to the Gulf of Mexico.

The only later mention of Acalá that I can find is in Villagutierre's *History of the Conquest of Itzá* (Lib. I, cap. vii), where it is stated that Acalá was subdued thirty years after the conquest of Mexico by an expedition under Captain Francisco Tamayo Pacheco, which started from Merida in Yucatan, and that Acalá was soon abandoned by the Spaniards owing to the near neighbourhood of the unconquerable Lacandones.

After crossing the Rio Usumacinta in canoes the expedition marched for three days through dense forest and was then stopped by a wide river, which must have been the Rio San Pedro in flood, for heavy rain had fallen.

It was certain destruction to turn back, so, having had the good luck to find three small canoes, Cortés set about constructing another of his wonderful bridges, and with the help of his 3000 Indian followers accomplished the work in four days, cutting and using, as he says, more than a thousand posts the smallest of them almost as thick as a man's body and nine or ten fathoms long.

Bernal Díaz tells us that some men died of hunger while the bridge was being built. Fortunately a small supply of food reached the expedition soon after the river was crossed, and two days later the expedition reached Tizatepelt, the first pueblo of Acalá.

After resting for six days, a march of five leagues brought the expedition to the pueblo of Teutiaca, and another day's march to Izancanac on the Rio San Pedro.

The execution of Guatemoc probably took place at Izancanac.

The expedition left Izancanac, the last of the Acalá pueblos, on 15th March, 1525, and crossing to the south side of the river marched for three days through the forest to a pueblo of the Mazatecas, standing between a lagoon and a stream.

A day's march took them to Tiac, a fortified pueblo on a plain, and another day's march to Yascumbil, the last pueblo of the province.

On leaving the land of the Mazatecas the expedition marched for three days through an uninhabited country of hills and forests, passing the "Puerto de Alabastro," as the Spaniards called it, "as all the rocks and stones consisted of fine alabaster." This would not be far from a small lake now marked on the map as the Laguna del Yeso (Gypsum).

This journey brought the expedition to the borders of the Lake of Peten Itzá at its western extremity, and while his followers marched along the southern shore, Cortés visited the Island pueblo of Tayasal.

Between Tepititan and the Lake of Peten not one place mentioned by Cortés or Bernal Díaz is to be found on a modern map.

The course of the Rio San Pedro Martir, as laid down on the maps, is probably taken from a canoe survey, and the land on either side of it is unsurveyed and unmapped; yet I feel confident that the route I have sketched out is not far from the true one.

From Tayasal a day's journey brought the Spaniards to a pueblo on a lake which Cortés calls Checan. I have no doubt this is the small lake on Macanché, where I have

passed a night myself after leaving Tayasal, or Flores as it is now called.

From this point the expedition must have turned to the south-east, through unmapped country, and after six days of actual marching, the very rough range of hills was met with, which the Spaniards named the Sierra de los Pedernales—that is, of stones as hard as flints. Cortés states that it took the expedition twelve days to cross the eight leagues of this Sierra, and seventy horses were lost in the passage. It is evidently a range of limestone formation, and although it rained hard all the time, the water sank through the rock and had to be collected in kettles and other vessels for use. After passing the Sierra a river was met with in high flood, and two days were occupied in crossing it, and the expedition then reached a farm called Tenciz on the 14th May.

The Sierra de los Perdernales must be the high land close to the boundary line, between Guatemala and British Honduras, and the flooded river would be the Santa Ysabal (or Rio Sepusilha), the upper water of the Rio de la Pasion.

The river was probably crossed about Lat. 16° 30′ N., where the river leaves British territory.

This latter part of the journey took place during the height of the rainy season, and the rain that year was evidently exceptionally heavy.

With regard to the difficulty experienced in crossing the range, I may say that when I was making almost a parallel journey, fifteen or twenty miles to the west of Cortés's route, during the dry season, we had to lead our horses and mules by hand for nearly a week, although we were following a known trail, and we frequently had to cut away interlacing roots of trees and lianes, and to use the backs of our axes to break off the sharp points and edges of the limestone rock to enable our animals to pass.

On the low ground, owing to some showers which came after we expected the rainy season to be over, I have been all day wading through the forest knee-deep in water, and we were only enabled to get our baggage across a stream by crawling with it across the trunks of tall trees, which the Indians ingeniously felled on each side of the river, so that the branches should interlace and form a bridge.

The remainder of the march, as far as the Rio Sarstoon, must have been through what is now British territory, but with the exception of the course of the rivers the map is a blank, and none of the names given by Cortés are now known.

A further march of about fifteen miles from the Rio Sarstoon brought the expedition to the mouth of the Rio Dulce.

Cortés found the Spaniards of whom he had come in search at San Jil de Buena Vista on the sea-coast about two leagues from the mouth of the Rio Dulce,[1] and he found them in a more starved condition, if that were possible, than his own followers. Many and toilsome exploring expeditions had to be made in search of food, but I will mention only one of these, which was led by Cortés in person.

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[1] The following quotations from Bishop Pedraza's account of Honduras show that the original position of San Jil de Buena Vista (the Nito mentioned in Cortés's Fifth Letter) was on an island in what is now known as the Golfete, between the Rio Dulce and the Golfo Dulce. This site was soon abandoned for a position about two leagues from the right bank of the Rio Dulce on the sea-coast. "Esta casi 30 leguas adelante del Puerto de Caballos costa a costa el Golfo Dulce, el qual esta adelante de un rio que se dice Lanlá, entre el qual rio y el golfo Dulce, casi encima del Golfo que es el dicho Golfo como un seno esta una ysleta que se dice S. Jil de Buena Vista donde fueron aportar los mismos cristianos que per aquellas partes fueron que fue ante que fuese el Marques por alli los quales cristianos yban en compania de un capitan que se dezia Gil Gonzáles de Ávila."—*Relacion de la Provincia de Honduras y Higueras escrita por el licenciado D. Cristobal de Pedraza Primer Obispo de Honduras*, 1544; *Relaciones de Yucatan*, vol. ii, p. 403.

Embarking in a launch and some canoes, he and his party went up the Rio Dulce, and crossed the Golfo Dulce or Lake of Ysabal to somewhere near the mouth of the Rio Polochic, where the party landed and travelled for three days along the northern side of the Sierra de las Minas, finally arriving at a town which Cortés calls Chacujal.

Wishing to identify this site, I made many enquiries and heard of some ruins on the south side of the Polochic which answered the requirements as to position; but I could learn nothing of the name Chacujal, until, to my repeated questions, one of my half-cast canoemen on the Rio Polochic replied, "Chaki jal, that, Señor, is the name the Indians of these parts use for ripe maize." Cortés tells us that some Indians, whom he had captured in the forest, led him to the town of Chacujal; what they did was doubtless to lead him to a place where food could be found, for it could have needed no interpreter to see that the Spaniards were hungry.

Chacujal was indeed well stored with ripe maize, which Cortés loaded on rafts and conveyed down stream to his starving followers on the Rio Dulce.

I was able to make only a short visit to the ruins of Chacujal, which are completely overgrown with forest, but it was long enough to see that the buildings could have been of no great importance, although Cortés says that it was the most important town he had seen since leaving Acalá.

It is quite clear from the account given by Bernal Díaz, as well as that given by Cortés, that during their long march the Spaniards met with no evidence of the higher Maya civilization.

At Tepititan and at Catasajá they were within a short distance of Palenque; at Peten and Macanché they were at no great distance from Tikal and still nearer to Yaxhá

and to the group of ruins discovered by Mr. Maler. Just before crossing the Sierra dc los Pedernales they must have been near Ixkun, and on the southern shore of the Golfo Dulce they were within twenty miles of Quirigua, all sites rich in the remains of stone buildings and sculptured ornament and inscriptions.

Had these been still living towns and cities, the Spaniards, when they were scouring the country in search of food, could not have failed to come across roads leading to them.

The whole journey from Coatzacoalcos to the Rio Dulce occupied about six months. The incidents and hardships of this remarkable march are well described in Cortés's Fifth Letter and in the vivid narrative of Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

APPENDIX B.

THE BURIAL OF CORTÉS.

CORTÉS left instructions in his will for his body to be buried in the church of the parish in which he died, and at the end of ten years for his bones to be carried to New Spain and interred in a Franciscan convent to be called La Concepcion, which he ordered to be founded at Coyoacan. However, his body was not buried in the parish church, but was placed in the tomb of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia in the Convent of San Isidro extra Muros at Seville. His bones were taken later to New Spain in accordance with his will, but as the convent which he had ordered to be founded at Coyoacan had not been built, they were placed in the Church of San Francisco at Texcoco. Thence they were removed and buried with great pomp in the Church of the Monastery of San Francisco in Mexico City on the 24th February, 1629.

In 1794 the remains of Cortés were removed to the Hospital de Jesus, which Cortés had himself founded and endowed, and were interred within a monumental tomb.

Here it might be supposed that his bones would have been allowed to remain in peace. However, during the heat of the revolution against the dominion of Spain, everything Spanish was abhorred, and it was even proposed in Congress that the bones of Cortés should be dug up and burnt. In the year 1823 this sacrilege would have been consummated but for the care of the authorities of the Hospital, who secretly exhumed the coffin and buried it in another part of the church and removed the

metal bust and ornaments from the tomb. These latter were afterwards sent to Palermo to the Duque de Terranova, the representative of the Cortés family, but whether the remains of the great Conquistador were also sent abroad is not clear—probably they still rest unmarked in the Church of the Hospital de Jesus.

These notes are abstracted from the account written by Don Lucas Alaman,[1] who was himself concerned in saving the remains from desecration.

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[1] *Disertaciones sobre la historia de la República Mexicana*, vol. ii, pp. 48-62.

NOTES

[1] During the first conquests of the Spaniards in New Spain, one half of the profits arising from the gold mines was paid to the crown; but the ill effects of this exorbitant demand soon began to show themselves, and it was reduced to one third, and then to a fifth, called the real quinto, which continued for a length of time, until it was further reduced. I must take this opportunity of observing, that the Spanish "peso" is equal to about 4s. 6d. of our money. (p. 3.)

[2] Bernal Diaz is thus particular in laying stress on this remarkable circumstance, because the pope of Rome, in Spanish, is termed pápa. (p. 7.)

[3] This is the celebrated Las Casas, the protector of the rights of the Indians. (p. 18.)

[4] Puerto de Matanza, the harbour of the massacre. (p. 20.)

[5] The sus tajassu, pecary, or Mexican musk hog; but what our old soldier, with other writers, mistook for a navel, is an open gland on the lower part of the back, which discharges a fetid ichorous liquor. (p. 22.)

[6] The author sometimes also calls this nequien, of which the garments of the poorer classes were manufactured. The maguey is the well-known agava Americana, the sap of which formed the national drink of the Indians, and the Mexicans were accustomed to write most of their hieroglyphics on the cloth manufactured from the leaves. (p. 29.)

[7] According to Humboldt, the word cue was imported by the Spanish into New Spain from Cuba. The great temple of Mexico was called by the Indians teocalli; a word which Torquemada (Monarchia Indiana) thus explains: "Que es come decir, templo, u casas de Dios;" i. e. "As much as to say, a temple, or house of God." (p. 36.)

[8] So those Spaniards, who made the first conquests in New Spain, termed themselves, by way of preference, which name they ever after retained as an honorary title. Even to this day in Spain it is considered very distinguishing to be descended from one of the Conquistadores, and some of the first families there date all their greatness from one of these bold adventurers. (p. 37.)

[9] Jardines, or the Caribbee islands, lying along the south coast of Cuba, better known as the Windward and Leeward islands. (p. 51.)

[10] Palos, a small town of Spain, lying on the river Tinto. This port produced the best Spanish sailors during the early voyages of discovery, and here also the expedition under Columbus was fitted out. (p. 60.)

[11] Ala lala. What a striking similarity there is between this cry and the Turkish Alla il Allah, of which, as Byron says, in one of his notes to the 'Bride of Abydos,' the Turks are very profuse in battle! (p. 75.)

[12] This passage is very important, as it shows to what degree of civilization the inhabitants of this district had arrived, and that they were at least skilful in the working of gold. The Spanish words are: "Quatro diademas, unas lagartijas, y dos como perillos, y orejeras, y cinco anades, y dos figuras de caras de Indios, y dos Suelas de Oro, como de sus Cotoras."

The Caras de Indios (faces of Indians) were most probably shaped like masks, for similar ones, made of clay, are found to this day in the vale of Mexico. "Suelas de Oro, como de sus Cotoras," we have ventured to translate "Sandals with golden soles," particularly as Bernal Diaz, in a subsequent chapter, expressly remarks that Motecusuma wore a kind of half-boot with soles of gold. (p. 80.)

[13] The bombax ceiba of Linnæus, and one of the tallest trees growing in America. The fruit produces a very fine cotton, resembling silk, used for stuffing bolsters and chair seats. (p. 82.)

[14] Cata Francia, Montesinos, &c. This is the first strophe of an old Spanish romance, in which Montesinos the father desires his son to revenge him of his mortal enemy Tomillas:

> "Montesinos cast a glance
> On your lands, the soil of France;
> See how the Duro's sportive motion
> Carries its waters to the ocean!" (p. 83.)

[15] On this woman the captain Cadahalso, in his 'Cartas Marruecas,' passes the following encomium: "Primera muger, que no ha prejudicado en uno exercito;" i. e. "The first woman who ever accompanied an army without being a prejudice to it." (p. 85.)

[16] These remarkable presents have all been enumerated by Torquemada, (Monarchia Indiana, i, iv, c. 17;) and we cannot do better than give his minute description of them here: "The ambassador of Motecusuma ordered mats to be spread on the ground before Cortes, and over them some cotton cloths, on which he arranged the presents, consisting of large quantities of cotton shirts and other cotton stuffs, beautifully manufactured, and interwoven with feathers of the most splendid colours; bucklers made of the purest white staffs, decorated with feathers, gold, silver, and pearls, surpassing everything in beauty and skilfulness of workmanship that was ever seen. There was also a helmet, tastefully carved out of wood, filled with grains

of gold; a casque, made of thin plates of gold, decorated with tassels and stones, resembling the smaragdus; numerous large bunches of feathers of diversified colours, fastened in silver and gold; fans for keeping off flies, made of the rarest feathers; a thousand lockets of gold and silver, of the most curious and beautiful workmanship; bracelets and military decorations of gold and silver, splendidly embossed with green and bright yellow feathers; leather made of deer skin, curried and coloured in the best possible manner; shoes and sandals of the same leather, sewn with thin gold wire, and the soles made of splendid white and blue stone. There were other kinds of shoes, most tastefully manufactured of cotton; mirrors of marcasite, globular shaped, of the size of a fist, and most ingeniously set in gold, the small frame itself being very valuable, and worthy of the acceptance of any crowned head; coverings and curtains to beds, manufactured of various coloured cotton, more glossy and of finer texture than silk; a number of other gold and silver trinkets; a necklace of gold, decorated with upwards of a hundred emeralds, rubies, and various other ornaments of gold; a second necklace, consisting of numbers of large pearls and emeralds, all of the most exquisite workmanship; numerous other gold trinkets in the shape of frogs and animals; jewels in the form of medals, the shrines being even more valuable than the precious stones they contained; a quantity of large and small grains of gold. The most valuable of these presents, however, were two round plates, one of gold, on which was a sun with rays and the zodiac; this weighed above one hundred marks: the other was of silver, which in a similar manner represented the moon, weighing above fifty marks: both were massive, and of the thickness of the Spanish coin of four silver reals, and as large as a waggon wheel. Those who saw these splendid presents said that, without considering the beautiful workmanship, the value of the gold and silver alone amounted to 25,000 castellanos de oro; so that the whole together may well be estimated at 50,000 ducats." (p. 91.)

[17] Chalchihuitls; Bernal Diaz calls these Chalchuites. This stone is of a light green colour, at first held in great estimation by the Spaniards, but Torquemada, a contemporary of our author, remarks, (Monarchia, Ind. i, p. 462,) it is a stone on which the Indians set a high value, but not so the Spaniards. He calls it a kind of smaragdus, "the polishing of which the Indians say was taught them by the god Quetzalcohuatl." Bustamente (Historia de la Conquista de Mexico escrita, por Fr. Bernardino Sahagun, Mexico, 1829,) calls it, "Piedra jaspe, mui verde, o sea esmeralda ordinaria," i. e. "A jasper of a very green colour, or a common smaragdus."

This stone represented among the Mexicans everything that was excellent in its kind, for which reason they put such a stone in the mouth of the distinguished chiefs who died. (p. 93.)

[17*] Costatlan, Bernal Diaz also adds here, "Y este nombre de Culua es en aquella tierra, como si dixessen los Romanos hallados." As this passage is rather obscure, we thought it best to insert it here. The literal translation is: "And this appellation of Culua, in this country, means as much as when one would say, 'the merry Romans.'" In the 31st chapter he makes a similar remark. (p. 102.)

[18] Most probably Cortes' despatches of the 16th of July, 1519, which were lost. (p. 125.)

[19] Torquemada (Mon. Ind. i, iv, c. 25) gives some additional circumstances respecting this conspiracy; among other things he says, that the pilot Cermeno was so remarkably nimble, that if two of the tallest men held up a lance as high as they could horizontally, he would bound over it with ease by means of another lance. Also that his sense of smelling was so acute that he could scent the land at a distance of sixty miles when at sea; but adds, "aunque no olio esta muerte;" yet he could not smell the nature of his death. (p. 133.)

[20] It may appear astonishing to some that grape trees should have been found here, as it is well known that this tree was introduced from Europe into the West Indies; yet it is certainly true that the Spaniards found the wild vine growing in the New World. Oviedo, in his valuable work entitled 'Historia general y natural de las Indias,' says, "These wild vines bear good black grapes, and I have often eaten them myself. I say good, for considering the wild state in which they grow, they are really good. These grapes are found throughout the whole of the West Indies, and I do believe that all other vines have originated from these wild trees." (p. 133.)

[21] Of the township of Xocotlan, Torquemada gives some further account, from which we learn more of the condition of the country at the time of the conquest. Olintecl, he says, was lord of 20,000 subjects, and he had thirty wives, who were attended upon by one hundred female servants. The township contained thirteen temples, full of various shaped idols made of stone, to whom were sacrificed men, women, children, pigeons, and quails. Here the Mexican monarch had a garrison of 5000 men, and ouriers were stationed at particular distances from each other all the way from the town to the city of Mexico. These nimble pedestrians were always in pairs, that all news might be conveyed to the metropolis with the utmost speed. (p. 142.)

[22] Of this fortification Torquemada gives a different account. He says it was a wall of twenty feet in thickness, that it could be defended from the top; had only one entrance, defended by other works within, and was built by a cazique of the country, whom he calls Yztacmixtitlan, to protect the boundaries of his country against the incursions of the Tlascallans. (p. 145.)

[23] Agava Americana. (p. 145.)

[24] (This note refers to the last sentence of the chapter.) To this custom of the Tlascallans of carrying off their killed and wounded from the field of battle, the historian de Solis partially attributes Cortes' great success in these battles; for as a great number of the enemy were constantly occupied in this work, they naturally offered a less formidable front, and considerable openings were made in their ranks. (p. 147.)

[25] This is a very remarkable observation of Bernal Diaz, for the ostrich with outspread wings is also found on the ancient Persian monuments; and this bird, it is well known, is not common to the New World. If we add to this circumstance the repeated questions which were put to the Spaniards by the inhabitants of New Spain, as to whether they came from the region where the sun rises, there is reason for supposing that the tradition which came down to them from their forefathers was not

altogether vague; namely, that a people would come from the east and take possession of their country. (p. 150.)

[26] During this war the Tlascallans frequently sent provisions to Cortes' troops. This they did partly out of pride, that it might not be said they conquered the Spaniards by famine; partly that the latter might not become meagre in body, but that their flesh might taste savoury when they sacrificed them to their gods, so sure were these brave warriors of victory! (p. 165.)

[27] This name Oviedo gives to the fruit of a tree, which he calls macanna, growing in Cuba. (Hippomane Mancinella of Linn.) From the same fruit, according to this historian, the inhabitants prepare the deadly poison in which they dip the points of their arrows. (p. 170.)

[28] These figs, Bernal Diaz calls Tuna, which is the Cactus Tuna of Linnæus. (p. 173.)

[29] For Marina, as appears from several passages in Torquemada and other writers, was called by the inhabitants Malintzin. (p. 176.)

[30] In all the conferences which Cortes had with the Tlascallan chiefs, they showed an excessive hatred to the Mexicans, from which the Spaniards derived great advantages: Gomara, however, would make it appear that the Mexicans could at any time have given the Tlascallans a total overthrow if they had felt so inclined, but that they considered it better policy to attack them from time to time, when they wanted victims for their sacrifices; and then also the younger warriors of Mexico could have frequent opportunities of learning the art of war near to the metropolis, without marching to the distant boundaries of the empire for that purpose. This supposition of Gomara, however, is not founded on anything like fact. (p. 188.)

[31] The name which the Mexicans gave to Alvarado was Tonatiuh, the sun. It may naturally be supposed that when the Spaniards first arrived in New Spain, they did not catch the true sound of names. Torquemada, who spent nearly the whole of his life in New Spain, is considered the most correct in this respect. (p. 191.)

[32] Bernal Diaz writes, incorrectly, Macegales. By this word the Mexicans denoted the country people, who formed the great mass of the population, who also tilled the ground, and paid to the landowners a third part of the produce. Landed proprietors in Greece, at the present day, are not so generous, for they take two thirds of the produce and allow the tenant only one. (p. 192.)

[33] A small kind of cloak, a part of the old Moorish dress, still worn in Spain during festivals. (p. 194.)

[34] A temple where human beings were sacrificed to idols. (p. 197.)

[35] Cortes, in his despatches to the emperor, mentions that three thousand Cholullans were killed on this occasion; but Torquemada gives double the number, which is nearer the truth, particularly as Gomara agrees with him.

Respecting this massacre, Torquemada gives the following remarkable account: The Chollullans, he says, expected that their god Quetzalcohuatl would come to their assistance with some miracle. They believed that at any time, by removing part of

the white plaster from the temple, a strong flood of water would instantly burst out, and they were therefore very particular in repairing any little damage that might happen in this way to the temple, by means of chalk mixed with the blood of children two and three years of age, killed for the purpose. It was on this temple that the Cholullans defended themselves with the greatest obstinacy; but the victory soon declaring in favour of the Spaniards, the inhabitants began to loosen the plaster off the outside, firmly believing that a deluge of water would instantly burst forth, and drown the assailants; when finding themselves disappointed in their expectations, they complained bitterly to their god for not rendering them any assistance; refused, however, to capitulate; and numbers flung themselves headlong from the top of the temple, to seek death that way. (p. 204.)

[36] Torquemada sometimes writes this word Tianquitz, sometimes Tiangues, but we find it also written Tianquiztli. By the terminating syllable most likely some particular market is meant; for it is peculiar to the Mexican language to modify the meaning of words in that manner. (p. 205.)

[37] Termed by the inhabitants Pulque. (p. 205.)

[38] An interesting account of this remarkable building, of which considerable remains are still to be seen, is given by Humboldt, in the 'Atlas Pittoresque.' (p. 206.)

[39] It was the god Quetzalcoatl, of whom also an account will be found in the above-mentioned work of Humboldt. (p. 206.)

[40] The name is correctly written Motolinia. This was the excellent brother Toribio Benavente, who so greatly exerted himself in converting the Indians to Christianity. He adopted the name of Motolinia on his arrival in New Spain, and the word means, *O! the poor man!* which the Indians exclaimed when they first beheld the meanness of his attire. (p. 207.)

[41] Respecting the castigation of the inhabitants of Cholulla, Las Casas, (Brevissima Relacion de la destrucyon de las Indias) asserts, though merely from hearsay, that Cortes, while cutting down the Indians, repeated this verse:

Miro Nero de Tarpeya,
A Roma como se ardia,
Gritos dan Niños y' viejos,
Y el de nada se dolia.

A translation of these lines will be found in a subsequent note. (p. 208.)

[42] It was here probably that Cortes was nigh being shot by one of his own sentinels. Late at night he visited the outposts himself, and one of the sentinels was just upon the point of firing at him, when Cortes fortunately made himself known. (p. 214.)

[43] Clavigero says, that a Mexican load was equal in weight to fifty Spanish pounds, or eight hundred ounces, and values the gold which Motecusuma offered to Cortes on this occasion at above three millions of ducats! (p. 216.)

[44] Torquemada (Monarch. Ind. lib. iv) gives many reasons why Motecusuma was so undecided as to whether he should allow the Spaniards to enter his metropolis. (p. 216.)

[45] Other writers say, that several of the Spaniards could not be persuaded for a length of time that it was not the monarch himself. (p. 218.)

[46] Bernal Diaz says, "Tres piedras que se llaman margaritas." Margarita is Spanish for a pearl; yet it is evident our old soldier is not speaking of pearls here, and most likely what he calls stones were nothing more than coloured Venetian glass, which was formerly held in great estimation; for in the next chapter he further describes these stones by "piedras de vidrio," stones of glass. (p. 218.)

[47] Cortes, in his despatches, gives even a more glowing description of this charming spot; a strong proof that Bernal Diaz has not said too much of it. (p. 219.)

[48] Of this building Torquemada says, it contained apartments in which one hundred and fifty Spaniards slept, each in a separate bed; and that, notwithstanding the magnitude of the building, every place was kept remarkably clean; the floors were covered with mats, and the walls were hung with tapestry of cotton decorated with feathers, and in every room there was a fire, which threw out a delightful perfume. (p. 222.)

[49] The real name was Tenuchtitlan, and it was not known by any other name when Cortes first visited the country; for Mexico was a more modern name for this city. (p. 223.)

[50] Cortes, in his despatches to the emperor, says that the monarch spoke as follows to him: "We have long known, from the historical books of our forefathers, that neither I, nor the inhabitants of this country, originally belonged to it, but that our forefathers came from distant countries. We also know that the tribe we belong to was brought hither by a monarch to whom it was subject; but this king returned to his own country, nor did he return to visit his people till several years had elapsed, after they had married the daughters of the land, and got large families by them. The monarch came with the view of leading them back to their old country again; however, they not only refused to accompany them, but would no longer acknowledge him as their king. We have always firmly believed that descendants of this monarch would one time or other make their appearance among us, and obtain the dominion of the country. As you, according to your assurances, come from the rising of the sun, we doubt not, after what you have told us of your great monarch, who sent you here, that he is our rightful sovereign; and we have the more reason to believe this, since you tell us that he had some previous knowledge of us." (p. 224.)

[51] Torquemada relates that the monarch had made minute inquiries of the interpreters respecting the rank of each Spaniard, and that the value of the presents he intended to give them was to be according to their respective ranks. (p. 228.)

[52] This was something like our chocolate, and prepared in the same way, but with this difference, that it was mixed with the boiled dough of maise, and was drunk cold. (p. 230.)

[53] Respecting the custom of smoking among the Mexicans, Humboldt gives the following, in his work on New Spain: "The Mexicans called tobacco *yetl*, which they not only considered a remedy against toothach, cold in the head, and bowel complaints, but they likewise used it as a luxury, by smoking and snuffing it. At Motecusuma's court it was used as a narcotic, not only after dinner, but also after breakfast, to produce a comfortable nap, as is still the custom in many districts of America. The leaves were rolled together like cigars, and then stuck in tubes made of silver, wood, or of shell. (p. 231.)

[54] The revenue of Motecusuma we know consisted of the natural products of the country, and what was produced by the industry of his subjects. Respecting the payment of tribute, we find the following story in Torquemada: "During the abode of Motecusuma among the Spaniards, in the palace of his father, Alonso de Ojeda one day espied in a certain apartment of the building a number of small bags tied up. He imagined at first that they were filled with gold dust, but on opening one of them, what was his astonishment to find it quite full of lice? Ojeda, greatly surprised at the discovery he had made, immediately communicated what he had seen to Cortes, who then asked Marina and Aguilar for some explanation. They informed him that the Mexicans had such a sense of their duty to pay tribute to their monarch, that the poorest and meanest of the inhabitants, if they possessed nothing better to present to their king, daily cleaned their persons, and saved all the lice they caught, and that when they had a good store of these, they laid them in bags at the feet of their monarch. Torquemada further remarks, that his reader might think these bags were filled with small worms (gasanillos), and not with lice; but appeals to Alonso de Ojeda, and another of Cortes' soldiers, named Alonso de Mata, who were eye-witnesses of the fact."

This story, no doubt, is founded on something like truth, and most probably these bags were filled with the coccus cacti, the famous cochineal insect, then unknown to the Spaniards, who might easily have mistaken them in a dried state for lice. (p. 231.)

[55] This weapon, called by the Mexicans maquahuitl, was much dreaded by the Spaniards; and the historian Acosta relates that the Mexicans would cut off the head of a horse with it at one blow. (p. 231.)

[56] Alonso Berruguette, a Spanish artist, who rose to great eminence in painting, architecture, and sculpture. He received great protection from Charles the Fifth, who employed him in considerable works in the Alhambra of Granada and elsewhere. (p. 233.)

[57] Bernal Diaz, unfortunately, gives no description of Motecusuma's palace; we will therefore give Torquemada's account of this remarkable building. He himself, however, never saw it, but chiefly gained his information from the Mexicans themselves, who may have exaggerated a little: Motecusuma's palace had twenty doors, which either opened into the large square or into the principal streets of the city; it had three large courts, and in one of them was a tank, supplied with water by the aqueduct of Chapultepec. The palace contained a number of halls, and a hundred rooms twenty-five feet long and as many broad, each provided with a bath. Everything was built of stone and lime. The walls were covered with beautiful stones,

marble, jasper, porphyry, and a block stone, which is so highly polished that you might use it for a looking-glass; besides these, there was a white stone, almost transparent. All the woodwork was made of white cedar, palm, cypress, pine, and other fine woods, adorned with beautiful carved-work. In one of the apartments, which was one hundred and fifty feet long and fifty broad, was Motecusuma's chapel, which was covered with plates of gold and silver almost the thickness of a finger, besides that it was decorated with innumerable emeralds, rubies, topaz, and other precious stones. (p. 235.)

[58] This slimy substance the Mexicans called tecuitlatl, or excrement of stone. It was made into various shapes, and dried in the sun. (p. 237.)

[59] According to Torquemada, this word expressed the number 8000 of anything, whether of cacao beans, troops, or other matters. (p. 237.)

[60] Cacao nuts should be cacao beans; they were used by the Mexicans as small coin, and even to this day, according to Humboldt, they form the smallest coin among the inhabitants of New Spain. (p. 237.)

[61] In the large work of Ramusio, entitled 'Raceolta delle Navigazioni e Viaggi,' there is a very interesting account of the city of Mexico. There we find that this market was about three times larger than the one at Salamanca, and surrounded by porticos. Every five days was a great market day, and from forty to fifty thousand people come to buy and sell there. (p. 238.)

[62] With regard to Mexican mythology, Bernal Diaz is, perhaps, not quite so correct in general. The abbé F. S. Clavigero, who wrote a history of Mexico, in two volumes quarto, is more intelligent in this respect. (p. 239.)

[63] This note refers to the idol, half hidden from view, of which Bernal Diaz has forgotten the name; it was probably the goddess Centeotl, sometimes called Tonacajohua. (p. 240.)

[64] The Spanish is, "Estavan malos de bubas ó humores, les dolieron los muslas de baxar:" bubas I have everywhere translated by the general term of swellings in the groin, though it is quite evident, from the 68th letter of Petrus Martyr ab Angleria, (De Rebus Oceanicis el Novo orbe decades tres) that this disease was the syphilis, which was then spreading so dreadfully. (p. 241.)

[65] The best-informed writers agree with Bernal Diaz as to the vast extent of this temple. It was so extensive, says Torquemada, that an arrow shot from a crossbow would not reach the length of one of its sides. A few lines lower he says, that each of these sides was three hundred and sixty feet long! The wall which surrounded this huge temple was entirely built of hewn stone. (p. 241.)

[66] Bernal Diaz is here speaking of the Mexican picture writing or hieroglyphics. (p. 242.)

[67] This passage fully proves the kind disposition of the monarch, for he even overcame his religious scruples to please the very men who came to take his kingdom from him. (p. 244.)

[68] The Mexican name of this township was Nauhtlan. (p. 248.)

[69] The Mexican name for goddess. (p. 249.)

[69]*Bernal Diaz only mentions three of these generals by name: Quetzalpopoca, Coatl, and Quiahuitle, which we thought better to insert here. When Quetzalpopoca, says Torquemada, was brought into the presence of the Spaniards, and asked whether he was a vassal of Motecusuma, he replied: "Is it possible in this world to be the vassal of any other monarch." (p. 253.)

[70] Alvarado, who sometimes also played a game with Motecusuma, showed little generosity, according to other writers. If he lost, he paid with calchihuis stones; if he won, he was paid with bars of gold, each worth at least fifty ducats. Motecusuma frequently lost in one evening from forty to fifty of such gold bars to Alvarado; but the more he lost, the more good-humoured he appeared. (p. 258.)

[71] A kind of soup or broth, of which the so termed Spanish pepper formed the chief ingredient. (p. 260.)

[71]*The name of the prince was Cuicuitzcatl. (p. 270.)

[72] According to Torquemada, Umbria was only scourged, which appears more probable. (p. 273.)

[73] At the present day even this river is known in New Spain by the name of Huasacualco, and even Guacasualco. (p. 274.)

[74] For a further account of what happened after the building of this altar, I must refer the reader to the oft-quoted work of Torquemada (Monarchia, Ind. iv, 53.) (p. 286.)

[75] This Alonso Mata, as we afterwards see, was met on his way to Mexico by Cortes. (p. 300.)

[76] Naborias, Indian servants. (p. 301.)

[77] According to Torquemada, Motecusuma, accompanied by a distinguished suite, conducted the Spaniards as far as Iztapalapan. (p. 303.)

[78] Probably Topaniqueta, which sounds more like an Indian name. (p. 304.)

[78]*The real name of this province was Chinantla, but our author calls the inhabitants Chichinatecas. (p. 310.)

[79] Hierro is the Spanish word for iron, and Bernal Diaz always uses Hierro for the point of a lance; otherwise one would suppose,—when he says of the Chinantecs, "Hizieron los hierros muy mas perfetamente," etc., i. e. "they made the irons (points) much more perfect;"—that the working of iron was known in the country long before the arrival of the Spaniards; but it is evident, from what he says four lines below, that these points were made of copper. (p. 311.)

[80] Panguenequita, probably another name for Tapanigueta. (p. 311.)

[81] Respecting this animal, see note 5, p. 22. (p. 313.)

[82] The clater nocturnus. (p. 327.)

[83] It need scarcely be remarked that the Spanish guns at that time were fired by means of matches, which were made of hempen tow, boiled in the lees of old wine, and when dry and once lighted they burn on until consumed. (p. 327.)

[84] Bernal Diaz has forgotten some circumstances relative to this battle. Three hundred of Narvaez's troops defended themselves bravely for a length of time on one of the temples, nor did they surrender until all their powder was spent. (p. 327.)

[85] Of this dreadful disease Gomara says, that it spread from Sempoalla through the whole of New Spain, and that in the greater part of the townships half of the inhabitants were carried off by it. It was a custom among the inhabitants to go immediately from a hot bath into a cold one, so that it was a wonder any escaped death. Those that survived could not help scratching themselves, which naturally left large scars, and rendered them hideous to look at. Torquemada agrees with Gomara, but adds, from the authority of the Indians, that this and other pestilential diseases spread at certain times through the whole of the country; and Bernal Diaz, in describing the person of the younger Xicotencatl, says his face was pitted as if with the smallpox. (p. 332.)

[86] A formal inquiry was made into this circumstance, by order of Charles the Fifth. The excellent Bartholomew de las Casas gave judgment, and he pronounced the Mexicans entirely innocent of having had any intention to massacre the troops under Alvarado, but that the latter had massacred the Mexicans without any provocation, merely for the purpose of striking terror among them. In pronouncing this judgment, however, Las Casas may have been carried away by his excessive zeal for humanity towards the Indians. Herrera (Historia de las Indias occidentales, decade ii, b. x,) says: "The fact, however, is, that the Mexicans intended to have murdered all the Spaniards on this occasion; for which purpose they had concealed their arms in the buildings adjoining the temple. This was told the Spaniards by the women, from whom they always learnt the truth." (p. 336.)

[87] The daily allowance of a soldier during this time was only fifty grains of maise! (p. 347.)

[88] According to other accounts, it certainly appears that Alvarado made this astonishing leap. (Monarchia In., iv, c. 71.) We find that Alvarado was distinguished from his brother by the surname of *Alvarado of the leap*. Humboldt, in his interesting work on New Spain, has thought it worth his while to rescue the honour of this brave officer with regard to this leap. Even to the present day there is a small bridge near Bonavista, called Salto de Alvarado. (p. 352.)

[89] According to other accounts Cortes put great faith in the secret art of this man. It was upon Botello's advice that he also attacked Narvaez in the night time. He had likewise advised the retreat from Mexico in the night time, although he knew, he said, that neither himself, his brother, nor several others of his company would escape alive. (p. 353.)

[90] During this retreat three of Motecusuma's sons lost their lives; but there were two other sons of this monarch who survived the fall of their house and became the founders of the distinguished grandee families of Spain, the earls of Montezuma and Tula; one was called Cano and the other Andrada Montezuma. (p. 353.)

[91] One circumstance Bernal Diaz has omitted to mention. After the enemy had taken possession of the bridges there were one hundred Spaniards, who, seeing no further chance of making good their retreat, fortified themselves on a teocalli or temple. Here these brave men maintained their position against the whole armed force of the town for three days, but hunger at length compelled them to surrender, and the whole of them were sacrificed to the idols. (p. 353.)

[92] The hunger which the Spaniards suffered during these days must have been excessive; for Torquemada states it as a fact, that one of the soldiers had cut out the liver from the body of another and devoured it; for which Cortes was nearly going to hang the man. (p. 354.)

[93] Torquemada says, "That the Spaniards stood like a small island in the midst of the ocean, against which the rolling billows beat on every side." When Cortes decided the fate of the day by his courageous attack upon the Mexican commander, the battle had lasted five hours. (p. 354.)

[94] The Mexican general's name was Cihuacatzin; he was the Matlaxopilli, commander-in-chief, and carried the imperial standard, called Tlahuizmatlaxopilli, being a golden net ten palms in length. (p. 355.)

[95] Bernal Diaz errs here with respect to dates, for the disastrous retreat from Mexico, according to Cortes' despatches and other accounts, took place on the 1st of July, and thus la noche triste (the night of sorrows) was on the night between the 1st and 2d of July, and the battle of Otumpan took place on the 7th. There must either have been some mistake in the original manuscript or in the printing, for the years are also dated erroneously. (p. 356.)

[96] This is certainly a corrupted name, for it is dissimilar in sound to all others, and terminates differently. (p. 358.)

[97] According to Torquemada, Cortes had left one of his officers, named Juan Perez, with eighty Spaniards in Tlascalla, when he first marched to Mexico. On learning from this officer that Maxixcatzin had offered to march at the head of 100,000 men to his assistance, he grew excessively angry with him, and reproached him in the severest terms for not having accepted of the offer. (p. 359.)

[98] Torquemada throws more light on the reason of the younger Xicotencatl's wishing to form an alliance with Mexico. The Mexicans being aware that the Spaniards would derive great advantages by their alliance with Tlascalla, sent an embassy of six distinguished personages to draw this republic into an alliance with them. The matter was formally discussed by the Tlascallan chiefs in council, and though the Mexican ambassadors tried their utmost to persuade them into an alliance, the majority decided against it.

At the head of the minority stood the younger Xicotencatl, and the debate was carried on with such asperity that the young hero, who had more penetration than the rest, was at length forcibly expelled the meeting. (p. 362.)

[99] According to Torquemada, these two townships were called Quauhquechulla and Quauhquechola. (p. 368.)

[100] Most probably Iztucan. (p. 370.)

[101] Cortes, in his despatches, calls this place Izzucan; the same, no doubt, as Iztucan. (p. 372.)

[1] Cortes, in his despatches, thus enumerates his troops, 40 horse, 550 foot soldiers, among whom there were 80 musketeers and crossbowmen; 8 or 9 field-pieces and a small supply of powder. (p. 1.)

[2] This king was also called Cohuanacotzin, subsequently he became a convert to Christianity, and took the name of Don Fernando. (p. 3.)

[3] His Indian name was Ixtlilxuchitl, and his Spanish, Don Hernando Pimentel, not Cortes. (p. 5.)

[4] His real name was Necahuatpiltzintli. (p. 5.)

[5] Calpullalpan. (p. 15.)

[6] Several Spanish writers make the number of Tlascallan warriors who accompanied this transport, amount to 180,000; but this is no doubt an excessive exaggeration. Here again the honesty of Bernal Diaz is conspicuous, who never multiplies numbers. (p. 17.)

[7] Teutepil and Ayutecatl were their proper names. (p. 17.)

[8] Torquemada, who himself saw this canal, says it was full two miles in length. (p. 18.)

[9] Gomara calls this place Accapichtlan; Torquemada, Yacapichtla. (p. 29.)

[10] Gomara most likely followed Cortes' despatches, where we find that the stream was coloured with the blood of the Indians, to the distance of four miles. (p. 30.)

[11] Indian servants. (p. 32.)

[12] Our old soldier has, "Unas bulas de senor S. Pedro," a bull of St. Peter. (p. 32.)

[13] There were four vessels which arrived on this occasion, carrying 200 Spaniards and 80 horses. (p. 33.)

[14] According to Torquemada this garden was eight miles in circumference, through the midst of which flowed a small rivulet, whose banks were decorated with all kinds of shrubbery. Besides the many beautiful buildings which it contained there were also artificial rocks. (p. 40.)

[15] The Mexican name is Quauhnahuac, where Cortes subsequently built himself a palace. (p. 41.)

[16] According to Cortes' despatches, the Indians made use of these words, which are indeed more intelligible than our author's: "They had sought our friendship thus late, because they thought they were bound first to atone for their guilt by allowing us to inflict some punishment upon them, after which they thought we should not be so embittered against them." (p. 42.)

[17] According to Torquemada, who was born in Mexico, and was elected provincial of his order by a chapter held at Xochimilco, the distance was sixteen miles. (p. 42.)

[17*]Torquemada here relates that Cortes was saved by a Tlascallan, and that the day following he made a fruitless search for him among the dead. (p. 44.)

[18] The following is a free translation of the first six lines:

"Pensive and sad brave Cortes stood
Surrounded by his valiant band,
His thoughts were in the heaviest mood,
While musing on Tlacupa's land,
Grief must assume an attitude,
Forehead and side were clasped by either hand."

Of the four following lines Bernal Diaz only gives the first two, the last two I have taken from Las Casas, (Brevissima Relacion de la destrucyon de las Indias.) These lines were most likely applied to Cortes after the attack he made upon the Cholullans:

On the Tarpeian rock as Nero stood
To view the flames consume th' imperial city,
Both young and old uttered their grief aloud,
But Nero neither showed remorse nor pity. (p. 52.)

[19] According to Torquemada there were 300 concerned in this conspiracy, and their intention was to elect Francisco Verdugo, brother-in-law to the governor of Cuba, captain-general in Cortes' stead; but adds that Verdugo, who was very courageous and highly esteemed, was not let into the conspiracy. (p. 55.)

[20] According to Cortes, this canal was two miles long, twice the breadth of a man's length, and as deep. It was completed in fifty days by 8000 Indians. (p. 55.)

[21] Herrera (Historia Gen. de las Indias) gives another reason for the younger Xicotencatl's return to Tlascalla. He says, that Alonso Ojeda had given a relation of Xicotencatl, named Piltectetl, who had been shamefully ill used by the Spaniards, leave to return home, but as Xicotencatl was jealous of this man on account of some love affair, he also secretly decamped for Tlascalla. (p. 61.)

[22] Torquemada remarks that, though the younger Xicotencatl was a man of uncommon bravery, his courage failed him when he saw the hour of death approaching. However, this is hardly to be credited, for it is quite contrary to the Indian character. (p. 62.)

[23] Cortes, in his despatches, tries to throw all the blame of this unfortunate attack upon the royal treasurer. (p. 81.)

[24] Respecting this slimy substance, called by the Mexicans Tecuitlatl, see a former note, first vol. (p. 95.)

[25] Bernal Diaz further remarks, (which we thought better to insert here,) that his complexion was fairer than that of the Indians in general; that he was above twenty-three years of age, and that he had a beautiful wife, daughter of his uncle Motecusuma. (p. 98.)

[26] So the Spaniards called the famous general Gonsalo de Cordova. Our old soldier is generally very satirical when he speaks about the boasted campaigns of Italy. (p. 106.)

[27] The battle of Garigliano, by which Cordova decided the fate of the kingdom of Naples. (p. 106.)

[28] Yet Torquemada assures us that mothers had eaten of the flesh of their own offspring. (p. 112.)

[29] The Spaniards at length, it would appear, took little notice of this barbarous custom of eating human flesh, so common among the Indians. Even here we see it is mentioned very coolly by Bernal Diaz. Human flesh certainly formed part of the provisions which Indian warriors carried with them when going out to battle. Both Gomara and Torquemada mention, that when Sandoval had defeated the warriors of Matlaltzinco, he found among their baggage a quantity of maise and numbers of roasted children. (p. 114.)

[30] All accounts agree in laying the guilt of this inhuman act to the door of the crown officers. Cruelty formed no part of Cortes' character, yet he will always be reproached for having yielded up his better feelings on this occasion to satisfy the rapacity of others. To the honour of the Spanish name, I must here add, that Torquemada most distinctly remarks, that the whole of Cortes troops openly showed their disgust of this infamous deed. (p. 117.)

[31] We have mentioned in a former note that this wine was made from the Agava Americana. To this day it is the common drink of the inhabitants of New Spain. (p. 129.)

[32] Most likely the Chalchicoeca river, for under this name Torquemada comprehends the coast district south of the Islas de Sacrificios. Monarch. Ind. iv. (p. 140.)

[33] Hibueras and not Higueras. Honduras and Hibueras were the original names given to the coast districts along the bay of the same name. For further information, see Monarch. Ind. iii, 41. (p. 173.)

[34] Christobal de Oli set sail from Vera Cruz early in April of the year 1523. (p. 175.)

[35] Bernal Diaz calls this pope Andriano de Lobayna, but he was not elected to the papal throne until the year following. (p. 195.)

[36] The author calls this Flemish nobleman, Monsieur de Lasoa, the same who performed so conspicuous a part during the early part of the young emperor's reign. (p. 195.)

[37] The emperor arrived in Spain in the month of June 1522, at the same time that Pope Adrian the Sixth repaired to Rome to take possession of the papal throne. (p. 197.)

[38] This nobleman the emperor had appointed commander-in-chief of his troops in Spain; but all his operations were attended with little success, and he lost all influence at court. (p. 198.)

[39] Bernal Diaz means the emperor's chancellor, Mercurin Arborio de Gattinara, who subsequently became a cardinal. (p. 200.)

[40] Most likely in the year 1523. (p. 207.)

[41] A town of Estremadura, and the native place of Cortes. (p. 212.)

[42] Gomara, who had been domestic chaplain in Cortes' family, says, that Cortes sent his father on this occasion 25,000 castellanas de oro, and 800 pounds weight of silver, but that it was seized by the emperor. (p. 219.)

[43] According to Gomara, several others had tried their wits to compose a verse for this field-piece, until Cortes himself engaged and hit upon those lines. Andreas de Tapia by way of joke proposed the following:

A questo tiro a mi ver
Muchos necios a de hazer.

[44] The liberties which Cortes granted to all those who built houses in Mexico, drew such vast crowds to the spot, that pestilential diseases broke out, which carried off numbers of human beings. The labourers, while at work, were enlivened by vocal and instrumental music. (p. 221.)

[45] The real name of this excellent man was Toribio de Benavente. When he first arrived in New Spain, the Indians thought his outward garments so mean that they continually cried out when they saw him, "Poor man! poor man!" As he was then unacquainted with their language, he inquired the meaning of the word "Motolinia," which they so often repeated; and, on being told what it was, he said, "Well, since this is the first word of the language which I learn, it shall in future be my name!" This monk was unremitting in his exertions to promote the welfare of the Indians, and he alone baptized above 400,000. (p. 222.)

[45*] According to Gomara and Herrera, Cortes left Mexico in October, 1524. (p. 235.)

[46] Herrera, who has otherwise merely transcribed Gomara's account of this expedition, has the following passage, which we do not find elsewhere: "Medrano, the hoboist," he says, "declared that, in order to still his hunger during this campaign, he ate of the brain and inside of Bernardo Caldero, and of those of a nephew of his, who was also a musician, and had died of hunger." I must here take the opportunity, owing to an omission in the print, of offering a few remarks on the execution of Quauhtemoctzin, and the king of Tlacupa.

Gomara, in his account of the expedition to the Honduras, positively asserts that Quauhtemoctzin and the other chiefs were guilty of this conspiracy, and says that they confessed it themselves, and were then tried by a court-martial, which passed sentence of death upon them. Torquemada, however, differs widely with Gomara; and, in speaking of the unfortunate end of Quauhtemoctzin, he has the following: "So this matter is related by Gomara and Herrera, but I find it differently represented in a history written in the Mexican language, and which I believe to be per-

fectly correct. While Cortes (the Mexican author says) was quartered in a certain township, the Mexican chiefs one evening began to discourse among themselves about the recent hardships they had suffered, and Cohuanacotzin said to Quauhtemoctzin, to Tetlepanquetzaltzin, and to other distinguished Mexicans, 'Thus you see, gentlemen, from kings we are become slaves, and we suffer ourselves to be led about by Cortes and this handful of Christians. If we were other people than we are, and would break through the promise we have made these Spaniards, we could play them a pretty trick here, and revenge ourselves upon them for all they have done to us, and the ill-treatment my cousin Quauhtemoctzin has suffered at their hands.' To this the Mexican monarch replied, 'I beg of you Cohuanacotzin to drop this subject, lest some one should overhear us, and imagine we were in earnest.' It appears (continues Torquemada) that they were indeed overheard, for the whole of this discourse was reported to Cortes by a low-minded Mexican of the lower classes." (p. 244.)

[47] With respect to the running or melting of the fat in the body causing instant death, it was most likely a notion entertained by the medical men of that day; the remark is, therefore, very excusable in an old soldier. (p. 255.)

[48] Probably the iguana, a species of lizard common to St. Domingo, where it is eaten, and considered delicate food. (p. 255.)

[49] Here our author has evidently erred, for Cortes left Mexico in the month of October, 1524, and the author repeatedly says that two years and three months were spent in this expedition; thus he cannot have returned until the year 1526. (p. 302.)

[50] Cortes must either have worn mourning for an uncommon length of time for his wife, or our author must have been misinformed when he says that she died a few months after her arrival in New Spain. (p. 327.)

[51] Bernal Diaz had forgotten the precise year, and says he arrived there in the month of May, 1536 or 1537. (p. 352.)

[52] The psydium pyriferum or pomiferum of Linnæus. (p. 352.)

[53] Bernal Diaz has fallen into an error here, for the meeting of the two monarchs at Aigues-Mortes was accidental, the emperor having been cast on the shore of Provence on a sea-voyage to Barcelona, and Francis the First, who happened to be in the neighbourhood at the time, kindly invited him to the place above mentioned. Neither was there any treaty of peace concluded between the two monarchs on this occasion, but an armistice for ten years had been agreed upon between them shortly beforehand, on the 18th of June, 1538. (p. 355.)

[54] This chapter 202 we may distinguish as the most uninteresting of all; it seems a mere jumble of facts thrown in anyhow; but the author himself remarks at the end of the chapter, "I relate all this merely from hearsay." (p. 357.)

[55] A little below, Bernal Diaz particularly mentions Cojohuacan. (p. 364.)

[56] Gomara agrees with Bernal Diaz as to the day of Cortes' death, (the 2d day of December, 1547,) but says he was sixty-three years of age. (p. 364.)

[57] Our author omits to mention anything about the third daughter. In these passages we cannot sufficiently admire the excellent feeling of the old soldier, which

was charitable to a degree; for though he had great reason to complain of the neglect he suffered from his hero Cortes, yet, after his death, he tries to raise him in your estimation, and he lets him die an honest man. (p. 365.)

[58] The famous general Gonsalo Hernandez de Cordoba. (p. 373.)

[59] The inns in Spain, which stand along the high roads at great distances from any town, are called ventas, and are mostly built by government. (p. 378.)

[60] This passage proves volumes for the honesty, judiciousness, and education of the author; for uneducated minds are fond of large numbers to create astonishment, but he takes the least number, while the so termed learned historians have not hesitated to employ ridiculous exaggerations. Gomara, for instance, says that 20,000 human beings were annually sacrificed to the idols within the circle of Cortes' conquests; according to others, 50,000. Herrera goes further, for he says that frequently from 5000 to 20,000 human beings were sacrificed in one day at Mexico and in the surrounding neighbourhood. (p. 388.)

[61] Respecting this celebrated artist, see a former note. (p. 391.)

[62] The inland trade of New Spain was considerable as early as in the year 1531. In the market of Tlascalla alone there were annually slaughtered from 14,000 to 15,000 sheep, 4000 oxen, and 2000 pigs. See Herrera.

The Spaniards must have been remarkably active in those days, for Cortes first arrived at San Juan de Ulloa in the year 1519; in August, 1521, he took the city of Mexico, which was converted into a heap of ruins by the siege; in the month of June, 1526, he returned from the Honduras, and there stood a new city, with many churches, cloisters, palaces, fortifications, and most probably also an amphitheatre for bull-fights. (p. 393.)

[63] Bernal Diaz had good reasons for his fears. The three volcanoes which lay in the vicinity, termed volcan de Agua, volcan de Fuego, and volcan de Pacaya, rendered the ground very unsafe, and the metropolis of this province was several times removed by the Spaniards. The present town of Guatimala, called La Nueva Guatemala de la Asuncion, lies in the plain of Mixco. For a further account of this town and the eruptions of the above-mentioned volcanoes, we must refer the reader to the work of Domingo Juarros, entitled, 'Compendio de la Historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala,' published at the latter place, 1809-1818. (p. 409.)

FINIS.

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